FIFTH EDITION

PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE

Karl C. Garrison

Psychology
of Adolescence

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of Adolescence

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Prentice-Hall, Inc.   ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, N. J.

1956

PREFACE
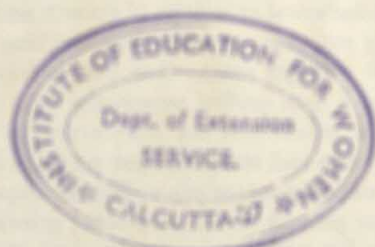
This fifth edition has been written to include findings from selected recent studies of adolescents. The vast amount of recently published data has made it necessary to re-evaluate the materials presented in the previous edition, and in some cases to substitute more recent and inclusive data for that secured from earlier sources. As a result of the writer's experiences and suggestions from others who used the fourth edition, the materials have been reorganized, thus eliminating a certain amount of repetition and providing a better sequential study of the varied aspects of adolescence.

The aim of this edition, like that of the previous ones, is twofold. My experience has led me to believe, first, that its content and method will be welcomed by the many college students who are still in the later stages of adolescence. Special attention has been given in this edition to the developmental tasks and problems of adolescents, particularly to the concept of the *self*. This book is also designed to be of value to those entrusted with the care and guidance of adolescents. Parents—engrossed in domestic duties or in vocational and avocational pursuits—and even teachers too often forget the difficulties that beset youth. I hope this book may afford both parents and teachers a more appreciative view of adolescents and a fuller recognition of the importance of their transition from childhood to adulthood.

The materials have been selected to introduce the reader to basic experimental studies dealing with adolescents, and thus lay the foundation for a critical appreciation of new studies that are constantly appearing. The general student will find the facts actually given in the text supplemented by specific references to sources in the bibliographies that follow the chapters. The more advanced or more alert student should find the sources named in the footnotes additionally helpful in his development of new techniques of study as well as an analytical view of new findings and principles in the field.

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The original volume had its inception in my mind while I was an advanced student in genetic psychology at Peabody College. It was here that I first became familiar with Hall's writings and was impressed by the biological conception of individual development and the scientific study of the growing child. Throughout this edition, I have consistently clung to certain fundamental principles of growth and development that I formulated during my years of study and teaching courses in adolescent psychology. To a larger extent than ever before, the adolescent is coming to be regarded as a unified personality that can be neither catalogued by statistical procedures nor stereotyped by special tests. This does not mean that tests and statistics have no place in studying adolescents; they have a very important place. But the important thing is getting a more accurate picture of the adolescent growing and developing in accordance with his genetic constitution and the various environmental forces that have affected him from birth.

I have drawn heavily from recent scientific studies and from current source materials. Thus youth activity in this country, surveys of various aspects of the life of adolescents, clinical studies of adolescents, longitudinal studies, and representative research studies in related fields are reviewed, and are acknowledged by references. But, apart from these acknowledgments, it is difficult to give adequate credit to all the sources to which I am indebted. From correspondence and personal contacts as well as from published materials, I have secured valuable information and special help. I should like to express here my thanks to these associates as well as to the writers and publishers who have permitted the use of quotations and special data from certain studies. Special acknowledgment is due, moreover, to many students of adolescent psychology who have offered suggestions since the publication of the original edition in 1934, the revised edition in 1940, the third edition in 1946, and the fourth edition in 1951.

Athens, Ga.   K.C.G.

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TO MY SON *Karl*

INTRODUCTION

THE ADOLESCENT AGE

ADOLESCENCE: ITS MEANING
AND SIGNIFICANCE

The meaning of adolescence. An examination of various definitions of adolescence reveals little difference of opinion regarding the physical facts that constitute the foundation for a general study of adolescence. Usually, adolescence is thought of as that period of life during which maturity is being attained; and especially is this true insofar as maturity relates to the development of the procreative powers of the individual. This period also marks a time in the individual's life when it is difficult to consider him either as a child or as an adult. Observations of, and experiences with, individuals during the "teen" period reveal that there is a fairly distinct time during which the individual cannot be treated as a child, and actually resents such treatment. Yet this same individual is by no means fully mature, and cannot be classed as an adult. During this transition from childhood to adulthood, therefore, the subject is referred to as an adolescent.

G. Stanley Hall was the first to draw a vivid and striking picture of this stage of life, with all its specific characteristics, gradations, and peculiarities. His splendid portrayal of this period as the "storm and stress" time of life caught the attention of all who came into contact with his writings, which were, in fact, so impressive that they dominated the thinking of most American students of adolescent psychology for a number of years.[1] Just three years before his death, he presented a rather clear decription of the nature of the "flapper," which, he pointed out, has its beginning in the "teen" years.[2] He cites the definition of the term from the dictionary as: "[one] yet in the nest, and vainly attempting to fly while its wings have only pin feathers." His conception of adolescence as a period has been described by various students of adolescent psychology in a vivid and oftentimes exaggerated manner.

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[1] G. S. Hall, *Adolescence* (2 vols.). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1904.

[2] G. S. Hall, "Flapper Americana Novisscina," *Atlantic Monthly,* 1922, Vol. 129, pp. 771–780.

In Western civilization, adolescence is viewed as a transition period between childhood and adulthood. This transition involves physiological changes, emotional changes, social-sex changes, as well as educational and intellectual changes. This, in our tradition, is a physiological state accompanied by domestic rebellion and rather widespread social and emotional explosions.

These changes must not be viewed as sudden in nature, although it is during the adolescent years that the emotionally and socially immature individual approaches the adult level of physical and intellectual growth. In contrast to the emphasis on biological development at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is now recognized that culture plays an important role in the life and problems of adolescents. Thus, adolescence may best be conceived of as a product of the interaction of biological and cultural factors upon the individual as he moves from childhood into adulthood.

Physical symptoms of early adolescence. Studies of the physical growth of boys and girls show that there is an increased rate of growth in height just prior to the onset of pubescence. This is discussed at length in Chapter 3. Since pubescence appears in girls earlier than in boys, the accelerated rate of growth in height occurs earlier among girls. This is quite noticeable when one observes a group of girls and boys in the seventh and eighth grades of our schools. These girls at the ages of 12, 13, and 14 will be on the average as tall as or taller than the boys of the same age level.

There is also a pronounced increase in the rate of growth in weight just prior to the onset of pubescence. Some adolescents gain from 20 to 30 pounds during the year. The girls again pass the boys of their age level in weight during a two- or three-year period. Accompanying this increased growth, one finds important changes in body proportions. There is at first a rapid growth of the arms and legs, followed later by a more rapid growth of the trunk of the body. The hands, feet, and nose seem to play an important part in adolescent development. By the time the boy is 13 or 14 years of age his hands and feet have achieved a large percentage of their total development at maturity.

One of the earliest indications of the development of the girl during the pre-adolescent stage is the development of the breasts. The mammary nipple usually does not project above the level of the surrounding skin structures until the third year after birth. The nipple after this stage shows a slight elevation above the surrounding structures. There is no further pronounced change for the average girl until about the tenth year, when the so-called "bud" stage appears. This is soon followed by the development of the "primary" breast, resulting mainly from an increase in the fat surrounding and underlying the papilla (nipple) and adjacent skin area.
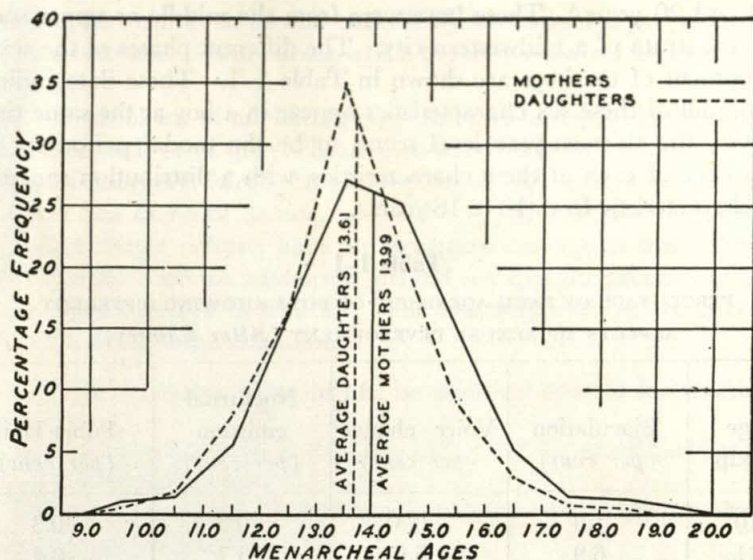
Figure 1-1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS AND AVERAGE MENARCHEAL AGES
OF 357 MOTHERS AND THEIR DAUGHTERS. (*Reproduced from Figure 113 of
F. K. Shuttleworth, "The Adolescent Period," Monographs of the Society
for Research in Child Development, 1938, Vol. 3, No. 3*)

A time of physical changes. Pronounced physical changes usher in
the beginning of adolescence. The nature and extent of these changes
are described in Chapters 2 and 3. The most important changes, which
signify the beginning of adolescence, involve the sex glands. The begin-
ning of adolescence is marked in the case of girls by the first menstrua-
tion, sometimes referred to as the menarche. This is the period of
puberty. Studies that have been conducted relative to the beginnings of
puberty indicate that there is considerable variation in the onset, and that
variation between the sexes is especially pronounced. However, a more
careful analysis reveals that a great deal of overlapping of the sexes exists.
Chronologically, pubescence for girls occurs between ages 12 and 15, and
that for boys tends to occur one to two years later. However, the begin-
nings of maturity for a group of boys or girls will show wide variations.

The range of puberty for girls may vary as much as ten or more years.
This is indicated in Figure 1-1, which shows the distribution and average
menarcheal ages for 357 mothers and their 680 daughters.[3]

There is no clearly defined method for determining the onset of puberty
among boys. In a study reported by Ramsey, complete histories were
obtained by means of personal interviews of 291 boys between the ages

[3] H. N. Gould and M. R. Gould, "Age of First Menstruation in Mother and
Daughters," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1932, Vol. 98, pp. 1349–
1352.

of 10 and 20 years.[4] These boys were from the middle or upper socio-
economic strata of a midwestern city. The different phases of the sexual
development of the boys are shown in Table 1–1. These data indicate
that not all of these sex characteristics appear in a boy at the same time;
however, the thirteen-year level seems to be the modal period for the
appearance of each of these characteristics, with a distribution range for
each characteristic from 10 to 16 years.

Table 1–1

PERCENTAGE OF EACH AGE GROUP OF BOYS SHOWING DIFFERENT
ASPECTS OF SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT (*After Ramsey*)

Age group	Ejaculation (*per cent*)	Voice change (*per cent*)	Nocturnal emission (*per cent*)	Pubic Hair (*per cent*)
10	1.8	0.3	0.3	0.3
11	6.9	5.6	3.7	8.4
12	14.1	20.5	5.3	27.1
13	33.6	40.0	17.4	36.1
14	30.9	26.0	12.9	23.8
15	7.8	5.5	13.9	3.3
16	4.9	2.0	16.0	1.0

A period when special adjustment problems appear. Any period of
change is likely to be a period fraught with problems, and since the
adolescent period is concerned with growth and development as well as
changed interests and aspirations, it will be accompanied by many poten-
tial difficulties. A more complete discussion of these will be presented in
the subsequent chapters bearing on different phases of the life and de-
velopment of adolescents. The increased complexity of our social and
economic order has introduced problems that did not exist at an earlier
period. Any training program that is going to be effective must take into
consideration the problems and needs of those with whom the program
is primarily concerned.

The many studies of human development conducted during the past
two decades have shown that all development is a continuous process and
that one period cannot be set apart as distinct and different from the
preceding or following period. This concept will be emphasized through-
out this and subsequent chapters. True, there are some profound changes
occurring during adolescence that characterize this stage of life. Further-
more, the individual is reaching out into an enlarged world, and is

[4] G. V. Ramsey, "The Sexual Development of Boys," *American Journal of Psy-
chology,* 1943, Vol. 56, pp. 217–233.

expanding his mental and social outlook. This transition period is, therefore, characterized as one during which the individual is faced with many problems.

Are the problems of adolescent boys and girls a result of the nature of adolescence itself or of the civilization in which they live and grow? The findings of Margaret Mead, an anthropologist who spent nine months on the South Sea island of Samoa, where she was able to study adolescence in a rather simple culture, have an important bearing on this.[5] She observed that the Samoan adolescent girl did not find the problem of growing up either complex or difficult. The following reasons are offered as an explanation for this condition:

1. No one is hurried along in life, or punished harshly for slowness in development.
2. No one plays for very high stakes, suffers for his convictions, or fights to the death for special ends.
3. In personal relations, love and hate, jealousy and revenge, sorrow and bereavement are of short duration.
4. Choices are few and simple, with little pressure put on the individual in making important choices.
5. There is a lack of specialized affection. No one shows intense feelings toward any particular person.
6. No secrecy surrounds the facts of sex or of birth. To the Samoan child matters of sex, birth, and death are the natural, inevitable structure of his society and existence.
7. Children learn to work from an early age at tasks graded to their abilities, but they are tasks that have a meaning in the structure of the whole society.

Pubic ceremonies. Before a more detailed study of the characteristics of the adolescent is undertaken, it should be of interest as well as value to note some social customs concerned with the passage of youth from childhood to maturity. The universality of pubic rites and the solemnity of their observation are evidence of the recognition, even in earliest times, of the importance of this stage of life. Consciously organized pubic ceremonies, sometimes very formal in execution, have been carried out by almost all primitive peoples, and, in many of these, tortures, humiliation, and various forms of instruction have had a place. Notably, the increase of formality in rites, and the lengthening of the period of the adolescent's preparation for them, have constituted a fair index of the degree of development of various civilizations. The aims of education and the methods of teaching among the highly developed civilizations of the Greeks and Hebrews indicate that these peoples formally initiated individuals into manhood and womanhood; indeed, the simplest and prob-

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[5] M. Mead, *From the South Seas.* New York: William Morrow and Co., 1939, pp. 198–230.

ably the earliest type of systematized education among savages related to the preparation of children for such ceremonies. However, both secular and modern public education have broken away so completely from these practices of the past that it is difficult to recognize any vestiges in our educational processes.

Several authors, among whom G. Stanley Hall is one of the most prominent, have given us full and vivid descriptions of these pubic ceremonies as carried out among the more primitive tribes.[6] A survey of the manner in which different societies deal with adolescence reveals that they focus their attention upon a wide span of years. In connection with pubic ceremonies, Ruth Benedict has stated:

> In order to understand puberty institutions, we do not most need analyses of the necessary nature of *rites de passage;* we need rather to know what is identified in different cultures with the beginning of adulthood and their methods of admitting to the new status. Not biological puberty, but what adulthood means in that culture conditions the puberty ceremony.[7]

Thus, we note that the physiological facts of adolescence are socially interpreted. Furthermore, puberty is given a somewhat different interpretation in the life cycle of the male and female. In most cultures the adult prerogatives of men are more far-reaching than those of women, and consequently it is more common for societies to take special note of this period in the lives of growing boys than in the lives of girls. However, the puberty rites for boys and girls may be celebrated in the same tribe in identical ways. This may be noted in the rites for adolescents in the interior of British Columbia, where the purpose is to provide training for manhood and womanhood and work. A second type of ceremony in which boys and girls share may be observed in the Nandi tribe of East Africa. This involves physical ordeals inflicted by adult members of the group. For both boys and girls these rites mark the beginning of a new sex status.

Puberty rites, developed in connection with the beginning of pubescence on the part of the girl, are designed primarily to promote marriage. This is found among primitive tribes of central Africa where the girl is segregated, sometimes for several years, fed sweets and fatty foods, and allowed no physical activity. During her stay at the fatting-house she is taught her future duties. At the end of this period she is ready for marriage. No special treatment is accorded the bridegroom. A fourth type has been referred to as the vestigal group. Here rituals are performed with the one main objective of conforming to tribal practices. Certain practices may be saturated with particular religious connotations that are handed down through tribal ceremonies. Often these beliefs and practices have little relation to each other. They are the means of welcoming

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[6] See his account in *Adolescence,* 1904, Vol. 2, Chap. XIII, pp. 233–249.
[7] R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934, p. 24.

the adolescents into adulthood without much regard as to why certain practices ever started or why they still exist.

Some informal observances of modern civilization. Probably the most noticeable of the modern practices is the introduction of the young lady into "society." This usually takes place during the latter part of the adolescent period and signifies to the world—and particularly to the young men—that a daughter is about to enter woman's estate. Frequently the initiate-to-be is given a "house" or "coming-out" party, or makes her debut at a debutante ball or similar celebration. After this period in her life the girl is allowed certain privileges formerly denied her, such as having young men call and attending dances. Yet not only do we find her appearing in formal social activities; a changed attitude is assumed toward her as well. She is now addressed as "Miss" rather than by her maiden name, except among more intimate friends; and like the maturing boy she may often be admitted to a wide variety of adult life. But these, of course, are not the only tokens of maturity in modern society. The gift of a watch, commencement (a significant term) exercises at high school, the finishing school, the linking of the self with the church—these are all more or less socialized events related to the entrance into maturity.

It has been suggested that this recognition is informal, and that the youth has not wholly put away childish things. Yet the world at large, as well as the individual concerned, is advised of a person's becoming a matured social being. On the other hand, we may not ignore the fact that practices to which we have referred are mainly those of the more financially fortunate families. A survey of the life habits of people from a lower social stratum will show that many such observances are absent, and that today there is little here to indicate to the world and to the developing youth that the adult group, with its privileges and responsibilities, is receiving a new member. Frequently the "initiation" lessons are given by uncouth and unworthy elders. Often, indeed, the home is a very poor agent for developing and setting forth a responsible social being; and as a result of its neglect, inadequacy, or general unwholesomeness, undesirable psychological traits appear in the young.

Social demands upon adolescents. Frank has emphasized the importance of social demands on the attitudes and behavior of adolescents. With the development into adolescence, the individual must face a *new self*, with added physical and mental abilities, and the emergence of the sex drive as a powerful force in his life. Also, he must learn to adapt to a society in which his role in the group has changed. New demands are made upon him. A few years ago he was excused from many acts because he was immature. Now, adults expect him to assume the role of an adult, even though he is still inexperienced in living and in participating as an adult in an adult society. Concerning the profound changes introduced at this age, Frank has stated:

With puberty comes also a profound internal change, involving novel impulses and feelings and more sensitized social reactions. Almost suddenly the individual becomes aware of the peculiar characteristics of the members of the opposite sex and consciously regards them as the focus of his or her own interests and as the source of possible embarrassments or even dangers. These changes occur in the individual with greater or less rapidity and carry significance according to the rate and magnitude of the alterations and according to the individual's own past history.[8]

It is a common observation that the adolescent is a source of perplexity and anxiety to adults, particularly to his parents and teachers. Thus, peer relations become very important at this stage, and will be given special study and consideration in Chapter 13. Pressed both internally and externally to conform to specified modes of behavior, he develops one technique for adjusting to adult demands and another technique for adjusting to the demands of his peers. There is perhaps no period of life when individuals are so frequently misunderstood as the adolescent period —the transition stage of life.

The adolescent is not only misunderstood by adults, but is also oftentimes a real problem to himself. This will be shown in the case studies presented throughout the subsequent chapters. The brief case study of Tom, with whom the writer has had a number of close contacts, illustrates this.

Tom was slightly late in reaching physical maturity, although he was above average mentally and did better than average in his school work. At the age of 15, Tom's complexion was rather poor. This seemed to bother Tom when he was around adults, other than members of his immediate family. Thus, he was inclined to avoid visitors. When his mother asked him to come into the living room to speak to guests he was quite busy. He also showed very little interest in girls. He developed a keen desire for hunting and was most persistent in his desire for a special type of shotgun. Over the mother's protest, Tom was given a repeater shotgun for Christmas. During the next several months Tom seemed to get much pleasure in going hunting with a good friend of his, a young man of about the same age level.

Most of the usual habits and characteristics common to a large percentage of adolescents were to be found in Tom. He was rather careless, but with all good intentions. He would forget to clean his gun after hunting, despite his father's continuously calling this to his attention. Tom would wear a good shirt to school and forget about his clothing and enter into some tumbling or play activities, even though his mother had warned him on many occasions about this. He would leave the lights on in the basement, although he had been reminded of this a number of times. At times he would join with the family, consisting of his father, mother, and a sister, age twelve; at other times he would prefer to remain in his room listening to the radio

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[8] L. K. Frank, "Introduction: Adolescence as a Period of Transition," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* Part 1, 1944, Chap. 1.

or to be with his friends at the movies. Just two years prior to this Tom seemed to be very fond of his father in particular and they were together a great deal. The father was perplexed when Tom no longer wished to go with him to watch a practice ball game. Tom could not understand why he was always forgetting things, and why he changed in some of his interests and activities as rapidly as he did. Thus, Tom, a normal adolescent boy, became a problem understood neither by his family nor by himself.

METHODS OF STUDYING ADOLESCENTS [9]

The interests of those engaged in scientific studies of adolescents may be classified into three groups or areas of study, although much overlapping exists between these. The three groups are: (1) Those concerned largely with growth and development; (2) those dealing with behavior, interests, and personality characteristics of adolescents; and (3) those concerned with the influences of the various institutions and social agencies upon the lives of adolescents. The variety of problems involved in the study of adolescents and the varying conditions under which these problems are studied call for different modes of attack. The methods used by different investigators depend upon the nature of the problem, materials and subjects available, and training and experience of the investigators.

During the past several decades, considerable interest has been shown in the adolescent age, and this interest has resulted in many studies. It seems likely that most of these studies have been conducted with middle-class adolescents, and have in a large percentage of cases dealt with problems encountered at school. These and other factors found in the different studies should be taken into consideration in making generalizations. Also, the student should be warned against making too wide generalizations from his own observations and experiences. These are in all likelihood biased, since they are limited to the self and to the groups with which the subject has been most intimately associated.

Adolescent diaries. G. Stanley Hall made use of adolescent diaries for gathering data about the nature, interests, and activities of adolescents. The adolescent period is characterized by a pronounced interest in diaries of various activities. This is perhaps an important reason why high school annuals have such an appeal to high school students, and why students persist in getting statements from each other written into the annuals.

Several criticisms may be made of arriving at widespread generaliza-

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[9] A detailed presentation of the different methods of studying adolescents is beyond the scope of this chapter. For a more complete survey of methods of studying children and adolescents, the reader is referred to J. E. Anderson, "Methods of Child Psychology," L. Carmichael (ed.), *Manual of Child Psychology* (rev. ed.). New York: John Wiley, 1954, Chap. 1.

tions from a study of adolescent diaries. In the first place, they are usually written by more intelligent adolescents and thus fail to furnish data typical of the majority. In the second place, the materials are highly selective, tinged with emotion, and tend to express adolescent sentiments under emotional strain.

Retrospective reports from adults. During the past decade a number of students have made use of data gathered from adults relative to their adolescent years. The adult is asked to think back upon his adolescent years and to give some desired information. This method may be thought of as a questionnaire procedure, since it usually involves the use of questions on certain problems or areas. It seems rather safe to say that older subjects are more willing to give a true account of their adolescent years than most adolescents would be, since an appraisal of their present status is not involved. However, the problem of forgetting looms as an important source of error. Also, many of the early experiences have become highly colored during the course of years, and this causes the retrospective reports to be inaccurate. However, like diaries, these reports have some value when used with caution and understanding.

The normative survey. Much of the data available about adolescents is based upon "cross-sectional" studies. An example of the early use of this method for studying children and adolescents is that of measuring the height and weight of all the children in the public schools of a particular city or area. Averages are then computed for the different age groups. When these averages are plotted on a chart and lines are drawn connecting the different points, a growth curve, which may be regarded as an average growth curve, is obtained. This makes it possible to compare the growth of an individual child with that of the average. Certain weaknesses appear in this method, however. Some of these will be presented in Chapter 3, and in subsequent chapters.

Following the development of intelligence tests, a number of experimenters began studying areas of growth other than that of height and weight. In studies of this type, groups of children and adolescents are studied or observed under somewhat similar conditions, with respect to some characteristic. Comparisons are then made between these groups, age for age, grade for grade, and the like.

Longitudinal studies. Longitudinal studies correct some of the outstanding weaknesses present in the cross-sectional method. These have been used in many recent studies of child and adolescent development. The normative-survey (referred to also as cross-sectional) method furnishes data that make it possible to construct growth curves for a number of developmental factors and tasks. They do not, however, furnish an accurate picture of the growth pattern or curve of an individual child. Longitudinal studies make use of repeated measurements or observations of the same individuals for relatively long periods. This method has been

used extensively in studying such problems as the adolescent growth curves for height and weight, blood pressure and pulse rate during adolescence, change of interests with adolescence, social development during adolescence, development during the adolescent years, change of attitudes, educational growth, dating activities at different periods of growth, and the like.

Although the longitudinal method gives a more nearly accurate picture of how individuals grow and develop than does the cross-sectional method, there are certain weaknesses in this method that the student should be able to recognize. In the first place, a considerable amount of time is spent in gathering data. Much of the data in school or elsewhere may not be available throughout the entire study. This, then, presents a problem of selection. Also, it is possible for a special event or condition to affect the particular group being studied, a factor that would classify the group as not typical or not representative of adolescent groups. Thus, the effect may be a result of the cultural happening rather than of the particular age of the individuals in the group. Third, the repetition of a test is likely to have its effect upon the individuals. The fact that the group is an experimental group being tested periodically is likely in itself to have some effect upon the results. Careful students of adolescent psychology should be aware of the fact that the method used in collecting information may in itself have an important bearing on the results.

The experimental method. The experimental method was introduced in early psychological studies in an attempt to make psychology an exact science. This method attempts to answer a question or solve a problem by carefully testing it out. In physics, to solve problems relative to the refraction of light, careful measurements must be made. This method of studying problems has been generally regarded as the most accurate one for arriving at their solutions. However, there are many types of problems for which this method is not suitable. Two general types of experimental methods are used in studying problems in educational and child psychology: the *single group* and the *parallel group*. The first method studies a single individual or a group of individuals under laboratory or controlled conditions. For example, if we wished to study the radio and television interests of a group of adolescents, it would be necessary to gather data regarding a group of adolescents by observations, interviews, questionnaires, or some other technique. Other adolescent problems that could be studied by this method include: (1) The effect of puberty upon pulse rate and blood pressure. (2) Change of interest as a result of certain experiences at school. (3) The relationship between emotional instability and classroom behavior problems of a group of adolescents.

The parallel group method makes use of two or more groups in studying a problem. The parallel groups should be equivalent except for the factor being studied. Problems in adolescent psychology that have been

studied by this method include: (1) The relative effects of puberty upon the interests and behavior of adolescents. (2) A comparison of the influence of autocratic and democratic leadership upon the behavior and activities of adolescents. (3) The effects of a guidance program upon the vocational choices of adolescents.

The experimental method, like the cross-sectional and the longitudinal methods, makes use of various techniques for gathering data on adolescents. The techniques most commonly used for gathering data include observations, the written questionnaire, personal interviews, tests and rating devices, anecdotes, and projective techniques.

The clinical method. The clinical method is of an intensive nature. This method studies a single individual, intensively, by all the means available. This is usually known as a case study. The complete cycle of a case study includes:

(1) Determination of the status of the phenomenon under investigation.

(2) Collection of data relating to the circumstances associated with the given phenomenon.

(3) Identification of the causal factors.

(4) Application of remedial measures.

(5) Follow-up to determine the effectiveness of the corrective measure.[10]

The following problem cases are among those suitable for study by the clinical procedure: (1) The withdrawal or shy adolescent. (2) The juvenile delinquent. (3) The educationally retarded adolescent. (4) The socially maladjusted adolescent.

Each of these techniques has its place in research but, at the same time, each has definite limitations. It is not the province of this discussion to present these limitations, except to point out that any technique in the hands of an individual who does not know how to use it, or to correctly interpret the results obtained from its use is of little value. Thus, each of these techniques is limited in its value not only by the nature of the instrument being used but also by the training and experience of the student using it.

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS OF ADOLESCENTS

By developmental tasks we mean those common tasks that face all individuals in a given group or subgroup of society. This has been found to be a useful approach to thinking about human development. It furnishes a framework for organizing our thinking around the growth and learning problems faced by a particular group. Although the developmental task

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[10] C. V. Good, "Methods of Research and Problem Solving in Education," *Journal of Educational Research,* 1940, Vol. 34, pp. 81–89.

concept originated in the Study of Adolescents by the Progressive Education Association, it was more clearly defined and presented in detail by Havighurst.[11] Ten developmental tasks which were enumerated and described by Havighurst are:

1. To achieve more satisfying and more mature relations with members of the opposite sex.
2. To achieve a socially accepted adult sex role.
3. To accept one's body and use it effectively.
4. To achieve emotional independence from adults.
5. To achieve assurance of economic independence.
6. To select and prepare for an occupation.
7. To prepare for marriage and family life.
8. To develop intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence.
9. To desire and achieve socially responsible behavior.
10. To acquire a set of values for use as a guide to behavior.

The young person's successful achievement of these aspects of development is essential for successful adjustment as a mature adult. Much of the materials of the forthcoming chapters will deal with problems related to the achievement of these tasks.

Accepting the physical self. Throughout the preadolescent period the child has dreams or ideas of having a face or body like a movie star or someone he knows and admires. During adolescence the endocrine system speeds up the growth of the body, body proportions change, the facial features become those of the adult, skin changes appear, and other bodily changes occur which bring the individual to the realization that he is growing up and acquiring the body and face that will be his throughout life.

The goal of the task facing him at this time is to learn to accept his physical self, to protect it along with his health, and to use it effectively. Adolescent boys are constantly comparing their height, weight, strength, and motor skills with their age-mates. An unfavorable comparison may be a source of frustration and conflict. Girls become concerned over their physical development, especially when their development does not give them the feminine appearance of their age-mates. Many problems arise because certain masculine and feminine qualities have become a part of our social culture. The adolescent boy longs for a physique which will identify him with men, while the girl makes every effort to attain the physique of the adult woman.

Achieving new and more mature relations with age-mates of both sexes. Sexual maturity is achieved during adolescence and sexual attraction becomes a dominant force in the lives of boys and girls. Social relations are affected by the degree of physical maturity attained; thus, a

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[11] R. J. Havighurst, *Developmental Tasks and Education* (rev. ed.). New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952, pp. 33–71.

slowly developing boy or girl may be dropped socially from a group of normal or accelerated developing adolescents. The keenest desire during adolescence is for group approval, which in the early part of adolescence leads to the formation of groups, sometimes referred to as gangs. At a later stage the size of the group decreases, and cliques are very much in evidence.

The task of learning to live with others of both sexes is extremely important and is given special consideration in Chapters 5 and 14. Culture sets the pattern for adolescent social relationships. Patterns vary enormously from one society to another and also between various groups in a given society. In our American society the middle class places great importance on the social success of their children. Thus, they want the friends of their children to be of the same or better social position as the one to which they belong. Since education is very important, marriage is often delayed. Marriage tends to come earliest among adolescents and youth from the lower class. Likewise many adolescents from the lower class drop out of high school before graduation and accept some type of employment.

Accepting and learning one's sex role. Another developmental task of adolescents is that of accepting and then mastering the sex role approved by society. Havighurst writes:

For boys this seems easy in our society, which offers its principal places to men. Most girls also find it easy to accept the role of wife and mother, with dependence on a man for support. But a number of girls find this to be difficult. They want a career.[12]

At pubescence the difference between the sexes becomes greater. Each sex develops characteristics either distinctly masculine or feminine, characteristics peculiar to and necessary for the role sex plays in the process of life. Sometimes girls find it difficult to determine just what society expects of them, especially in light of the fact that the role of women in our society has been and still is in a state of transition. Unlike their Pilgrim sisters, they can choose between a vocational career or marriage and a family. In our society a large percentage of girls continue to work after marriage. One study involving 6,789 high school students showed that most of them thought girls should work before marriage.[13] However, almost one-half of them felt that it is desirable for the wife not to work after marriage, unless financial help is badly needed. The results presented in Figure 1–2 show that a significant proportion of those studied felt that working after marriage for a period of time is desirable. The realities of economic security after marriage and the desire for a home

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[13] *Youth and the World of Work.* East Lansing: Social Research Service, Michigan State College, 1949.

and modern conveniences have helped to produce the trend of an ever-increasing number of married women working for pay.

Achieving emotional independence from parents and other adults. An important task faced by adolescents is that of becoming free of child-ish dependence upon the parents. The successful completion of this task is easier when it was begun during early childhood. To develop affection for the parents without continued dependence upon them is the desired goal. This task is made difficult in our society by two forces or conditions. In the first place, the adolescent desires the security that the home offers.
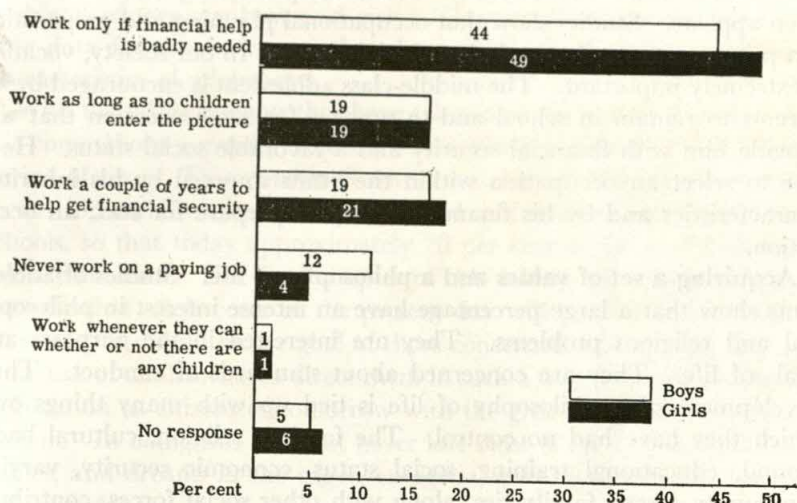
Figure 1–2. THE NATURE OF THE RESPONSES OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS TO THE QUESTION: "SHOULD GIRLS WORK FOR PAY OUTSIDE THE HOME AFTER MARRIAGE?" (*Youth and the World of Work*)

Second, the parent is fearful of the consequences following his breaking away from home ties. In some cases parents are motivated by selfishness in that they are afraid that they may lose their sons or daughters. Other parents are concerned over the problems faced by their adolescent sons or daughters in their efforts to adjust to varying problems and situations in our complex society. The attainment of emotional independence during adolescence is most important. Adults failing to achieve this task during adolescent years are unable to make decisions and accept the responsi-bilities of mature individuals.

Attaining economic independence. Another task of adolescents and youth is that of attaining economic independence. This applies primarily to boys, although it is becoming increasingly important for girls. It stems from a desire to "grow up" and from a notion that the most convincing

symbol of maturity is the ability to accept responsibility for one's own behavior and economic needs.

The selection of and preparation for a vocation is a developmental task which grows in importance as the individual matures and nears the end of his period of schooling. The decisions involved determine the future life and happiness of the individual concerned. Special consideration is given in Chapter 17 to vocational guidance and the attainment of economic independence.

During adolescence there is a period of delay between the desire for adult status and its fulfillment. Thus, the paralyzing force of anxiety often appears. Studies show that occupational planning and preparation is a prime concern of a majority of adolescents. In our society, vocation is extremely important. The middle-class adolescent is encouraged by his parents to remain in school and to prepare for some vocation that will provide him with financial security and a favorable social status. He is free to select an occupation within the limits imposed by his inherited characteristics and by his financial ability to prepare for such an occupation.

Acquiring a set of values and a philosophy of life. Studies of adolescents show that a large percentage have an intense interest in philosophical and religious problems. They are interested in the purposes and goals of life. They are concerned about standards of conduct. Their development of a philosophy of life is tied up with many things over which they have had no control. The family's religion, cultural background, educational training, social status, economic security, varying community forces, family ties, along with other social forces, contribute to the formation of their life values.

Unless the adolescent develops some standard or system of values he will be without a stable guide to help him in making decisions. The adolescent, as he grows in independence, is required to make many choices. The kinds of choices he makes are extremely important in relation to his future adjustments and happiness. Much of what he does as an adult and a citizen in a democratic society will be the result of his philosophy of life as developed during the adolescent years.

SUMMARY

Since the first appearance of the momentous work of G. Stanley Hall, much has been written and said about the age of adolescence. There are many who would consider this period of life as separate and distinct from other periods, holding it up as a dramatic stage that justifies all the phrases and titles that have been built up around it. We hear the expressions "Flaming Youth," "Coming-Out Parties," "The Age of Accountability," and the like. These are merely terms used to express ideas

formerly conceived of in connection with various pubic ceremonies. The importance of this transition period was recognized by the early primitive tribes, but the conception of the nature of the transition has not always been in harmony with the notions presented by modern students of adolescent psychology. The notion that the adolescent age is a problem age is seriously open to question. It appears, rather, that this is an age when the individual is confronted with many problems, resulting largely from social and economic demands of a particular culture.

Students of adolescent psychology have made use of various methods and techniques for gathering data on the development, activities, and problems of teen-age boys and girls. These studies have provided valuable data for use in interpreting the growth, development, and special characteristics of adolescents.

With the advancements that have taken place in our social order, there has come about a greater necessity for continuing schooling over a longer period of time. This, combined with a number of other elements related to our industrial civilization, has effected an increased enrollment in our schools, so that today approximately 70 per cent of those of high school age are enrolled. The final chapter of this volume gives some notions of the role that adolescents of the present day will play in life's drama tomorrow. It should be the goal of those concerned with the direction and guidance of adolescents to direct them in such a way that they will be able to function as citizens of tomorrow with the greatest efficiency and satisfaction. In doing this we must never lose sight of the operation of issues, values, and dreams in the eager, energetic, growing adolescent boys and girls of today.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Look up several definitions of adolescence and note the points of similarity in each. (See Appendix A for a bibliography.)

2. What is meant by pubic ceremonies? Do you notice any points of similarity between the various ceremonies? Show how differences in the practices represent different folkways or general cultural patterns.

3. What factors are associated with the time of the beginning of pubescence? How would you account for the fact that pubescence is earlier today than it was a generation or more ago?

4. Look up further data on the distribution of adolescents. What factors affect this?

5. An annotated bibliography of popular literature involving adolescents is presented in Appendix C. Read one or more of these books along with your readings from this text. Note the characteristics of the individuals involved, and the problems encountered by the adolescent. Has the writer presented a description of the adolescent and his problems which is in harmony with the materials presented throughout this book?

6. Study the methods listed in this chapter for collecting data on adolescents. List several problems that would make use of each of these methods.

7. What are some of the causes that have led some to think of adolescence as a "storm and stress" period of life? Do you find evidences for this in a consideration of your own adolescent years?

8. Some have suggested that the period of adolescence could be made less trying by relieving sex taboos and encouraging earlier marriages along the lines followed in Samoa, as described by Margaret Mead. Would the advantages, if any, outweigh the disadvantages? Just what would you suggest in this connection?

9. Do you think that modern society should grant all the rights and privileges of adulthood to adolescents? Give reasons for your answer.

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* A selected annotated bibliography on the psychology of adolescence is presented in Appendix A.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN ADOLESCENCE

PHYSIOLOGICAL GROWTH
AND DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION: THE NATURE AND
SIGNIFICANCE OF GROWTH

The growth of the individual from birth to maturity constitutes almost one-third of the normal life span. Genetic studies of the growth and development of children from birth to maturity have furnished valuable information about the nature of growth and the factors that influence it. The materials of the subsequent chapters are designed to give the student a better understanding of how growth takes place. Also, materials will be presented throughout this and other chapters showing the effects of various forces and conditions on growth and personality development of adolescents.

Change goes on constantly in living cells—as someone has put it, "life is a process of changing." The growing child is constantly faced with new and different environmental forces of two special types. The one is organic, and is in essence the physiological process occurring in all living organisms; energy is being made available through the metabolic processes related to food assimilation, and this is released through activity. The other force is represented by man's external environment, which continuously stimulates him to reaction. Concerning these as they relate to learning, Boswell states:

Each living organism, in relation to internal as well as to external changes and conditions, tends to maintain itself as an integrated whole, as do also social organisms and a wide range of animate things. Each is, then, not merely something happening, but is a complex, integrated, and unified system of activities. Thus, definite internal changes are taking place within each living being in accordance with its character and mode of life; and all its vital mechanisms, however varied, combine to maintain a uniform dynamic state or "field" within each individual, in the face of fluctuating conditions of internal or external stimulation.[1]

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[1] F. P. Boswell, "Trial and Error Learning," *Psychological Review*, 1947, Vol. 54,

How development occurs. In an earlier paragraph it was stated that the individual is in close touch with the environment at all times. From the moment the egg is fertilized—the beginning of the individual—until death, we may say that the person is always responding to stimuli. During his entire life he is continuously in a state of adjustment to environmental stimuli. His behavior may very well be considered as composed of a series of responses to a continuous series of successive situations.

We should raise the question of what factor or factors in the relation of the individual and his environment make for development. At present we are unable to give a complete answer to this question, and probably we will never be able to answer it as completely as we would desire. From what we know of individuals and their development, it now seems certain that they are organized through their reactions to stimuli. We frequently speak of the action of the environment upon the individual, yet we do not mean exactly what the statement implies. The individual always reacts to the stimulus. He is active toward the environment and cannot be thought of as an inert, static thing merely being impressed by its surroundings. Activity toward a situation tends to change the meaning of a situation so that it is never again the same for the individual. Not only does activity toward a situation tend to give meaning to the situation, but it develops characteristic ways of behaving—habits. It thus appears that the individual is organized or developed through his reactions to stimuli. By control of the nature of the environment, the individual's reactions—and thus his development—may be controlled.

The forces of heredity and environment are constantly operating in developing similarities and variations. It is commonly known that organisms arise through some process of reproduction, and it is with reference to this process that heredity is studied. Usually, there is a striking similarity between parent and offspring; invariably, heredity at least sets limits within which, whatever the environmental conditions may be, the individual's development will be confined.

Although it is often the custom to set the individual against environment, we find upon examination that he is in intimate relation with it at every turn; in fact, we find that only by definition can we separate the individual and his environment. There is a continuous interaction between them so long as the individual survives. Any statement regarding the individual which takes account of his biological nature must emphasize this mutual relationship. It may be stated thus: *the individual may be conceived of as protoplasm capable of maintaining itself by responding to a changing environment; during life, many of these responses become fixed or characteristic, so that we may consider an individual as a bit of protoplasm possessing more or less definite patterns of response.* Or, if

we desire to think of him purely in terms of action, we may say: *the individual is a relational sum-total of behavior patterns developed in protoplasm in response to environment*—in which sense the individual is considered neither as protoplasm nor as environment but as the result of the reaction of the one to the other.

Importance of studying physical development. Physical development has been studied by various investigators by means of repeated measurements. Through the use of this method one is able to plot individual-growth curves as well as curves for different groups that would show race or sex differences. The greatest value of this method lies in the use made of measurements when kept over a period of time: they then furnish a permanent, objective picture, and the effects of various factors on development can be studied. Such measurements give a rather reliable index of the rate and periodicity of growth of boys and girls during adolescence.

In addition to the scientific value which data relative to growth may have, there are many applications that might be made of such data to a further understanding and guidance of growing boys and girls. Thus a study of the physiological differences in the rate of development of the sexes will give one a better perspective on the earlier changes of interest among girls during their passage from childhood to more adult activities. This variation within either sex for the same age is again important in its relation to the physical education program. Still further, it appears that variation should be considered in the general sectioning of pupils, since pupils who have the same degree of physiological maturity tend to play together, being more alike in their social interests and activities. Mental-hygiene problems, behavior disorders connected with problems of discipline, pathological disturbances, and other maladjustments also can be better understood by studying the pupil's physical development. On the whole, then, the knowledge of these facts may establish one of the bases for a program well-suited to individuals' needs, permit better sectioning for extracurricular activities, and foster more harmonious social relationships.

PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGES

The momentous work of G. Stanley Hall, referred to in Chapter 1, gave very little attention to the physiological changes occurring during adolescence. This was a result of the lack of understanding, on the part of the physiologists of that time, of the differences between children, adolescents, and adults in the physiological functioning of the organism. It is generally recognized by child psychologists today that the young child is not a miniature adult; likewise, that the adolescent is neither a child nor an adult in his physiological reactions. Adolescence was referred to in Chapter 1 as a transition age—as a period of physiological

and behavioral changes. This concept will be clarified in the discussions throughout the remainder of this chapter, which deals with various physiological changes occurring during adolescence and the effects of these changes on the activities of the adolescent.

Studying physiological changes. The problem of determining the degree and nature of physiological changes occurring during adolescence is one of the main concerns of this chapter. Children and adolescents frequently suffer from the "tyranny of the norm." The materials presented throughout this chapter are not given for the purpose of providing a standard by means of which to judge the physiological development of the individual. A recognition of the wide individual differences in the time of the onset of puberty and the rates of changes produced in the organs of the body should temper the acceptance of the averages given and emphasize the extent to which many boys and girls vary from the average and still stay within the realm of "normal" development.

Physiological measurements are not as easily determined as height, weight, eruption of the permanent teeth, and body build measurements. The pulse rate is one of the easiest of the physiological measurements to be made, while the basal metabolic rate requires laboratory procedure for its measurement. Another measure referred to in this chapter is that of blood pressure. A study of glandular secretions at the different age levels, although valuable as a basis for determining the status of sexual development, requires the services of a laboratory technician. Also, the results secured from physiological measurements are influenced by a great number of conditions both inside and outside the body. Thus, if results are to be obtained which will be comparable with results obtained at another period, careful controls must be established over the subjects for a period of 12 or more hours prior to the measurements. These difficulties in securing reliable and interpretable data account for the small number of longitudinal studies conducted on physiological changes at the different age levels.

Endocrine factors in relation to development. Studies reveal a definite relationship between developmental changes and hormones produced by the pituitary gland. Two hormones from this gland are especially important in this connection. One of these is the growth hormone, which enables the healthy, well-nourished child to attain his normal body size. If there is a deficiency of hormones from this gland, normal growth will be retarded, and a form of pituitary dwarfism will result. On the other hand, if an excess of the growth hormone is produced during the growing period, pituitary gigantism will follow.

Another pituitary hormone of special importance in maturation is the gonad-stimulating hormone. A deficiency of this hormone during preadolescence would interfere with the normal growth and development of the ovaries or testes; whereas too much of the gonad-stimulating hormone

would tend to produce a type of precocious sexual development. The importance of properly timed action of the pituitary and gonadal hormones has been pointed out by Greulich:

If the testes or ovaries begin to function at the requisite level too early in life, growth is arrested prematurely and the child ends up abnormally short. If, on the other hand, the adequate production of the ovarian and testicular hormones is unduly delayed, growth, particularly that of the limbs, continues for too long a period and the characteristic bodily proportions of the eunuch are attained. It appears, therefore, that normal growth and development are contingent upon the reciprocal and properly timed action of pituitary and gonadal hormones.[2]

A number of studies have been conducted relating to gonadotrophic hormone secretion in children. In general these studies indicate that the excretion of gonadotrophic hormone in early childhood in both sexes is too low to be detected by the methods used; these studies indicate that measurable amounts first appeared in the urine during adolescence. Data are reported by Greulich and others on the results of 120 urinary gonadotrophin assays performed on 64 boys. Concerning the significance of gonadotrophin excretion in adolescence, they conclude:

The results show that with advancing age and with advancing developmental status there is a general tendency for gonadotrophin to increase in amount from the undetectable levels of early childhood to levels more characteristic of the adult. There is as yet no direct evidence as to the biological nature of this gonadotrophin; on the other hand, it does not seem likely that it differs from the hormone found in the urine of the adult male. The properties of hormones of this type have been described earlier, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the primary changes of puberty, namely an increase in size of the testes and the initiation of spermatogenesis, are related to the action of this gonadotrophin upon the seminiferous tubules. Secondary sex changes related to the secretion of the steroid sex hormones may be ascribed to the action of the hormone upon the interstitial gland of the testes.[3]

Nathanson and others have reported somewhat similar results.[4] Average curves for boys and girls are presented in Figure 2-1. During early years the amount of androgens secreted into the urine is only slightly less for girls than for boys. This difference becomes more pronounced after

[2] W. W. Greulich, "Physical Changes in Adolescence," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* Part 1, 1944, Chap. II, p. 16 (Quoted by permission of the Society).

[3] W. W. Greulich, et al., "Somatic and Endocrine Studies of Puberal and Adolescent Boys," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development,* 1942, Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 62.

[4] I. T. Nathanson, L. E. Towne, and J. C. Aub, "Normal Excretion of Sex Hormones in Childhood," *Endocrinology,* 1941, Vol. 28, pp. 851–865.

age 11. Before the ages 10 or 11 both boys and girls excrete measurable amounts of male and female hormones. Slightly greater amounts of the male hormones are secured from boys; while a greater amount of the female hormone are obtained from girls, although the differences are slight. After the age of 10 and beginning with the age of 11, the excretion of female sex hormones is markedly increased in girls; while the excretion of the male sex hormones by boys is correspondingly increased, but usually at a later date.

However, the function of the reproductive organs does not appear suddenly with the onset of the menarche. At the time of the first menstruation the ovarian glands have attained only 30 per cent of their mature size. Their functional efficiency is only in the process of development. A somewhat comparable but more prolonged period of sexual development occurs with boys. The adolescent must adjust to these changes in the balance of glandular secretions. Such adjustment must be continuous in nature, since the development of the reproductive powers is progressive.

The pubescent period. A review of studies citing the average age at first menstruation of girls in the United States is presented in Table 2–1. The findings from these studies disagree, sometimes to the extent of a year
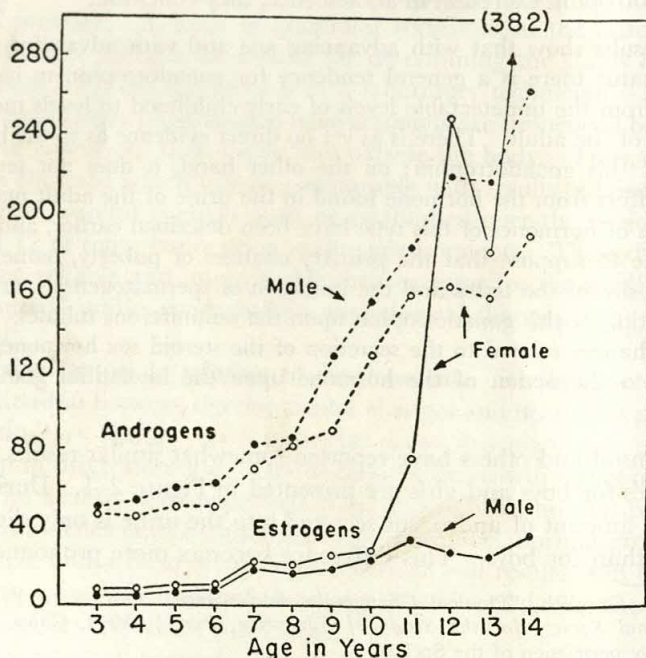
Figure 2–1. AGE CHANGES IN EXCRETION OF SEX HORMONES. THE FEMALE SEX HORMONE, PRODUCED BY THE OVARY, IS THE CHIEF ESTROGENIC HORMONE. (*After Nathanson, et al.*)

or more. Such differences may be due to the inadequacy of sampling, highly specialized sampling, or to different techniques and criteria used by the investigators. The differences may, however, reflect certain long-time trends as well as particular conditions or factors that affect the onset of pubescence. However, the great majority of girls will have reached pubescence prior to their fourteenth birthday.

Table 2-1

AVERAGE AGE OF MENARCHE OF GIRLS IN THE UNITED STATES AS REPORTED BY VARIOUS STUDIES COMPLETED SINCE 1930

Study	N	Mean in Years
Brush Foundation	200	12.6
Harvard Growth Study	248	13.0
Institute of Child Welfare (Univ. of California)	81	12.8
Hebrew Orphan Asylum	184	13.6
Horace Mann (Hebrew)	112	13.3
Horace Mann (non-Hebrew)	231	13.2
Riverdale Orphanage (Negroes)	113	13.5
Southern Negroes *	175	13.7
Northern Negroes *	609	13.35

* Refers to Negroes who were born and attained puberty in the same section of the United States, either North or South.

American girls attain puberty as early or earlier than do girls of any other national or racial group. This is borne out in the study by Mills, a study which indicates that girls from central temperate areas mature earlier than do those from colder northern or even warmer southern regions.[5] A further analysis of these data, in light of results obtained from studying the age of pubescence of children from different socio-economic levels, suggests that living conditions and standards, rather than climate, are the factors responsible for the differences in age at menarche for the different groups. Data reported by Michelson on the age of puberty among Negro girls show that in the northern sections of the United States Negro girls mature earlier than do those in the southern part.[6] In the West Indies, puberty among the Negroes occurs later than in the South of the United States. These differences are closely related to average living standards found among these different groups. A comparison of the average age of puberty for girls in the United States and Europe bears out this notion. The average age at menarche reported by Jacobson for 288 Norwegian women was 14.2 years.[7]

[5] C. A. Mills, "Geographic and Time Variations in the Body Growth and Age at Menarche," Human Biology, 1937, Vol. 9, pp. 43–56.

[6] N. Michelson, "Studies in the Physical Development of Negroes, LV. Onset of Puberty." American Journal of Physical Anthropology, 1944, Vol. 2, pp. 161–166.

[7] L. Jacobson, "On the Relationship between Menarcheal Age and Adult Body Build Structure," Human Biology, 1954, Vol. 26, pp. 127–132.

There is evidence from studies by Gould and Gould, presented in Figure 1–1, that puberty appears earlier today than a generation ago.[8] Comparisons of earlier records among Negro girls with more recent records show that Negro girls mature earlier today than formerly, with the Negro girl in the United States today maturing at approximately the same age as the white girl. In each case a wide range of differences in the age at menarche may be noted.[9] It appears then, that hereditary factors and living conditions, reflected in living standards, in a large measure account for the variations in the onset of puberty.

The problem of determining the exact age of puberty is more difficult for boys than for girls. No clear-cut line of demarcation such as that provided by the menarche in girls is present for determining the exact period of puberty for boys. Ellis reports a study that compared the percentage of Nigerian school boys with a group of boys in Great Britain who had reached puberty.[10] The Nigerian school boys represent a select group and may be thought of as having living standards comparable to boys in Great Britain. Any method of classifying boys in terms of pubescence must be somewhat subjective, since one stage of development passes gradually rather than abruptly into the next; however, the grading system used by Ellis served to separate the great majority of cases into three groups. A total of 333 Nigerian boys aged 9 to 18 were examined and compared with a control group of 662 boys examined in Great Britain. The per cents of boys graded as pubescent in each year of age are given in Table 2–2. No significant differences appear in the age of pubescence for these two groups. The median ages when 50 per cent of the boys are pubescent, or more mature, was 13.14 for the boys in Great Britain and 12.95 for the boys in Nigeria.

Blood pressure, heart, and pulse rate. The growth of the heart, like that of other organs of the body, follows a course of its own. During the adolescent years its weight nearly doubles. The growth in the transverse diameter of the heart is shown in Figure 2–2.[11] During most of childhood, boys' hearts are a little larger than girls'. However, from 9 or 10 to 13 or 14 girls' are larger, yet after 13 boys' hearts continue to grow at a rapid pace while girls' hearts grow very slowly.

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[8] H. N. Gould and M. R. Gould, "Age of First Menstruation in Mother and Daughters," *Journal of the American Medical Association,* 1932, Vol. 98, pp. 1349–1352.

[9] F. Boas, "Studies in Human Growth," *Human Biology,* 1932, Vol. 4, pp. 307–350.

[10] R. W. B. Ellis, "Age of Puberty in the Tropics," *British Medical Journal,* 1950, Vol. 1, pp. 85–96. The criteria used for grading were: *nonpubescent* when pigmented pubic hair was entirely absent and genital development infantile; *pubescent* when pigmented pubic hair and/or early but incomplete genital development was present; and adolescent or *postpubescent* when both growth of pubic hair and genital development were advanced.

[11] Based on data from M. M. Marsh, "Growth of the Heart Related to Bodily Growth During Childhood and Adolescence," *Journal of Pediatrics,* 1953, Vol. 2, pp. 382–404.

Table 2-2

PUBESCENCE IN NIGERIAN SCHOOL BOYS AS COMPARED TO A CONTROL GROUP IN GREAT BRITAIN

Age group	Per Cent Pubescent *	
	Nigeria	Great Britain
9–10	6	0
10–11	6.5	5.0
11–12	21.2	13.5
12–13	40.8	35.8
13–14	38.9	43.7
14–15	48.5	39.2
15–16	18.7	29.5
16–17	16.7	18.2
17–18	0	11.4

* The sum of the per cents for each group is more than 100, since the period of pubescence includes a period of more than one year for most of the boys. Thus, many boys are counted more than once.

The veins and arteries do not follow the same growth pattern as that of the heart. Prior to adolescence they grow quite rapidly, whereas they show little growth during adolescence, when the heart is growing rapidly.
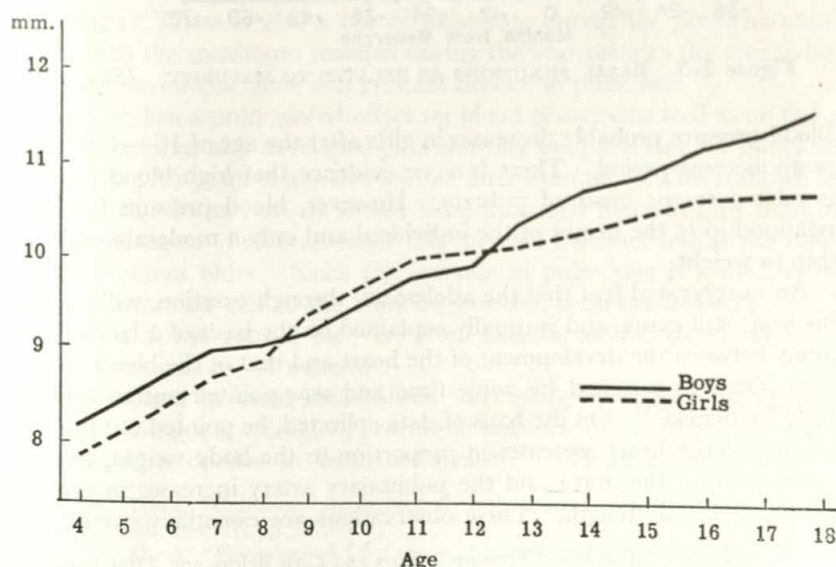
Figure 2–2. GROWTH IN THE TRANSVERSE DIAMETER OF THE HEART FROM AGES 4 TO 18. (*Marsh*)

Thus, the preadolescent may be said to have a relatively small heart with large arteries. Changes in the relative ratio of the size of the heart to the arteries during adolescence are reflected in changes in blood pressure. This is shown in the results from a study by Richey, presented in Figure 2–3.[12] During early childhood, there is little difference between the sexes, but between the ages of 10 and 13 blood pressure is higher in girls than in boys; after the age of 13 the pressure of boys exceeds that of girls, the difference increasing with age. This is an example of the general trend toward an earlier incidence of maturity among girls, a trend which has been observed in connection with other developmental characteristics.
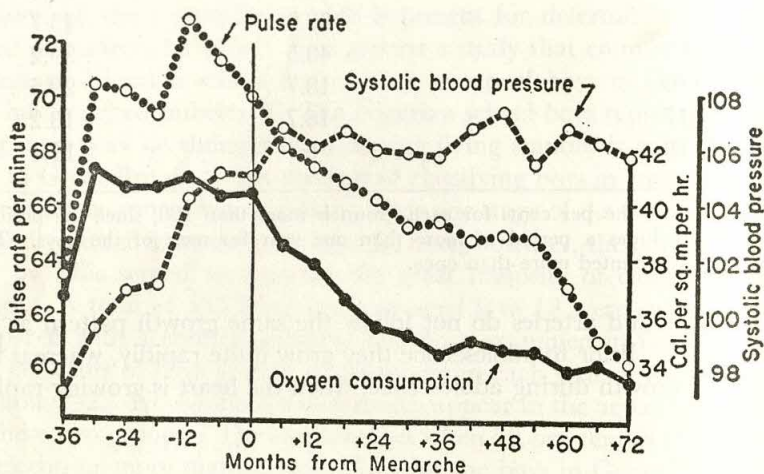
Figure 2–3. BASAL FUNCTIONS AS RELATED TO MATURITY. (*Shock*)

Blood pressure probably decreases in girls after the age of 16—during the postpubescent period. There is some evidence that high blood pressure is related to the onset of puberty. However, blood pressure has little relationship to the height of the individual and only a moderate relationship to weight.

An exaggerated fear that the adolescent, through exertion, will overtax his heart still exists, and is usually explained on the basis of a lack of harmony between the development of the heart and that of the blood vessels. This idea has persisted for some time and was pointed out as early as 1879 by Beneke.[13] On the basis of data collected, he pointed out that the volume of the heart increases in proportion to the body weight, the circumference of the aorta and the pulmonary artery increases in proportion to the body length. These observations are essentially correct but

[12] H. G. Richey, "The Blood Pressure in Boys and Girls Before and After Puberty," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 1931, Vol. 42, pp. 1281–1330.
[13] F. W. Beneke, *Uber das Volumen des Herzens und die Weite der Arteria pulmonalis und Aorta ascendens.* Marburg: V. Theodor Kay, 1879.

the interpretations and generalizations based on them are misleading. As late as 1931 a text translated from German stated:

. . . the heart of an adult man is three times the size of the child's, while the proportionate circumference of the aorta (close to the heart) remains the same. . . . We can readily see that no system of exercise can meet the first principles of practical hygiene, unless it recognizes the physiological condition described.

The volumetric capacity of the aorta and other blood vessels is proportional to the *area* of the cross section of the aorta rather than to the circumference. The cross section of the aorta is important in relation to the volume of blood.

The California Growth Studies, begun in 1932, have furnished useful and valuable data about the development and characteristics of adolescents.[14] A sample of 215 cases, selected from the fifth and sixth grades from six elementary schools, was measured in various ways every six months. These studies revealed that with the beginning of menstruation a pronounced change occurs in the trend of average growth curves of girls for a number of physiological variables.[15] The age at which menstruation first appeared was taken as a reference point, and values were computed for physiological measures at six-month intervals in each direction from the menarche. The results of this analysis for a total of 52 cases are presented in Figure 2–3. The continuous increase in systolic blood pressure ceases near the menarche and maintains a fairly uniform level after that stage. There is also a rise of pulse rate during the premenarcheal years, with the maximum reached during the year prior to the menarche. After the menarche there is a gradual decline in pulse rate.

Exercise has a pronounced effect on blood pressure as well as on pulse rate. Shock has also developed data showing the pulse rate for boys and girls 13 to 17.5 years of age one minute after exercise.[16] This is shown in Figure 2–4. Pulse rate, as shown here, increased more in girls than in boys at all ages. For both sexes this increase becomes less as the individual becomes older. Since the increase in pulse rate is a method of bringing more oxygen to the working muscles, a diminished rate would result in a slower rate of recovery from exercise as the age of the individual increases beyond maturity.

Age changes in basal metabolism. Probably the most striking nonsexual physiological change appearing at the time of the menarche is the rather sudden decline in basal metabolism.[17] There is furthermore a

[14] H. E. Jones, "California Adolescent Growth Study," *Journal of Educational Research,* 1938, Vol. 31, pp. 561–567.

[15] N. W. Shock, "Physiological Changes in Adolescence," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* Part 1, 1944, Chapter 4.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 68.

[17] N, W. Shock, *op. cit.,* Chapter 4. Shock states further:
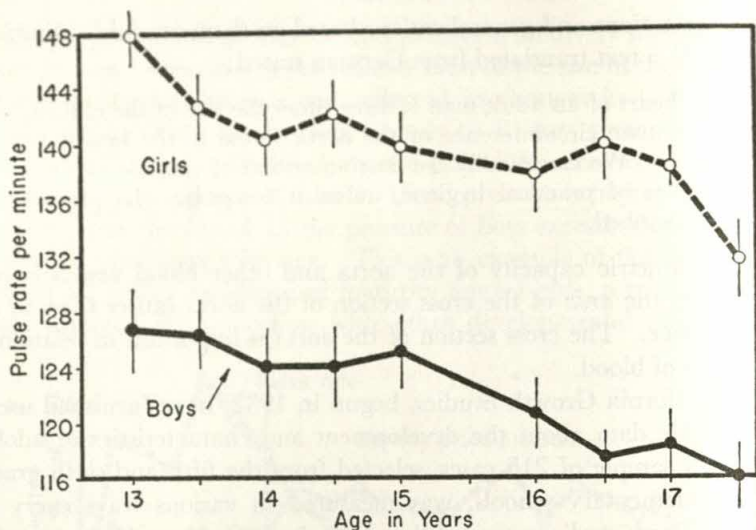
Figure 2–4. MEAN PULSE RATE ONE MINUTE AFTER EXERCISE. (*After Shock*)

cessation of growth increase in respiratory volume at this stage of development. This presents quite a contrast with the change pointed out earlier in blood pressure with age. While there is little change registered in blood pressure after the menarche, there is a continuous decrease in basal metabolism throughout the teen years for both boys and girls. This is shown in Figure 2–5, which is based upon materials from the California study. Shock points out that the individual curves are less uniform than the average curves presented. Over one-half of the cases showed a pronounced decrease, as illustrated in Figure 2–5.

Individual curves show marked increases just before or at puberty, followed by a conspicuous decrease. This is shown, in Case C9, for an adolescent girl in Figure 2–6. The adolescent decline is followed by a recovery to an adult level which is then maintained. There are, however, cases which do not conform to this pattern. Thus, predictions from

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"The basal metabolism or basal oxygen consumption indicates the amount of energy required to maintain the normal vital processes of the individual when in the 'basal' state. It has been found that this basal energy requirement is closely associated with the functional activity of the thyroid gland. When the thyroid gland is underactive the basal metabolism is reduced. In measuring basal metabolism, the subject breathes through a mask or mouthpiece so that the expired air can be collected in a large rubber bag or tank. The volume of air expired in an eight-minute period is measured and part of it analyzed for its oxygen and carbon dioxide content. Since the amount of oxygen present in the outdoor air which was breathed by the subject is known, the reduction in the oxygen content of the expired air represents the amount of oxygen consumed by the subject in the eight-minute period."

group data to individual cases are hazardous in nature. The individual slump in metabolic rate exists among both boys and girls, and should be taken into consideration by the teacher and others concerned with the guidance of adolescents. The adolescent who appears sluggish in his activities may be suffering from a low metabolic rate.
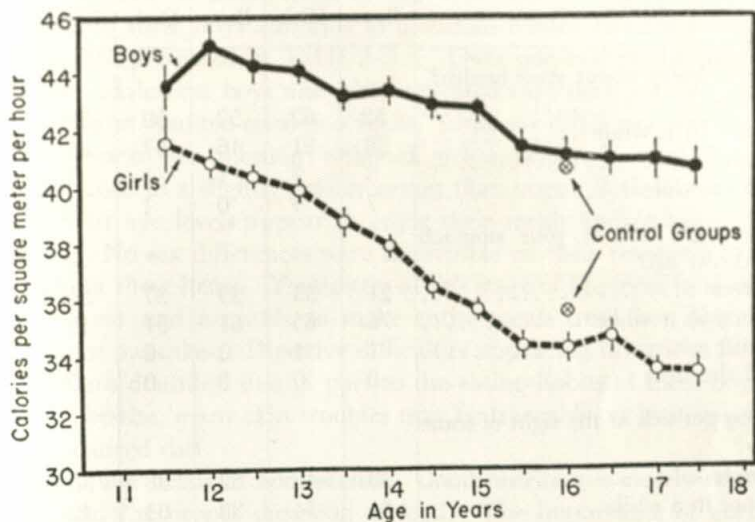
Figure 2–5. AGE CHANGES IN BASAL METABOLISM FROM REPEATED TESTS ON THE SAME SUBJECTS (SMOOTHED DATA). (*After Shock*)
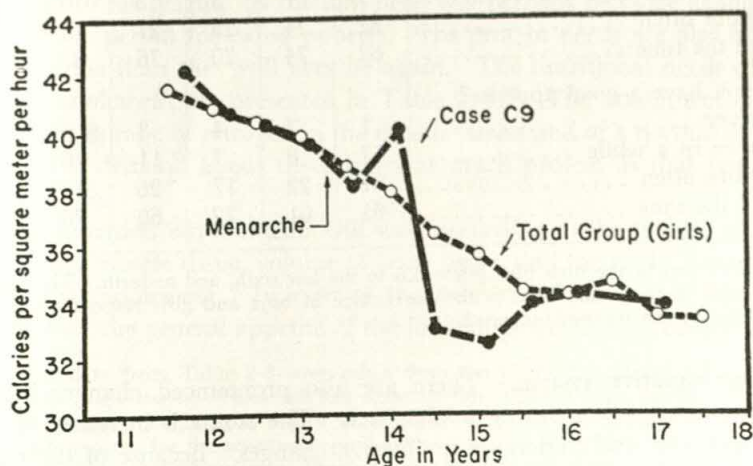
Figure 2–6. AVERAGE AND INDIVIDUAL GROWTH CURVES OF BASAL METABOLISM FOR GIRLS. (*After Shock*)

Table 2–3

RESPONSES OF ADOLESCENT BOYS AND GIRLS TO QUESTIONS
DEALING WITH THEIR HEALTH AND APPETITE

QUESTION	H5L6 *		H8L9		H11L12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Do you worry about your health?						
Never	52	62	52	50	59	54
Once in a while	38	31	46	47	38	42
Quite often	3	3	1	1	3	4
All the time	7	4	0	1	0	0
Do you get sick at your stomach and throw up?						
Never	21	33	39	37	55	50
Once in a while	76	65	61	57	45	46
Quite often	1	1	0	6	0	4
All the time	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do you get sick at the sight of some foods?						
Never	39	46	62	33	56	47
Once in a while	61	54	38	64	42	52
Quite often	0	0	0	3	0	0
All the time	0	0	0	0	0	0
Do you enjoy your meals?						
Never	3	1	3	0	1	1
Once in a while	3	1	3	3	0	1
Quite often	32	24	23	21	15	18
All the time	62	74	70	76	83	79
Do you have a good appetite?						
Never	1	7	4	3	0	0
Once in a while	7	8	7	11	6	7
Quite often	31	22	17	26	18	31
All the time	61	61	72	60	76	62

* H5 refers to the high fifth grade, L6 to the low sixth, and so forth. The figures
presented in the table refer to the percentage of boys and girls responding to the
questions in the manner indicated.

The digestive system. There are also pronounced changes in the
organs of digestion during adolescence. The stomach increases in size
and capacity and undergoes qualitative changes. Because of the rapid
growth of the adolescent, he needs more food than formerly. The in-
creased size of the stomach is perhaps closely related to his strong cravings

for food. During the adolescent years this craving persists, and it appears that adolescent boys and girls are able to assimilate amounts of food that they were unable to assimilate during the earlier years of life.

The extent to which this increased appetite is manifested by preadolescents, adolescents, and postadolescents was brought forth in the longitudinal studies of adolescents at the University of California. The responses of these boys and girls to questions related to their health and appetite are presented in Table 2–3.[18] Over one-half of the preadolescent and adolescent boys and girls indicated that they got sick at their stomachs and vomited once in a while. Little sex difference was found in the response to this question; although girls appear to become sick at the sight of foods to a slightly greater extent than boys. Both boys and girls at different age levels appear to enjoy their meals and to have a good appetite. No sex differences were discernible on their responses to questions about these items. Youngsters at this stage of life seem to always be ready to eat and are able to make entire meals from hot dogs, hamburgers, or pancakes. Digestive difficulties appearing in various forms at this age are doubtless due in part to the eating habits of these boys and girls. Likewise, many skin troubles may be traceable, at least in part, to an ill-balanced diet.

Nutritional needs of adolescents. Good nutrition is closely related to health and the proper digestion of food. The importance of adequate and nourishing food during the growing period cannot be overemphasized. The assimilation from the diet and the storage within the tissues of those food elements that make up muscle and bone will show changes that parallel the growth rates.[19] During the year when the child is adding 3 inches to his height, his calcium need will perhaps be twice as high as during the period following puberty. His protein needs are also higher at this time than they will ever be again. The nutritional needs of the typical adolescent are presented in Table 2–4.[20] The attainment of the optimum storage of nitrogen in the muscle tissues and of a normal metabolism will demand about three times as much protein as that required in adult life.

The nutrition requirements will vary according to the height, weight, volume of muscle tissue, volume of bone tissue, and metabolic rate of the individual adolescent. In case of the average adolescent, it has been found that the general appetite of the individual serves as a relative guide

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[18] The data from Table 2-3 were taken from the *U. C. Inventory I: Social and Emotional Adjustment.* There are two forms of this: one for boys, and one for girls. These present a cumulative record of a group by items for a seven-year period. Complete records for the seven-year period were available for 71 boys and 72 girls.

[19] J. A. Johnston, "Nutritional Problems of Adolescence," *American Medical Association Journal,* 1948, Vol. 137, pp. 1587–1588.

[20] *Public Health Reports,* 1955, Vol. 70, p. 176,

Table 2–4

NUMBER OF CALORIES PER DAY NEEDED BY TYPICAL ADOLESCENT
BOYS AND GIRLS, ACCORDING TO AGE *(After Johnston)*

Age (years)	Calories Required		Age (years)	Calories Required	
	Girls	Boys		Girls	Boys
10	2,000	2,000	15	2,500	3,000
11	2,100	2,200	16	2,400	3,200
12	2,200	2,400	17	2,400	3,400
13	2,300	2,600	18	2,400	3,600
14	2,400	2,800	19	2,400	3,800

to the nutritional requirements.[21]   Thus, the mother's fear that her growing adolescent boy is eating too many peanut-butter sandwiches as an "evening snack" after a hearty dinner is not justifiable.   In the well-adjusted adolescent these eating "sprees" do not produce a significant increase in the retention of nitrogen.

SPECIAL GROWTH CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMS

The skin glands.   During the adolescent years marked changes take place in the structure of the skin and in the activity of the skin glands. The soft, delicate skin of childhood gradually becomes thicker and coarser as the individual matures sexually.   There is an enlargement of the pores of the skin, a characteristic that is closely related to some of the problems of adolescents associated with skin disturbances and blemishes.   There are three different kinds of skin glands, each of which is distinctly separate from the others.   These are (1) the *merocrine glands,* which are scattered over most of the skin surfaces of the body, (2) the *apocrine sweat glands,* which are limited primarily to the armpits, mammary, genital, and anal regions, and (3) the *sebaceous glands,* the oil-producing glands of the skin.

a. *The merocrine and apocrine sweat glands.*   The merocrine and apocrine sweat glands of the armpits become increasingly active during adolescence, even before the growth of axillary hair.   The secretion of the apocrine glands is of a fatty nature and has a pronounced odor.   The characteristic odor of axillary perspiration is usually not detectable in boys prior to puberty and becomes more pronounced during the early

[21] J. W. Maroney and J. A. Johnston, "Caloric and Protein Requirements and Basal Metabolism of Children from Four to Fourteen Years Old," *American Journal of Diseases of Children,* 1937, Vol. 54, p. 29.

adolescent years. Among girls the apocrine sweat glands appear to undergo a cycle of secretory activity during the menstrual cycle.[22] This is thought to be closely associated with increased perspiration in the armpits experienced by many girls and by young women at this time.

b. *Sebaceous glands.* The increased size and activity of the sebaceous glands during puberty is thought to be closely associated with skin disturbances during adolescence. There is a disproportion between the size and activity of these glands and the size of the gland ducts during puberty. When the secretion from the sebaceous glands is unable to drain properly it forms hard plugs in the pores at the openings of these glands. These are generally referred to as blackheads, and are most often found on the nose and chin. The glands continue to function, even though the opening has been blocked, and raised pimples then appear on the surface of the skin.

The sebaceous glands are also associated with hair follicles, and are absent from the skin in some regions where there is a lack of hair, such as on the palms of the hands. During puberty the sebaceous glands are associated with disproportionately small hairs. This causes a temporary maladjustment, and is regarded as the major reason for acne. There is some evidence that an excess of male hormones may be an important factor in the causation of acne.

Distribution of subcutaneous fat. During childhood there is a pronounced reduction in the amount of fat over the thorax, abdomen, and back. However, this undergoes a gradual increase after about the tenth year in boys. This reduction is less marked in girls, the fat over the abdomen continuing to increase during childhood. In later years there appears a definite increase in the amount of fat over the back, a more marked increase over the thorax, and a still greater increase over the abdomen.

A study by Reynolds furnishes certain quantitative information about the amount and distribution of subcutaneous fat in various regions of the body.[23] Means and medians for different age levels for both boys and girls are presented in Figure 2–7. These measurements are based on results obtained from six individual tissue areas. There are, of course, some differences in growth patterns for the different areas; however, in general, the similarities are more striking than are the differences. A second observation resulting from this study shows consistent sex differences, with girls displaying a pattern of greater fat thickness than boys, in all six areas. The steady rise, during the period studied, in mean values

[22] J. Klaar, "Zur Kenntnis des weiblichen Axillarorgans beim Menschen," *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift*, 1926, Vol. 39, pp. 127–131.

[23] E. L. Reynolds, "The Distribution of Subcutaneous Fat in Childhood and Adolescence," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1950, Vol. 15, pp. 1–189.
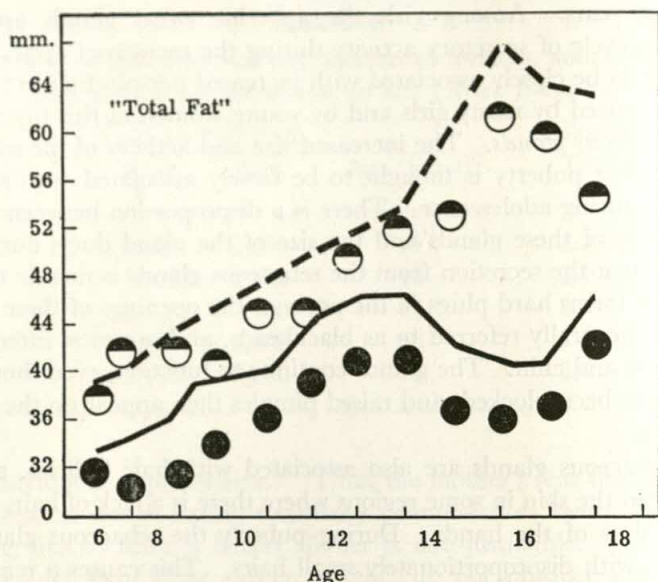
Figure 2–7. MEANS (BOYS, SOLID LINES; GIRLS, BROKEN LINES) AND MEDIANS (BOYS, SOLID CIRCLES; GIRLS, MIXED CIRCLES) FOR TOTAL FAT BREADTH. (*Reynolds*)

for girls, and the drop at adolescence in boys are in harmony with results obtained by other investigators of this problem. The drop in the curves for girls at the upper age limits may be accounted for by the small number of cases in these age groups or by the problem of selection. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence of a steady increase in subcutaneous fat tissues for girls from 6 to 16 years, while boys register a decline after the age of 13 or 14.

Changes in hair. Changes occur in the hair as well as in the skin during early adolescence. Three kinds of hair succeed each other during one's life span: *lanugo,* unpigmented hair, which appears during the last three months of intra-uterine life; *vellus,* down hair, which replaces lanugo and persists during infancy and childhood; and the *terminal,* which replaces the childhood hair and becomes the dominant type in the adult. This replacement is greatly accelerated during puberty and continues at a less rapid rate throughout adult life.

There is a distinct change in the shape of the hairline on the forehead as the individual begins to mature. This has been referred to as a secondary sexual characteristic. The hairline of immature boys and girls follows an uninterrupted bow-like curve. This is illustrated in the upper row of Figure 2–8. In the case of mature males, this curved hairline is inter-

rupted by a wedge-shaped recess on each side of the forehead. Greulich and others found this characteristic to be a late rather than an early developmental feature.[24]

a. *Facial hair.* There are no marked sexual differences during childhood in the vellus of the upper lips, cheeks, and chin. Among boys, the downy hairs at the corners of the upper lip become noticeable about the time of puberty. This development extends medially from each corner
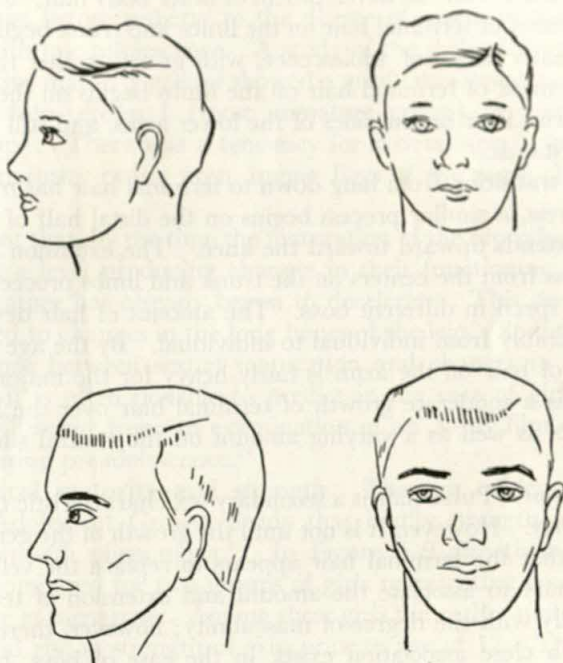
Figure 2–8. ADOLESCENT CHANGES IN HAIRLINE AND FACIAL CONTOURS.

of the upper lip, and eventually forms a mustache of rather fine hair which is perceptibly larger, coarser, and darker than the vellus hair it replaces. This change begins with puberty. The mustache becomes progressively coarser and more heavily pigmented as the individual passes through adolescence. During the period when the mustache is developing, the vellus over the upper part of the cheeks increases in length and diameter. It persists as long, coarse down until the juvenile mustache is fairly well developed. Somewhat later, a thin growth of long, rather coarse, pigmented hairs appears along the sides and lower parts of the

[24] See W. W. Greulich, R. I. Dorfman, H. R. Catchpole, C. I. Solomon, and C. S. Culotta, "Somatic and Endocrine Studies of Puberal and Adolescent Boys," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1942, Vol. 7, No. 3.

chin and on the upper part of the face just in front of the ears. These, too, gradually become coarser and more heavily developed, eventually forming a beard.

b. *Axillary hair.* The axillary hair does not usually appear until the development of the pubic hair is nearly complete. The transition from vellus to terminal hair in the axilla is quite similar to changes in hair in other regions of the body, and the amount of axillary hair appearing is closely associated with the development of other body hair. Among boys, the development of terminal hair on the limbs and trunk begins to appear during the early stages of adolescence, with growth rather rapid at first. The development of terminal hair on the limbs begins on the upper part of the forearm, later on the sides of the lower arms, and still later on the back of the hands.

After the transition from long down to terminal hair has made considerable progress, a similar process begins on the distal half of the leg. It gradually extends upward toward the knee. The extension of the hair-covered areas from the centers on the trunk and limbs proceeds at different rates of speed in different boys. The amount of hair developed will vary considerably from individual to individual. By the age of 18 or 19 the growth of hair on the arms is fairly heavy for the majority of boys. Also, there is a moderate growth of terminal hair over the legs, thighs, and buttocks as well as a varying amount on the ventral surface of the trunk.

c. *Pubic hair.* Pubic hair is a secondary sex characteristic that appears during puberty. However, it is not until the growth of the genitals is well under way that the terminal hair appears to replace the vellus. It has been customary to associate the amount and extension of terminal hair over the body with the degree of masculinity; however, there is no indication that a close association exists, in the case of boys, between the degree of masculinity in terms of sexual potency and the amount of hair on the body.

Skeletal growth in relation to sexual development. Investigations, in which the same children were observed and measured repeatedly over a number of years, have provided much valuable information about the interrelations of growth and physical maturation. This information has furnished some basis for the prediction of the nature of growth changes that are likely to take place in an individual child. Observations of growing individuals, supported by experiments on animals, indicate that the development of the skeletal structure is closely related to that of the reproductive system. Clinical studies have revealed that normal skeletal development will not occur in the absence of adequately functioning gonads. In castrated or in hypogonadal individuals, for example, skeletal development is significantly retarded and epiphyseal fusion of the bones of the limbs is significantly delayed.

A study of some somatic and endocrine changes associated with pu-

berty and adolescence among boys was carried on over a period of several years at Yale University.[25] The skeletal status of 476 private-school boys was compared with the degree of development of their primary and secondary sexual characteristics. X-ray films were made of the hand and wrist and of the elbow of each of the boys. The "skeletal age" of each boy was determined by standards of skeletal development of the regions X-rayed. These boys were divided into five *maturity groups* representing successive stages in the transition from the degree of physical immaturity that exists just before puberty to the degree of maturity that is usually associated with late adolescence. A study of the skeletal development of each of the five maturity groups showed a gradual increase in the average skeletal age from group 1 (most immature group) to group 5 (most mature group). There was a tendency for skeletal age to increase with advancing maturity rating even among boys of the same chronological age.

It is evident that, by the time the maturation of the reproductive organs has attained a level producing changes in their functioning, the rate of growth in stature has already begun to decelerate. This deceleration is closely related to changes in the long bones of the legs. So intimate is the correspondence between sexual maturation and changes in the skeletal system that it is often possible to predict in the case of girls when the menarche will occur from an examination of an X-ray film of the hand and wrist during preadolescence.[26]

Physiological maturity and strength. There is evidence from the California Adolescent Growth Study that bodily strength is associated with other growth phenomena.[27] In Figure 2–9 growth in right-hand strength is compared for two groups of girls representing contrasting extremes in age at menarche. Among these girls the earlier maturing group shows a rapid rise in strength of grip prior to age of 12. The later maturing group is relatively retarded in strength, but the two groups eventually reach the same level. The greatest increment of growth for each group occurred near the time of menarche.

Results from the Harvard growth study, reported by Shuttleworth, show that the average size of early-maturing boys is superior to that of late-maturing boys as early as age six and is maintained until the age of 18, which was the terminal point of the measurements conducted.[28] In

[25] W. W. Greulich, *et al.*, "Somatic and Endocrine Studies of Puberal and Adolescent Boys," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1942, Vol. 7, No. 3.

[26] W. W. Greulich, "The Rationale of Assessing the Developmental Status of Children from Roentgenograms of the Hand and Wrist," *Child Development*, 1950, Vol. 21, pp. 33–44.

[27] H. E. Jones, "The Development of Physical Abilities," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1944, Chap. VI.

[28] See F. K. Shuttleworth, "Physical and Mental Growth of Boys and Girls Ages Six through Nineteen in Relation to Maximum Growth," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1939, No. 3.
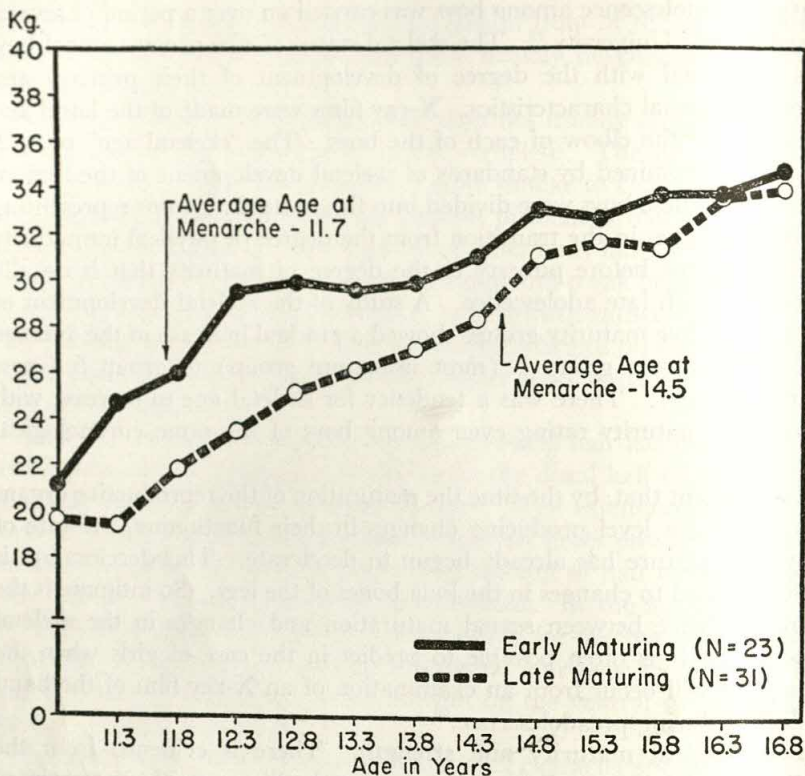
Figure 2–9. MANUAL STRENGTH DEVELOPMENT OF GIRLS IN TWO MATURITY GROUPS. (*After Jones*)

comparison with the group means for strength of grip, each of the early-maturing boys studied was above the norm in strength at ages 13 to 16; while the late-maturing boys tended to fall below the norm at these ages. The results for the boys and girls, classified as early-, average-, and late-maturing, are presented in Table 2–5. The early- and late-maturing groups represent approximately the 20 per cent at each extreme of a normal public school distribution at the different age levels; while the average group consists of those whose maturational level was approximately that of the norm for their age level. Jones states: "It is apparent that the three curves are more or less parallel, with some divergence of the early- and late-maturing groups between the ages of 13 and 15, and with a later convergence which, however, fails to bring them together at the end of the series of measures." [29] A further study of the results of Table 2–2 shows that the early-maturing girls, although superior at the age of 13,

[29] H. E. Jones, *Motor Performance and Growth.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949, pp. 56–57.

fail to maintain their superiority in the subsequent years, and actually drop below that of the average-maturing group. This is in harmony with results obtained relative to height and weight. Thus, precocious sexual development of girls appears to be associated with an early arrest in physical and motor development; this is not true for boys.

Special problems related to physiological growth. Any period of transition is likely to be fraught with problems. The physiological changes associated with adolescence present conditions the individual has

Table 2-5

MEAN SCORES FOR EARLY-, AVERAGE-, AND LATE-MATURING BOYS AND GIRLS * (K.G., RIGHT GRIP) (*After Jones*)

	Per Cent of Boys			Per Cent of Girls		
Age	Early $N = 16$	Average $N = 28$	Late $N = 16$	Early $N = 16$	Average $N = 24$	Late $N = 16$
11.0	27.1	24.0	22.7	21.1	20.9	20.6
11.5	29.3	25.9	25.2	24.4	23.2	21.2
12.0	29.3	26.9	26.0	26.1	25.8	22.5
12.5	31.3	28.4	27.0	29.1	26.8	23.7
13.0	33.3	30.4	28.1	30.3	28.8	25.7
13.5	37.6	32.5	30.0	29.3	30.3	26.8
14.0	44.2	34.3	30.2	29.7	30.7	26.4
14.5	47.1	38.6	33.3	31.0	32.2	28.4
15.0	50.0	43.0	36.3	32.5	33.3	31.4
15.5	52.2	47.6	41.1	33.4	35.2	32.7
16.0	54.3	49.0	43.9	33.4	35.8	32.4
16.5	55.9	50.9	48.4	34.7	36.1	34.4
17.0	57.2	53.5	51.3	34.3	36.5	34.8
17.5	....	55.8	54.3	33.9	37.8	35.3

* The boys are classified on the basis of skeletal maturing, the girls on the basis of age at menarche.

not met up to this time and, in many cases, is ill-prepared to meet when they appear. For the girl, the period of the menarche can be a real problem if she has not been prepared for it, or, if she is prepared, if too much concern has been given to it. There has been a tendency among some groups to overemphasize the seriousness of the changes appearing at this time—thus causing the girl to limit her activities beyond the limitations called for by these physiological changes.

Since sexual maturity occurs at such different ages, there are marked variances in the degree shown by a group of teen age boys and girls. This presents difficult adjustment problems, especially for those who deviate considerably in their sexual development from the average. The girl

whose sexual maturity occurs early finds herself in a difficult position. She is not only sexually advanced beyond that of the girls of her age, but is considerably more mature than the boys of her age group. The boy who matures early is not in quite as great a difficulty, although he is out of line with the other boys of his age level. His changing voice and increased interest in girls may bring laughter and ridicule from his less mature classmates. Likewise, the boy or girl who is late in reaching sexual maturity will not display the interest in social activities involving both sexes that is displayed by other members of the group. The boy, in particular, who is already slower in his development than girls, will now be several years behind the girls of his age group in his sexual development. This situation furnishes a source of frustration for those adolescents.

Problems of skin blemishes and acne disturb many boys and girls of this age. Also, closely related to this, is the problem of body odors. Some adolescents and postadolescents tend to go to an extreme in the use of perfumes, lotions, and other toilet articles in an effort to meet special problems appearing at this stage. The appearance of axillary hair is in some cases a source of disturbance for girls; while the lack of the appearance of hair on the arms and legs has been regarded by many boys as a weakness in the development of a masculine type. The appearance of hair on the chin and upper lip at this stage presents one more problem for the adolescent boy, which he must meet by learning to shave. Needless to say, problems related to the physiological changes have been considerably aggravated by cultural forces. These changes are inextricably related to the sex roles to be played by adolescent boys and girls. Any change that interferes with the development and assertion of the masculin role on the part of boys is most likely to be a source of difficulty; while conversely, any change that interferes with the development and assertion of the feminine role on the part of the girl is likely to be a source of difficulty.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In recent years we have witnessed an increased attention to the physiological changes that occur during the adolescent years. Since growth in height and weight are quite observable and are easy to measure, it is but natural that such measurements would have first received the attention of students of adolescent psychology. Pronounced individual differences appear in the change of pulse rate, blood pressure, and glandular secretions. Thus, it has been pointed out that it is safer to evaluate the individual's development in terms of measurements made during the growing years than to rely upon the norm or average for a large group of individuals at the different age levels.

There is ample evidence that the endocrines play an important role in the physiological changes that take place during adolescence. It may be stated that they pave the way and initiate many changes connected with the sex drive as well as changes related to physical growth. The California longitudinal studies of physiological changes and other studies provide valuable data for arriving at a clearer understanding of the nature and characteristics of these changes in relation to various internal and external forces and conditions.

In our society, many problems, interwoven with customs and conventions, emerge as these physiological changes appear. A number of the most pronounced difficulties connected with these changes that adolescents face have been presented in this chapter. As a partial summary to this chapter, it is worth while to point out that these problems are real, and are not to be ignored or to be looked upon with ridicule or scorn by adults. Owing to the transition state of the adolescent, he is not always able or ready to accept these changes.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. How is the pituitary gland related to gonadal stimulation?

2. What are some of the more pronounced physiological changes that take place with the onset of pubescence in girls? In boys?

3. Discuss the nature and amount of change in metabolism that takes place with age.

4. What are the different skin glands? Why are these especially important during the adolescent period?

5. Observe several children between the ages of eight and seventeen. What changes in the hairline appear with advancing age level?

6. Interpret the data presented in Figure 2-9 showing a comparison of premenarcheal and postmenarcheal girls in total strength. What is the general significance of these data?

7. In the light of the discussions of this chapter, what would you suggest in the way of a physical education program for girls during adolescence?

8. What factors largely determine the nutritional needs of an adolescent? Evaluate the diet selected by some adolescent of your acquaintance in the light of the needs for such an adolescent.

9. What relationship exists between the growth of the arteries, the heart, and pulse rate? How are these related to blood pressure? What sex differences have been noted?

10. List criteria useful in evaluating the physiological growth of adolescents. What uses can be made of such evaluations?

11. What sex differences appear in the growth of subcutaneous fat during childhood and adolescence? What are the social and educational implications of these differences?

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PHYSICAL AND MOTOR
DEVELOPMENT

ONE OF THE MOST apparent changes taking place during the adolescent period is the accelerated rate of physical growth that occurs just before puberty and continues at a lesser rate throughout the early years of adolescence. To the adult this growth spurt and the accompanying problems are somewhat humorous, but to the adolescent they are often disconcerting. The adolescent boy, accustomed to throwing his legs across the arm of a chair, suddenly finds the chair arm breaking under his extra weight and the dynamic movements of the legs. Zachry has pointed out how growth presents problems to the adolescent and how it becomes necessary for them to adjust to a changing self, a self characterized by an increased size and clumsiness in motor activities.[1] This chapter is concerned with the physical growth characteristics of this age and adolescent problems encountered in relation to these changes.

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT
DURING ADOLESCENCE

Physical development—methods of study. In general, three methods have been used in the study of the physical development of children. The first in point of historical interest and frequency of use is the study of weight-height-age relationships. A study of either weight or height alone gives very little information, because children of the same sex, age, race, and environmental conditions vary greatly. Weight is probably a less reliable measure of physical development than height; however, when individual measurements only are considered, it is the one more generally used. A child may become heavy simply as a result of fat accumulation with no real growth in the number of tissue cells. Or just the opposite may happen: he may lose weight because he is using up adipose tissue, while at the same time the number of tissue cells is increasing.

[1] C. B. Zachry and M. Lighty, *Emotions and Conduct in Adolescence.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940.

Measurements of height furnish a much more accurate index of growth because they really indicate growth in terms of the length of the skeleton. This measure is fallible, however, because the bones may be growing in thickness, the cavities may be decreasing in size, and chemical constituents are, perhaps, being very greatly altered.

Because physical measurements are easy to make, they offer great possibilities if carefully interpreted. It is questionable, however, whether they are worth a great deal in the hands of a poorly trained school nurse or nutrition worker. Their chief value lies in the fact that they are easy to make and are objective, thus giving the teacher or school nurse a method of detecting extreme variations from the norm. Such cases should always be brought to the attention of competent medical authorities.
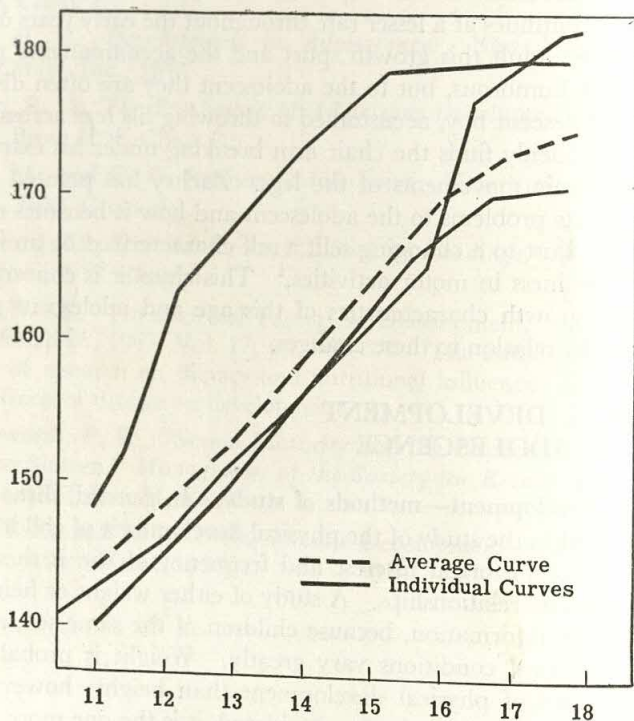

Figure 3–1. COMPARISON OF AVERAGE AND INDIVIDUAL CURVES FOR GROWTH IN STATURE. (*After Meredith*)

Baldwin and others conducted some early studies of physical development by means of repeated measurements.[2] By this method Baldwin

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[2] B. T. Baldwin, "The Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare,* 1921, Vol. I, No. 1.

was able to plot growth curves for individuals, as well as curves for the sexes and for different groups of individuals. The difference between the average and the individual growth curve for height is illustrated in Figure 3–1.[3] While this method of studying physical development is not of so much immediate practical value, measurements kept over a period of time furnish a permanent, objective picture from which the effect of various factors on development can be studied. Such measures make possible both the scientific determination of how individuals grow and predictions about future growth. They also make an intelligent system of guidance feasible.

A third method of studying development relates to measurements that give results possible of interpretation in terms of ages. There are two of these ages, the anatomical and the physiological. Some workers differentiate between these while others do not. *Anatomical age* has reference to the degree of physical development that a child has attained. It represents the point he has attained in his development toward physical maturity or adulthood. It does not have reference to size, weight, health, or strength. *Physiological age* is a term that has been largely used in connection with the development of the reproductive powers. In general, three physiological ages are spoken of: the prepubescent, the pubescent, and the postpubescent.

Growth in height and weight. Any table of averages is likely to be misleading, especially in respect to children's growth periods. Children of the same age vary enormously when measured with respect to any developmental feature. They vary not only with respect to measurements made at any given time, but with respect to the rate and progress of development as well.

Just prior to the advent of puberty there is increased growth in height. Since pubescence appears earlier for girls than for boys, this increased rate of growth occurs earlier among girls. The average age of maximum growth reported by Nicolson and Hanley is 11.5 years for girls and 13.8 years for boys.[4] This is the chronological age at which the largest increment in standing height occurs. The amount by which the growth of girls between 10 and 13 years exceeds that of boys of the same age level is a good measure of trunk growth; and growth among girls after the thirteenth year is almost entirely trunk growth.

The average increments for weight by years show a somewhat different picture. Beginning around the fifth year there is a gradual and progressive increase in gain each year. An examination of Table 3–1 reveals

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[3] H. V. Meredith, "The Rhythm of Physical Growth," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1935, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 112.

[4] A. Nicholson and C. Hanley, "Indices of Physiological Maturity; Derivation and Interrelationships," *Child Development*, 1953, Vol. 24, pp. 3–38.

that this increase is most marked at the time when the acceleration of growth in height begins.[5] However, weight cannot be used as a valid measure of growth, unless one is able to distinguish weight resulting from an increase in subcutaneous fat, or to a change in tissue hydration, from weight that reflects growth.

In addition to the increase in height and weight, there is a general change in the proportions of various bodily parts. The arms and legs

Four 12-year-olds. THE SAME IN AGE BUT DIFFERENT IN PHYS-
ICAL DEVELOPMENT AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS. (*Courtesy*
Los Angeles Public Schools)

change with the rate of growth of different parts of the body. The arms and legs grow in length and become firmer; the hands and feet become larger. The shoulders of the boy widen as do the hips of the girl, as shown in Figures 3–2 and 3–3.[6] There is further evidence that individuals who mature early tend to have relatively broad hips and narrow

[5] K. Simmons, "The Brush Foundation Study of Child Growth and Development," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development,* 1944, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 57.

[6] N. Bayley and R. D. Tuddenham, "Adolescent Changes in Body Build," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,* Part I, 1944, p. 42.

shoulders, while those who mature late have relatively broad shoulders and narrow hips. Differences in rate of growth and age of maturity affects body build, which in turn will affect the individual's activities and interests and no doubt have some bearing on personality differences. This point will be given further consideration in connection with the adolescent personality.

Height-weight charts were developed early to help determine whether or not a given child's weight is in harmony with his height. These charts, however, fail to take into consideration differences in body build. Concerning their use Simmons and Todd concluded from an analysis of stature and weight from 3 months to 13 years that, "The stature-weight relationship is shown to be too low for employment of either measure as a criterion of the other." [7] Various attempts have been made to set up standards that would take into account body build. Dearborn and Rothney devised an equation for the prediction of body weight which they found to be 21 per cent more efficient in the case of boys aged 14 to 18, and 20 per cent more efficient in the case of girls of the same age range than the ordinary height-weight chart for determining normal weight.[8]

Table 3–1

AVERAGE STANDING HEIGHT AND WEIGHT OF BOYS AND GIRLS
FROM AGE FIVE TO AGE SEVENTEEN (*After Simmons*)

	BOYS		GIRLS	
C.A.	*Height* *inches*	*Weight* *pounds*	*Height* *inches*	*Weight* *pounds*
5	43.38	42.79	43.39	42.16
6	46.15	48.22	46.09	48.26
7	48.53	54.24	48.51	54.46
8	50.91	61.65	50.89	61.90
9	53.07	68.43	53.05	69.57
10	55.27	76.84	55.29	76.09
11	57.21	85.60	57.92	88.40
12	59.38	95.17	60.46	100.44
13	61.73	105.66	61.54	110.45
14	63.17	119.06	62.84	120.16
15	67.09	132.26	63.60	126.60
16	68.39	141.91	63.87	129.83
17	69.24	147.57	63.99	134.35

[7] K. Simmons and T. W. Todd, "Stature of Well Children: Analysis of Stature and Weight, 3 Months to 13 Years," *Growth*, 1938, Vol. 2, pp. 93–134.

[8] W. F. Dearborn and J. W. M. Rothney, "Basing Weight Standards upon Linear Bodily Dimensions," *Growth*, 1938, Vol. 2, pp. 197–212.
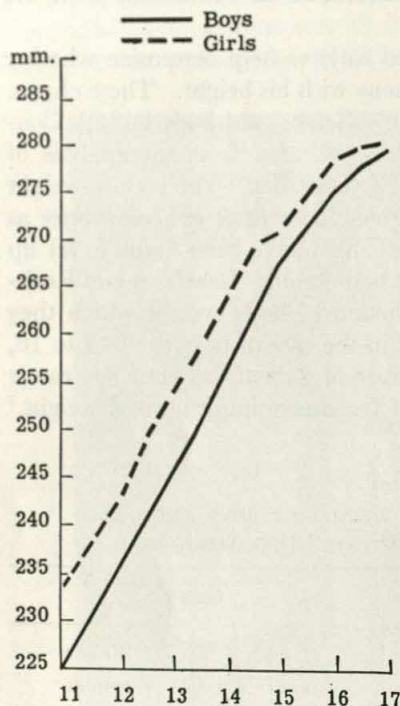
Figure 3–2. Growth in hip width.
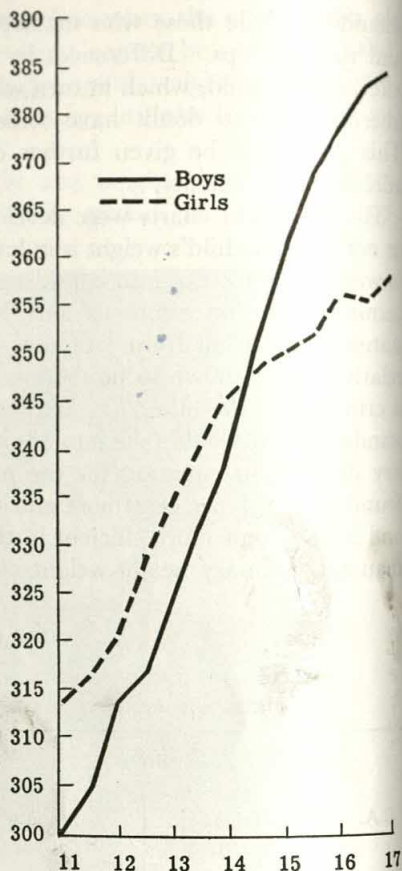
Figure 3–3. Growth in shoulder width.

A gridlike chart has been developed by Wetzel which takes into account seven types of body build.[9] The physique channels used for evaluating physical fitness in terms of body build are shown in Figure 3–4. Weight is first plotted against height in order to obtain estimates of a child's shape and size, and only thereafter is size plotted against age. This size-age relationship identifies the particular channel to which the child belongs at the moment. Such a graph furnishes a continuous basis for determining the rate and direction of a child's physical growth. Growth in

[9] N. C. Wetzel, "Physical Fitness in Terms of Physique, Development, and Basal Metabolism," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1941, Vol. 116, pp. 1187–1195. *A Physical Growth Record for Boys* and *a Physical Growth Record for Girls* has been prepared by the Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education of the N.E.A. and the A.M.A., using data prepared by H. V. Meredith of the University of Oregon.

height and weight is considered normal as long as the child advances steadily in his own channel.

Individual variability in growth. The only adequate way of finding out exactly when any acceleration in growth takes place is to secure individual growth curves for a few years before and after the advent of puberty. This was done and reported over two decades ago in a study that throws considerable light on this problem, although only 60 girls were included.[10] The greatest increase in height and weight occurred during the year before puberty. It is indeed noteworthy that the girls
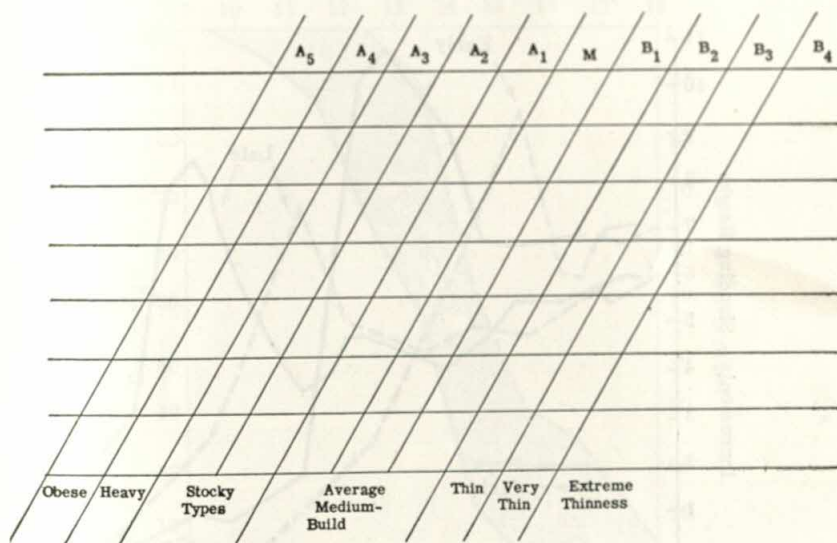
Figure 3–4. THE PHYSIQUE CHANNELS USED IN THE WETZEL GRID CHART FOR EVALUATING PHYSICAL FITNESS IN TERMS OF BODY BUILD.

who matured at 12 years or younger, at 13, at 14, or at 15 had a greater increase in weight the year before puberty than either in the second year before puberty, in the year of, or during the year after puberty; essentially the same thing is true of height. Anthropometrical data on 1,817 girls, ages 6 to 17 years, and on 1,884 boys, ages 6 to 18 years, who attended the Laboratory Schools of the University of Chicago were analyzed to compare rates of growth, weights, heights, and height-weight relationships. The subjects were divided into three maturity groups on the basis of objective criteria. General conclusions were: (1) Differences in the height-weight relationship suggested differences in the bodily build of the three groups. (2) Statements concerning overweight or underweight

[10] G. E. Van Dyke, "The Effect of the Advent of Puberty on the Growth in Height and Weight of Girls," *School Review*, 1930, Vol. 38, pp. 211–221.

should not neglect consideration of the maturity factor. (3) "Growth as measured by height and weight is slightly accelerated before puberty." (4) No significant differences were found in the heights of different female maturity groups after 15 years or in those of the different male maturity groups after 17 years. (5) Girls maturing before 13 years of age were, as a group, heavier at each age from 6 to 17 years than those who matured later, and those who matured between their thirteenth and fourteenth birthdays were heavier at all ages than those who matured after their fourteenth birthdays. (6) Boys who matured before their fourteenth birthdays were heavier than those who matured later, and
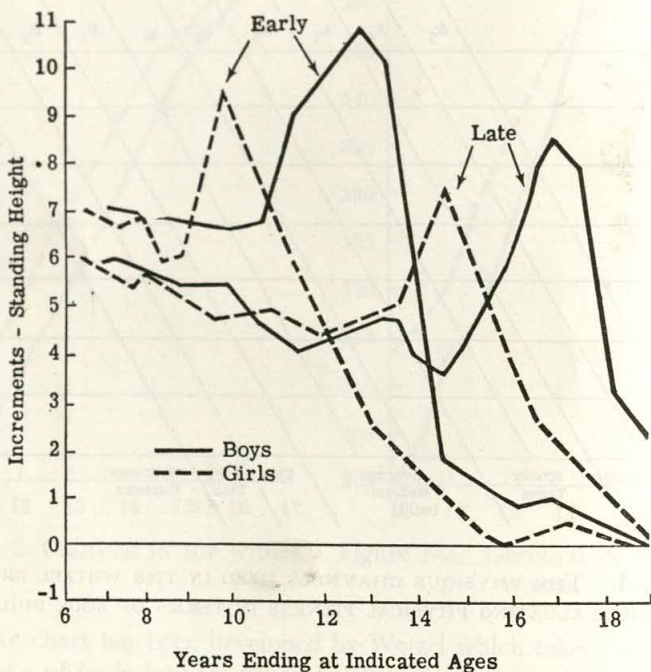
Figure 3–5. PATTERNS OF GROWTH IN STANDING HEIGHT FOR EARLY- AND LATE-MATURING BOYS AND GIRLS.

those who matured between the fourteenth and fifteenth birthdays were heavier at all ages than those who matured after their fifteenth birthdays.[11] These data are in harmony with results obtained from other studies.

Results from a study of the relationship of menarcheal age to body build of 288 Norwegian adult women showed a tendency for individuals with an early menarcheal age to develop a more pronounced "feminine"

[11] H. G. Richey, "The Relation of Accelerated, Normal, and Retarded Puberty to the Height and Weight of School Children," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development,* 1937, No. 8, pp. 1–67.

adult body structure than those with a late menarche.[12] As will be noted from an examination of Figure 3–5, those girls who reached maturity early were advanced in their growth prior to puberty and showed a greater growth increment during their period of rapid growth than did those who reached maturity late.[13] This same trend was also noted for boys. According to results presented by Shuttleworth, early-maturing boys tend to be slightly taller than the average at adulthood, whereas early-maturing girls showed a slight tendency to be short at maturity; the
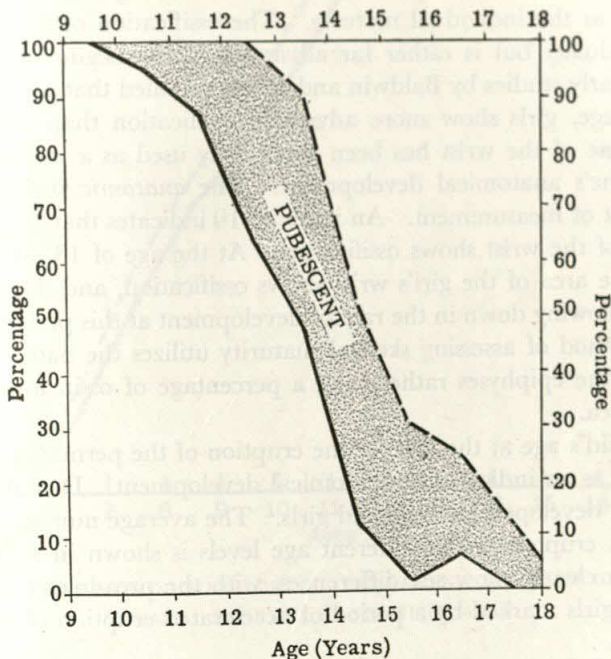
Figure 3–6. PERCENTAGE OF BOYS IN THE PUBESCENT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT IN EACH YEAR OF AGES 9 TO 18. (Ellis)

correlation between height and age at menarche is .15, which is insufficient to justify any widespread generalization.[14] Ellis found from a study of 208 boys, ages 11 to 16 years, from two residential schools in England, that differences between the growth curves for the early- and late-maturing boys could be demonstrated as far back as the sixth year.[15]

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[12] L. Jacobson, "On the Relationship between Menarcheal Age and Adult Body Structure," *Human Biology*, 1954, Vol. 26, pp. 127–132.

[13] N. Bayley and R. D. Tuddenham, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–55.

[14] F. L. Shuttleworth, "The Physical and Mental Growth of Girls and Boys Age Six to Nineteen in Relation to Age at Maximum Growth," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1939, Vol. 4, No. 3.

The distribution curve of pubescent boys showed a peak between 13 and 14 years. A further study of these data, plotted in Figure 3–6, suggests that the duration of pubescence is longer in those maturing early or late than in those maturing at the mean age.

Anatomical development. Anatomical development pertains primarily to the skeletal system, and especially to changes in the structure of the bones. With the advent of adolescence, as has been pointed out, there is an increase in height and weight. But there is a further change in the composition of the bones (of the osseous and cartilaginous materials, and so forth) as the individual matures. The ossification of the bones proceeds gradually but is rather far advanced at the beginning of adolescence. Early studies by Baldwin and others revealed that after five or six years of age, girls show more advanced ossification than boys.[16] The carpal bone of the wrist has been extensively used as a means of determining one's anatomical development. The *anatomic index* was used as the unit of measurement. An index of 10 indicates that 10 per cent of the area of the wrist shows ossification. At the age of 13, about 70 per cent of the area of the girl's wrist shows ossification, and there is a considerable slowing down in the rate of development at this period. A more recent method of assessing skeletal maturity utilizes the pattern of ossification at the epiphyses rather than a percentage of ossification of some specific area.

The child's age at the time of the eruption of the permanent teeth has been used as an indicator of anatomical development. Dental age scales have been developed for boys and girls. The average number of permanent teeth erupted at the different age levels is shown in Figure 3–7.[17] The scales clearly show sex differences, with the preadolescence of both boys and girls marked by a period of accelerated eruption of the permanent teeth.

The close relationship between skeletal age and menarche is shown in

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Excellent examples of the physical differences between boys of varying sexual maturity are presented in picture form in W. W. Greulich, *et al.,* "Somatic and Endocrine Studies of Puberal and Adolescent Boys," *Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development,* 1942. Five boys are presented, varying only from 14 years to 14 years and 2 months. The skeletal age of these boys varies from 12 years 4 months to 16 years 8 months. Also, large differences appear in body build, hair distribution, and genital development.

[15] See R. W. B. Ellis, "Growth and Physical Performance of Children in Relation to Maturity," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine,* 1948, Vol. 41, No. 6, pp. 343–348.

[16] B. T. Baldwin, L. M. Bresby, and H. V. Garside, "Anatomic Growth of Children, A Study of Some Bones of the Hand, Wrist, and Lower Forearm, By Means of Roentgenograms," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare,* 1928, Vol. 4, No. 1.

[17] C. E. Palmer, H. Klein, and M. Cramer, "Studies of Dental Caries III. A Method of Determining Post Eruptive Tooth Age," *Growth,* 1938, Vol. 2, pp. 149–158.
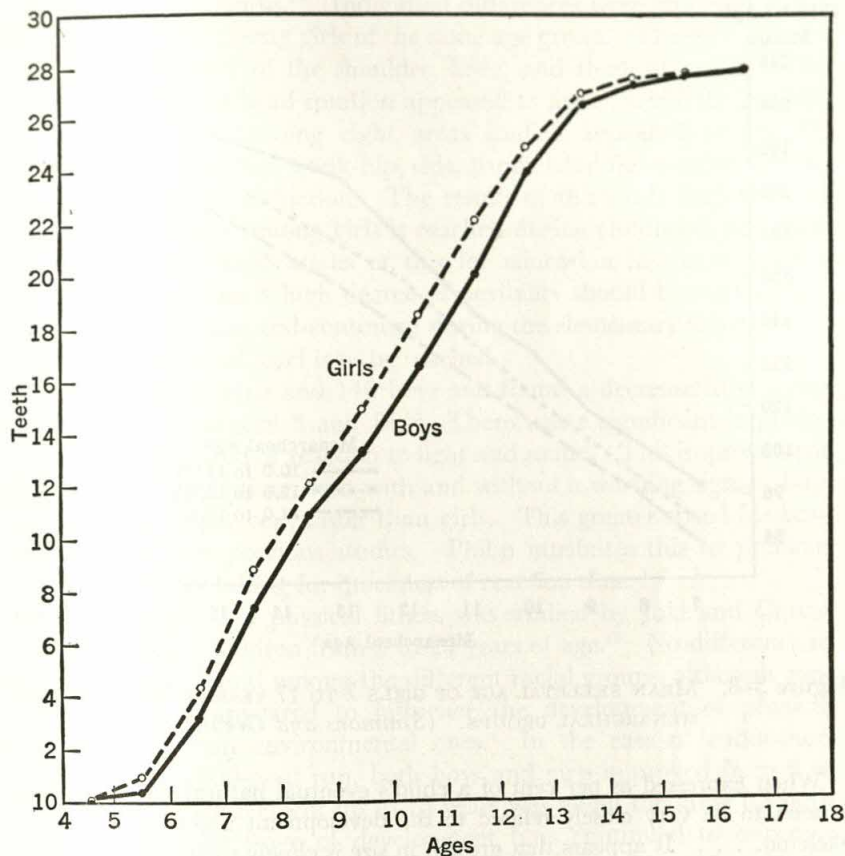
Figure 3–7. AVERAGE NUMBER OF ALL PERMANENT TEETH (EXCEPT THIRD MOLARS) ERUPTED AT SPECIFIED AGES.

a study reported by Simmons and Greulich.[18] The skeletal development of three groups of girls, similar in chronological age but differing in menarcheal age, was studied from age 7 to age 17. The skeletal development of these girls is shown in Figure 3–8. The growth curves indicate that there is a very close correspondence between skeletal development and sexual development. This correspondence may be noted as early as the seventh year. Skeletal age, therefore, may be used as a basis for predicting the sexual development of the girl. There is, furthermore, evidence that the skeletal development of the child provides a good basis for determining his general physical development and for predicting his mature size. Bayley concludes from studies at the Institute of Child Welfare, University of California:

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[18] K. Simmons and W. W. Greulich, "Menarcheal Age and the Height, Weight and Skeletal Age of Girls 7 to 17 Years," *Journal of Pediatrics*, 1943, Vol. 22, p. 548.

Skeletal Age
Months
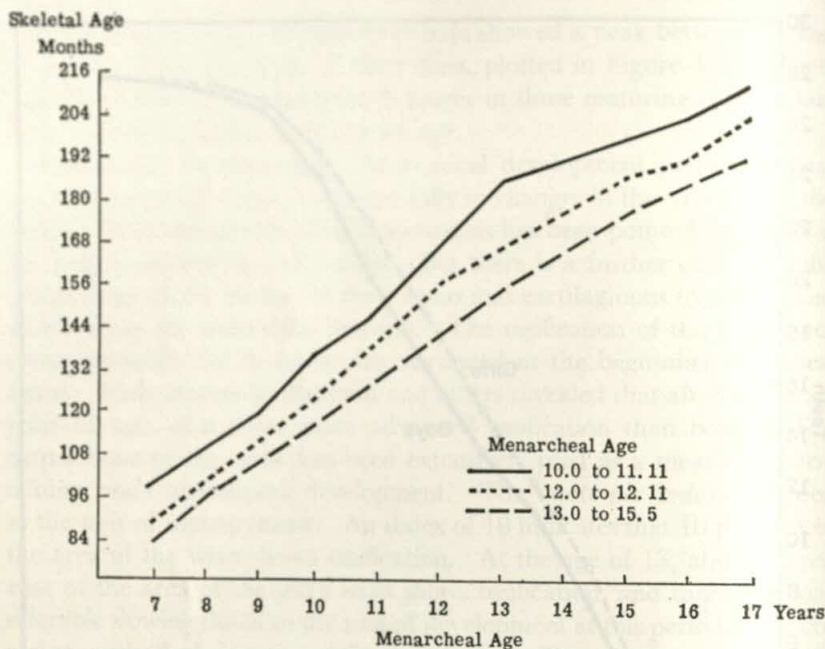
Figure 3–8. MEAN SKELETAL AGE OF GIRLS 7 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE IN THREE MENARCHEAL GROUPS. (*Simmons and Greulich*)

When expressed as per cent of a child's eventual natural size, his growth is seen to be very closely related to the development and maturing of his skeleton. . . . It appears that growth in size is closely related to the maturing of the skeleton. At a given skeletal age we may say that a child has achieved a given proportion of his eventual adult body dimensions. Consequently, mature size can be predicted with fair accuracy if a child's present size and skeletal age are known.[19]

MOTOR DEVELOPMENT
DURING ADOLESCENCE

Age and motor performance. It has been generally observed that older children are stronger and in general more proficient in motor activities than are younger children. Although strength and motor coordination appear to increase with age, there is some evidence that the bones of the body and the joint areas reach their peak of flexibility at a relatively early age. In one study measures of the flexibility of 12 areas of the body were obtained from 300 girls ranging in age from 5 years and 6 months

[19] N. Bayley, "Skeletal Maturing in Adolescence as a Basis for Determining Percentage of Completed Growth," *Child Development,* 1943, Vol. 14, pp. 44–45.

to 18 years and 6 months.[20] Individual differences were observed in the degree of flexibility among girls of the same age group. The girls showed the greatest flexibility of the shoulder, knee, and thigh at age 6. The greatest flexibility for head rotation appeared at age 9, while the greatest flexibility for the remaining eight areas studied appeared at age 12. These eight areas are hip, trunk-hip, side, trunk, head flex-tension, elbow, wrist, ankle, and leg abduction. The results of this study indicate that the peak of flexibility among girls is reached during childhood and early adolescence. The implications of this for education in motor skills is clear. Skills requiring a high degree of flexibility should be started during the preschool years and continued during the elementary school years, if the highest potential level is to be reached.

Philip tested 165 girls and 146 boys and found a decrease in reaction time between the ages of 9 and 16.[21] There was a significant improvement with age in speed of reaction to light and sound. This improvement was apparent for reactions both with and without a warning signal. Boys were from 3 to 5 per cent faster than girls. This greater speed for boys had been noted in previous studies. Philip attributes this to previous experiences of boys calling for quickness of reaction time.

The development of physical fitness was studied by Jokl and Cluver among a group of children from 5 to 20 years of age.[22] No difference in performance was found among the different racial groups, although constitutional factors appeared to influence the development of physical efficiency more than environmental ones. In the case of endurance, measured by the 600-yard run, both boys and girls improved from 6 to 13 years. The improvement up to 13 years was about the same for both sexes; but after this stage of development boys continued to improve, whereas the girls lost in efficiency, so that in the range from 17 to 20 the girls' ability was about that of 6- to 8-year-olds. This decline in efficiency was reflected not only in their running time, but was present also in their physical condition as revealed by their pulse rate, respiration, and fatigue. It seems likely that this early decline in motor ability among girls is a result of their habits and practices: that is, girls show an increased interest in social activities at a fairly early age, and a lack of interest in participating in athletics and other forms of muscular activities.

In the study by Espenschade, measurements were made at intervals of six months, and averages were determined for each half year age level.[23] These results for the 50-yard dash, the broad jump, and the distance

[20] F. L. Hupprich, "A Study of Flexibility of Girls in Five Age Groups," Ph. D. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1949.

[21] B. R. Philip, "Reaction Time of Children," American Journal of Psychology, 1934, Vol. 46, pp. 379–396.

[22] E. Jokl and E. H. Cluver, "Physical Fitness," Journal of the American Medical Association, 1941, Vol. 116, pp. 2383–2389.

[23] A. Espenschade, "Motor Performance in Adolescence," Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1940, Vol. 5, No. 1.
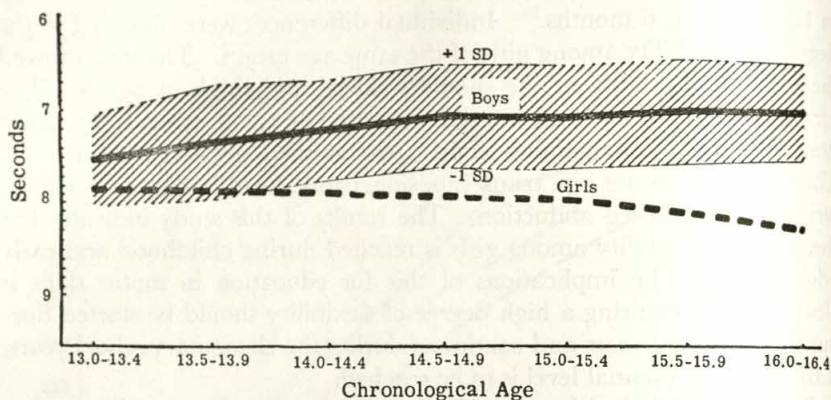
Figure 3-9. COMPARISON OF BOYS AND GIRLS ON THE 50-YARD DASH. (*Espenschade*)

throw are given in Figures 3-9, 3-10 and 3-11. On the 50-yard dash there is a continuous improvement for boys from age 13 to and beyond age 16. The best performance for the girls was reached at 13.25 and thereafter there was a gradual decline; however, the loss was slight during the next two years, but performance tended to decrease after the latter part of the fifteenth year. In the broad jump there is a pronounced increase in ability for boys from age 13 to 16.5 years. This increase was most rapid during the ages of 14 and 15. In the case of girls, a gradual and continuous decrease in ability on the broad jump test was noted from
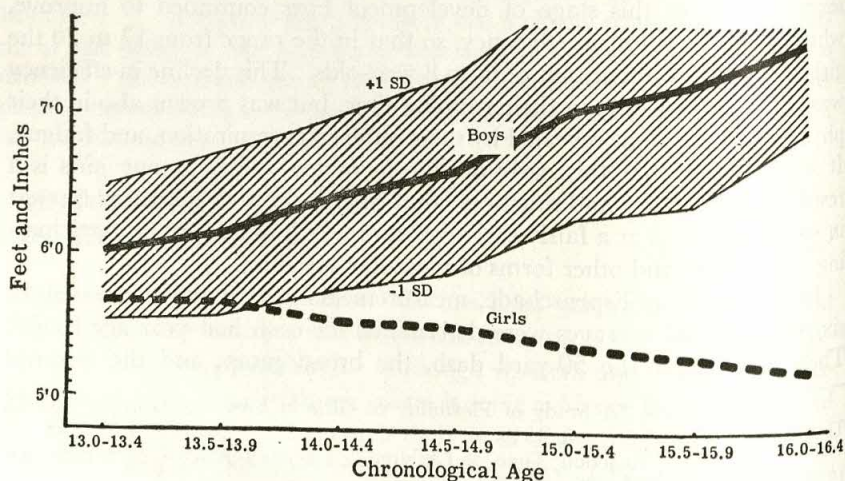
Figure 3-10. COMPARISON OF BOYS AND GIRLS ON THE BROAD JUMP. (*Espenschade*)

age 13 to 16.5. These two activities are rather strenuous in nature, and no doubt offer real problems in motivation for girls. This lack of motivation on the part of adolescent girls combined with changes in body proportion seems to provide a logical explanation for the continuous decline in these abilities among girls from age 13 through age 16.5.

Scores in the throwing events, distance and target throws, showed a continuous increase for boys from 13 through 16.5 years. In the case of girls there was a steady increase to age 14.75 and 15.25, followed by a slow but gradual decline. On the jump and reach test Espenschade re-
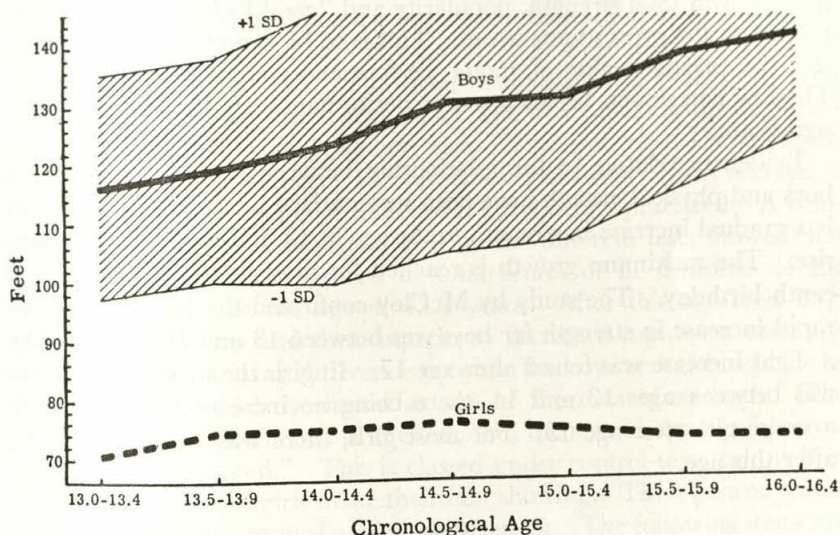
Figure 3–11. (COMPARISON OF BOYS AND GIRLS ON THE DISTANCE THROW. (*Espenschade*)

ports that the mean scores of girls were somewhat erratic but increased steadily, especially from 15.25 through 16.25 years.

The magnitude of changes in scores of boys from the fall of 1934 to the fall of 1937 (a three-year growth interval from age 13.25 to age 16.25) was negligible in the target throw. On the different tests making up the Brace test the percentage passing all tests was greater in the fall of 1937 than in the fall of 1934. For both boys and girls there was little improvement in balance during this period, and in the case of girls there was a decline in agility.

Relationship of strength to other traits. Significant relations have been reported by various investigators between dynamic and static strength and certain physical measurements. Dynamic strength refers to abilities involved in actions, such as track events, while static strength is

usually measured by means of dynamometric tests. Some interesting
similarities in the operation of these two aspects of motor performance
are revealed in the results of a study by Bower and reported by Jones.[24]
Correlations were obtained between these aspects of strength among a
group of boys and chronological age; skeletal age, based on assessment
of X-rays of the hand and knee; height; an evaluation of "good looks";
and intelligence, based on an average mental age obtained from the re-
sults of two forms of a group intelligence test. These correlations are
presented in Table 3–2. An interesting feature of the results of Table
3–2 is that while chronological age and physical measurements correlate
highest with total strength, popularity and "good looks" are more closely
related to the gross motor scores. This is to be expected, when one real-
izes the prestige value of motor performances among adolescent boys.
The low correlation between motor performances and intelligence is also
significant.

Evidences relative to the relationship between strength of adolescent
boys and physical growth have been summarized by MacCurdy.[25] There
is a gradual increase in strength to the age of 12, followed by a very rapid
rise. The maximum growth is reached for most boys around the eight-
eenth birthday. The study by McCloy confirmed the fact that the most
rapid increase in strength for boys was between 13 and 16 years.[26] Only
a slight increase was found after age 17. In girls the most rapid increase
was between ages 12 and 14, there being no increase recorded for the
average girl after age 15. For most girls, there was an actual decrease
after this age.

Table 3–2

MOTOR PERFORMANCE CORRELATIONS
WITH OTHER DEVELOPMENTAL TRAITS—BOYS

Variable	Total strength (grip, pull, thrust)	Gross motor scores (track events)
Chronological age	$.39 \pm .06$	$.18 \pm .07$
Skeletal age	$.50 \pm .055$	$.36 \pm .06$
Height	$.65 \pm .04$	$.40 \pm .06$
Popularity	$.30 \pm .07$	$.39 \pm .06$
"Good looks"	$.21 \pm .07$	$.38 \pm .06$
Intelligence	$-.17 \pm .07$	$.05 \pm .08$

[24] See H. E. Jones, *Motor Performance and Growth.* Berkeley and Los Angeles:
University of California Press, 1949, Chap. II.
[25] H. L. MacCurdy, *A Test for Measuring the Physical Capacity of Secondary
School Boys.* Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co., 1933.
[26] C. H. McCloy, "The Influence of Chronological Age on Motor Performance,"
Research Quarterly, Association of Physical Education, 1935, Vol. 6, pp. 61–64.

Sex differences. There were significant sex differences found in all the performances studied by Espenschade. These differences became greater at each age level. The most extreme recorded was in the distance throw, although differences in the broad jump became as great among the older adolescents. Sex differences in the Brace test were studied for the fall of 1934 and for the fall of 1937. In the fall of 1934, 16 of the 20 tests comprising the Brace test were passed or failed by more than 90 per cent of both boys and girls. A larger percentage of girls passed six of these tests than boys, although the differences were not statistically significant, except for one event—the agility and control test.

In order to secure additional comparable data and also to extend the age range, 325 girls and 285 boys, ages 10.5 to 16 years, were tested during the years 1943–45. The tests, comprising the Brace test, were given at school during the school day. The items making up the Brace test are classified as: class I, agility; class II, control; class III, strength; and class IV, static balance. The test consists of twenty items selected to include a wide variety of coordinations not frequently practiced. A comparison of the scores of boys and girls on the different tests showed that only slight differences appeared in total scores or in measures of the various classes before the age of 13.8 years. After this age level boys excelled in all events and their superiority increased rapidly at each age level. The most striking difference between the boys and girls was in the "push-up" test, which is classed as one of the tests of strength. The greatest similarity noted was in the test, "sit, then stand again, with arms folded and feet crossed." This is classed under control tests, and it is in this classification that girls make their best showing. Their poorest showing was made on the tests of agility and strength. The following items are given as a summary of the results:

1. The increment pattern for boys of total scores on the Brace test battery is similar to that of adolescent growth in standing height. Scores for girls show little change after the thirteenth year.

2. The stunts of the Brace test battery were placed in four general classes according to the predominant type of muscular action demanded. Additional elements necessary for performance were noted. "Dynamic balance," especially, is important in many events.

3. Boys show an increase in ability to perform events of all classes. The rate of growth is greater after 14 years of age than before and appears to be more rapid in "agility" than in "control."

4. All tests for boys in which "dynamic balance" is a factor show a marked "adolescent lag." . . .

5. Girls improve in "agility" up to 14 years, then decline. In "control" and in "flexibility and balance," little change can be seen over the age range studied. . . .[27]

[27] A. Espenschade, "Development of Motor Coordination in Boys and Girls," *Research Quarterly, American Physical Education Association*, 1947, Vol. 18, pp. 30–43.

The physical characteristics of adolescent girls are different from those of boys in that the arms and legs are proportionally shorter, the trunk larger, the pelvis broader; the femur is attached to the pelvis at an oblique angle which is a mechanical disadvantage . Studies show that strength, speed, and coordination are essential for athletic performances. The shorter legs as well as other body features handicap the girl in competing with boys in motor activities of an athletic nature. Longitudinal studies of the growth in strength of boys and girls show that as early as age 10 boys are stronger than girls at the same age level. This difference, shown in Figure 3–12, indicates that sex differences in strength increased markedly after age 14 so that by age 16 the average boy is considerably stronger than the average girl of his age level.[28]
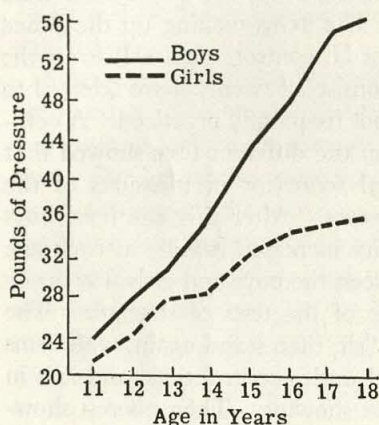
Figure 3–12. GROWTH IN STRENGTH FOR BOYS AND GIRLS AS MEASURED BY RIGHT-HAND GRIP.
(*Espenschade*)

Changes in voice. Closely connected with the question of muscular development are the obvious changes of voice in early adolescence. They are much more evident in the case of boys and constitute one of the external signs of the advent of puberty. They are the effect of the rapid growth of the larynx, or the "Adam's apple," and a corresponding lengthening of the vocal cords that stretch across it. These become approximately double their former length with a consequent drop of an octave pitch—an instance of the well-known law of physics that a taut string emits a lower tone on being lengthened. The voice of girls is not subject to such an outright transformation. In maturity, the female voice may be little lower, if at all, than it was in childhood, although it should be fuller and richer. In boys there is not only a change of pitch but there is also an increase in volume, and often the voice becomes more pleasant in quality.

It requires two or more years for the youth to achieve control of his voice in the lower register, and during that time he is often made self-

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[28] H. E. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36.

conscious by the roughness of his own tones. He is mortified by the un-expected squeaks which punctuate his bass rumblings. Such whimsical "breakings" cause him to feel that he is making himself ridiculous—an opinion that is often confirmed, unfortunately, by the mirth with which others greet his vocal vagaries.

This difference in rate of physiological maturity may be a source of anxiety to the adolescent. When Bill's pal, Henry, suddenly surpasses him in physical development, develops a bass voice, and begins to shave, Bill may wonder whether he is normal in development. This difference between his own appearance and that of his pal may become so pronounced that he finds himself seeking other pals, and may even resort to social behavior not wholly acceptable, in an effort to prove himself.

The voice change is not an accurate index for use in studies of the development of a boy, since there is no satisfactory way of evaluating it objectively. The voice change could be studied if a recording device was used for comparing the depth and other qualities of the voice at varying stages of development. In this connection, it should be pointed out that it is the progressive deepening of the voice, rather than the absolute pitch, which is significant as an indication of progress toward maturity.

It is generally recognized that the voices of young men at maturity will vary widely in pitch and other qualities. Also, pronounced differences will be found among adolescents of the same developmental level. In interpreting these differences, it should be pointed out further that there are no special relationships between the depth of voice and the degree of masculinity.

SOME GROWTH CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMS

Exercise and growth. The period of growth is associated with increased energy and vitality. Good health, vitality, and growth are definitely interrelated. These are, furthermore, based upon good nutrition, which provides the essentials for growth, activity, and the maintenance of good health. However, the teen-ager should not continuously exercise to the point where he is "dead tired" or is in a constant state of chronic fatigue. This tends to dull the personality and contributes to poor posture. Good nutrition is a strong antidote to fatigue, and operates best when it is combined with adequate rest.

Athletics plays an important role in the lives of many adolescents, particularly boys. In our modern technological society there is little physical work for most adolescents to perform. Adolescents need a balance between exercise and rest. Many adolescents display little interest in athletics and other means available for securing the exercise essential for optimum physical and motor development. There is a great need for

the school and other social institutions to give added attention to programs designed to promote the physical fitness of youth.

Competitive athletic programs do not provide the complete answer. Furthermore, when athletic contests are not controlled and directed toward the best interests of the participants, they may become harmful. It may be stated as a fundamental principle that junior-high-school boys and girls should not engage in as heavy an athletic schedule as senior-high-school boys and girls. Even in the case of senior-high-school boys and girls, highly competitive forms of strenuous activity may, when poorly administered, be harmful to physical growth and development and to alert mental activity. Junior- and senior-high-school students may get so excited over winning a game that, when they lose, an upset stomach condition, loss of appetite, or even diarrhea results. Too often the money available for physical education and athletics is spent on athletic contests which affect the physical development of only a small minority of the student body. Many schools have attempted to increase the benefits of the athletic program by emphasizing intramural contests, or by intelligent guidance of the athletic program in harmony with the best interests of the participants. The importance of a complete recreational program for adolescents will be emphasized further in connection with social growth, character formation, and juvenile crime prevention.

NEWBORN 2 YEARS   6 YEARS   12 YEARS   25 YEARS

PROPORTION CHANGING

Unevenness of growth. The outstanding feature of growth, which sometimes continues up into the twenties, lies in the pronounced changes it effects in body proportion. The diagram on this page shows the nature of these changing proportions with growth toward maturity. In the end most of the early disproportions in growth are "smoothed out," and the individual reaches normal maturity.

NEW 2 YEARS 6 YEARS 12 YEARS   25 YEARS
BORN
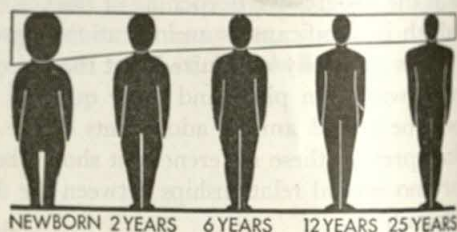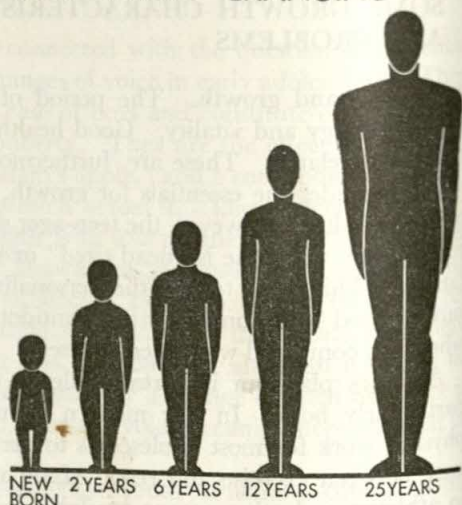
PROPORTION & SIZE CHANGING

Boynton presents thirteen measurements of growth increments for anthropometric characteristics based on retests from ages 5.5 years to 16.5 years inclusive.[29] His data show that although the 5.5-year-old boy is 65 per cent as tall as he probably will be at 17.5 years, he weighs only 33 per cent as much and has only 18 per cent of the strength of grip he will possess twelve years later. The brain of the child at birth weighs a little less than one pound. The number of cell bodies is apparently complete, and the neurones increase in size and richness of terminal ending up to the period of physical maturity. A small part of the growth of the nervous system consists in the medullation of fibers which, at birth, do not have the characteristic fatty white sheath. Medullation of cortical fibers continues through the periods of infancy and childhood, extending even into middle age. This may be important in relation to the growth in ability to deal with more complex mental processes.

With respect to weight and strength of grip, the average girl 5.5 years of age has approximately one-third of her 17-year development, but in the case of height, shoulder width, and ankle circumference she has approximately three-fourths of her ultimate development. Though the average girl is not completely developed in some respects at 17.5 years, there are certain elements of growth that are complete by the age of 15.5 years.

A further lack of uniformity in growth is in the development of lung capacity. Measurements made on groups of school children show that the increase of lung capacity is quite pronounced during the adolescent period. The greatest increase for girls occurs between the ages of 10 or 11 and 14, the greatest for boys from one to two years later. This increase, however, is considerably affected by the extent to which one engages in physical exercises. Baldwin's researches show that the physical curves for the development of lung capacity are quite similar to those for the development of weight and height in that they indicate an early preadolescent retardation followed by an increased adolescent growth. This same general curve of growth is to be found for the liver.

Tests for strength of arm, strength of back, tapping, and endurance all reveal that there is a great acceleration with the onset of adolescence. At the age of 8 the muscles constitute slightly over one-fourth the body weight, whereas at 16 they constitute approximately 45 per cent. At the age of 16 the strength of grip has become practically double what it was at the age of 11. However, following this period, growth continues for some time, but at a declining rate as the individual reaches complete maturity.

Weight modification during adolescence. The unevenness of the growth process during adolescence makes it easy to overemphasize the

[29] P. Boynton and J. Boynton, *Psychology of Child Development.* Minneapolis: Educational Publishers, Inc., 1938, p. 114.

relationship between height and weight at different levels of development. It has already been suggested that one cannot single out individuals as too fat or too thin simply by relying on height-weight charts. However, those who are obviously above or below reasonable standards for their height and age level can be shown the difference between normal variations in weight and being abnormally fat or abnormally thin. In this connection, the influences of such factors as hereditary differences, body build, and temporary glandular imbalance should constantly be borne in mind.

Any health program concerned with the improvement of health must take into consideration the weight of the individual children. A thorough health examination is essential to any efforts toward the modification of weight. Likewise, any health examination will take weight into consideration. It may be expected that 10 to 15 per cent of adolescents from an average group will require some attention to their weight. Furthermore, this problem will be found to be closely related to diet, and the problem of diet is a complicated one, since many factors enter into the eating habits of adolescents. The problem, therefore, is not always as simple as it might appear at first. It has been found that efforts directed toward the improvement of diet are most beneficial when the individual is able to record and observe his own progress. Thus, the adolescent should be given systematic guidance and instruction in methods of controlling his diet in order to improve his weight standard and reach a higher level of health.

Good posture habits. The importance of good posture habits in maintaining the organs of the body in their correct position and in enabling them to function to the maximum of their efficiency has been stressed by physicians in recent years. Posture charts have been devised, posture exercises recommended, and posture clinics held, all in an effort to provide for the development of good posture among children, adolescents, and adults. Although posture training should be begun in early childhood years, adolescence is the period when so many bad posture habits are formed. There are several reasons why this age is a period of susceptibility to incorrect posture habits. In the first place, the early adolescent years are years of rapid growth. Much of the energy from food is used up in providing for growth. Thus the adolescent seems inclined to slump from a tired feeling. Secondly, the adolescent years are active years. Adolescent boys and girls use up a great deal of energy in their social, recreational, and play activities. This, again, brings on a feeling of tiredness and the tendency to slump while sitting. Thirdly, the individual may feel self-conscious over his long legs, or general height. This attitude tends to lead the individual to assume an unhealthy posture in an effort to cover or hide his height or gangliness. This is perhaps much more prevalent among girls than among boys. If the desired habits are not

acquired during the earlier years of life, they must be learned during the adolescent stage.

Appraisal of posture. What constitutes good posture is a problem with which every school should be concerned. The examination for posture is not as simple as it was once thought to be. In the first place, most teachers are not aware of the factors involved in posture, and consider them in too limited a manner. Secondly, it should be emphasized that individual differences in body build must always be taken into account. Where teachers are available—usually teachers in physical education and health—measurements and careful evaluations based upon observations may be made by them. Where such help is not available, other avenues and means should be resorted to in order to get a more accurate appraisal of the pupils' posture.[30] In general the appraisal should include standing posture, sitting posture, and posture in walking. The most important thing about standing posture is that the individual should stand erect, with the head, trunk, hips, and legs well aligned. All children should be observed for sagging shoulders, proper standing, correct manner of walking, and lateral curvatures.

Problems related to physical development. The unevenness of growth of different parts of the body, coupled with the fact that the rate of growth and time of onset of puberty vary with different individuals, often presents difficulties and problems for boys and girls during adolescence. The degree of asynchrony of development, as between leg length and body length or hip width and shoulder width, becomes more pronounced at this stage and is itself in many cases a source of disturbance. Also, there is a lag in the increase in the size of the muscles. This presents a significant problem to many boys.

It has already been suggested that there is considerable variation among individuals of the same sex as to the chronological age at which puberty may be said to begin, the rate at which it proceeds, and the age of physiological maturity. The importance of these variations as a factor which disturbs adolescents is worthy of attention. The adolescent boy is particularly conscious about lack of height; whereas tallness may be an extremely disturbing condition for the adolescent girl. This fact is brought out in the results of a study reported by Frazier and Lisonbee, presented in Tables 3–3 and 3–4.[31] Over one-half of the girls expressed a concern over being too tall, while almost one-half of the boys were concerned over being too short. However, most of the boys and girls thought of themselves as average in maturation.

Another phase of this study dealt with the concern of these tenth-grade

[30] See C. H. McCloy, *Tests and Measurements in Health and Physical Education.* New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1939.

[31] A. Frazier and L. K. Lisonbee, "Adolescent Concerns with Physique," *The School Review,* 1950, Vol. 58, pp. 397–405.

Table 3–3

PER CENTS OF 580 TENTH-GRADE BOYS AND GIRLS GIVING CERTAIN DESCRIPTIONS OF THEIR PHYSIQUES AND PER CENTS EXPRESSING CONCERN ABOUT THE CHARACTERISTICS DESCRIBED (*After Frazier and Lisonbee*)

Descriptions	Per Cent So Describing Themselves		Per Cent Expressing Concern	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Thin	21	16	22	48
Heavy	13	30	3	55
Short	26	27	39	22
Tall	28	22	4	49
Development early	19	24	6	15
Development slow	17	13	40	36

Table 3–4

ITEMS OF SELF-DESCRIPTION CHECKED BY 10 PER CENT OR MORE OF 580 TENTH-GRADE BOYS AND GIRLS, WITH AMOUNT OF EXPRESSED CONCERN (*After Frazier and Lisonbee*)

BOYS			GIRLS		
Item of Description	Per Cent Checking	Per Cent of Concern	Item of Description	Per Cent Checking	Per Cent of Concern
Blackheads or pimples	57	51	Blackheads or pimples	57	82
Lack of beard	34	2	Heavy eyebrows	24	11
Heavy eyebrows	27	1	Freckles	23	24
Scars, birthmarks, moles	20	13	Oily skin	22	52
Irregular teeth	17	39	Scars, birthmarks, moles	22	30
Heavy lips	14	5	Glasses	21	31
Protruding chin	13	6	High forehead	19	8
Ears stick out	13	6	Too round face	19	21
Oily skin	12	27	Too homely	18	42
Freckles	12	—	Dry skin	16	43
Heavy beard	11	13	Irregular teeth	16	42
Glasses	11	23	Thin lips	15	13
Dark skin	10	4	Low forehead	13	3
Receding chin	10	4	Too long nose	11	23
Gaps in teeth	10	26	Too big nose	11	44
Too long nose	10	8	Receding chin	10	13
Too thin face	10	15	Odd-shaped nose	10	23
Too large ears	10	8			

boys and girls over facial appearance. The outstanding result of this phase of the study is that 57 per cent of both sexes testify to having blackheads and pimples. Both boys and girls expressed considerable concern about oily skin, irregular teeth, and glasses. Over one-third of the boys checked the item "lack of beard," although little concern was expressed for this. Concern is great for girls who think that they have too large a nose, who regard themselves as homely, or who think that they have dry skin.

The "sex appropriate physique" applies quite differently to girls from the way it applies to boys. Perhaps the phrase "sex appropriate face and figure" is more applicable to the girls. This is clearly differentiated from the health, strength, and muscular abilities so prominent in the appropriate physique concept among boys. For the girl too much muscular strength is regarded as undesirable, and the rugged appearance of a healthy individual is looked upon as masculine rather than feminine. Both boys and girls are in many cases frustrated because of their lack of a "sex appropriate physique" or "figure." In connection with any frustration existing, girls are more likely to do something about the condition than are the boys. This is reflected in their greater willingness to diet in order to give them a more appropriate figure. However, boys are often motivated to exert greater effort and endure continued exercise in order to develop a masculine physique. It seems likely, then, that even temporary deviations from the "sex appropriate" development may produce significant problems of adjustment for adolescent boys and girls.

SUMMARY

Growth begins with the fertilization of the egg cell, and birth merely extends the sphere of activity. There are many factors determining the nature, direction, and amount of development that will take place. Certain biological laws enable us to predict development when it occurs in average environmental conditions. Although varying circumstances may alter the direction and amount of development, it is still characterized by its unity. The growing child is a unified whole, and the nature of development of one part of the body must be considered in connection with its relation to other parts. Even though there is a lack of uniformity in the growth of different parts of the body, a continuous, interrelated form of growth is ever-present.

Height-weight charts, the anatomical index, dental age norms as well as other physical measurements have been used in the study of the growth process. Repeated measurements made on boys and girls from year to year show a distinct sex difference in the age for the onset of puberty and accelerated growth. The preadolescent decline in the general rate of growth followed by the adolescent spurt is about one and one-half years

earlier on the average for girls than for boys. However, individual growth curves show that this will vary considerably with different individuals of the same sex. There is a wide variation in the age of the onset of puberty, as well as the variation referred to in the general physical development. Variations in growth may be affected by such extraneous factors as exercise, living conditions, and diet. Since growth is affected by so many factors, it becomes very difficult to set forth simple formulae or predictive procedures to estimate it for different stages of life.

The results from the developmental studies reported at the University of Iowa, at Harvard, and at the University of California may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a period of relatively slow growth prior to the prepubertal growth spurt.

2. A prepubertal spurt in growth is from 1½ to 2 years earlier for girls than for boys. In the case of girls the twelfth year frequently is the time at which they make their largest annual gain in height.

3. A decrease in rate of growth following puberty.

4. Sufficient consistency in stature rank in the group during elementary-school years for competent prediction in the classifications "tall" and "medium," and to a lesser extent in the classification "short."

5. A seasonal variation in weight gain. In general, weight increase of children is greatest in autumn, somewhat less in summer, and least in winter and spring. Seasonal variation in height tends to favor the spring months.

6. Individual differences are prevalent and important. An individual not only differs from other children; he also is different from himself from time to time. Although there are important general trends, there appears to be slight uniformity in the development of his various traits and abilities. The result of this variability in growth is that in the intermediate grades—Grades V, VI, and VII—there are, in general, a few pupils who are still in the stage of fairly uniform rate of growth, many who are at the beginning of the prepubertal growth spurt, and a small number who have passed through the accelerating phase and are beginning to slow down in their rate of growth.[32]

Many and diverse problems related to physical growth appear among adolescents. Some of these stem from differences in rate of growth, others stem from the wide variations in abilities and appearance among adolescents, while others grow out of cultural expectations. For example, in Western civilization physical prowess and courage are expected of boys, while these are of less importance for girls. In fact, too much muscular strength and a too adventurous spirit is not regarded in many groups as the ideal for the girl.

[32] See "Pupil Personnel, Guidance, and Counseling," *Review of Educational Research.* Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association, 1939, Vol. 9, p. 148.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Consider your own adolescent years. What problems related to physical development appeared in your life at this stage?

2. Summarize briefly the sex differences presented in this chapter in motor ability at age 13.25. How would you account for the early cessation and actual decline in many cases of motor development of girls during the adolescent years?

3. What are the different methods used in the study of physical development? Give the advantages of each.

4. If they are available, study some data on physical development secured from a group of students, and note the variations existing. How do these variations relate to their interests? To their personalities?

5. In your observations, have you detected in yourself a spurt in growth with the onset of adolescence? What other pronounced changes occurred rather rapidly?

6. What is the significance of the lack of uniformity in growth discussed on pages 68 and 69?

7. What are the different methods of measuring anatomical development? Which of these do you regard as the most accurate? Which most useful in general? Give reasons for your answers.

8. What are some physical growth features that present adjustment problems for boys? For girls?

9. Miss Queen, a seventh-grade teacher in the North Street School, has been studying the height and weight of her pupils.
   a. What would you expect her to find in the way of sex differences?
   b. She finds that five boys and six girls are several pounds in weight below the norm for their height. What should be her next step? What are some factors she should consider?

10. Outline a physical education or recreational program that will reach all the boys and girls of a high school.

11. Give advantages and disadvantages of competitive athletics as an aspect of the physical education program.

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INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

INTELLIGENCE: ITS MEANING AND MEASUREMENT

During the past several decades there has been a continuously mounting tide of research on the nature of mental development. These studies, while providing valuable information about mental growth, have opened up new areas for further study. No clear-cut set of principles has been presented relative to the nature of mental growth during the adolescent years, although the results of research indicate certain characteristics of mental development. In any consideration of mental growth during adolescence, it is worth while for the student to recognize (1) that the principles of growth applicable to physical and emotional development are also applicable to mental development; (2) that mental growth during the adolescent years cannot be divorced from growth during the periods of infancy and childhood; and (3) that mental growth is an integral part of the total development of the individual.

The discussion in this chapter will be confined mainly to the adolescent stage of life, although it is widely understood that any interpretation of the mental characteristics of this period is directly related to and dependent upon the mental characteristics of childhood. Moreover, since many problems relating to mental development are strongly controversial, the materials presented here are given in the spirit of what scientific studies tend to point out. Some of the major problems to be studied are the meaning of intelligence, or mental ability; problems encountered in the attempt to measure intelligence; concepts of mental growth; development of individual mental abilities; and factors related to mental growth.

Concepts of intelligence. The concepts of the nature of intelligence held by early students of psychology were quite simple. Intelligence was conceived by many students of educational psychology as a general mental power or a multiplicity of mental powers that could be measured on a vertical scale by a single score. These scores were further transmuted

into mental ages.[1] The ratio between the mental age and the chronological age, then, provided the basis for the IQ (intelligence quotient). The IQ was, therefore, a measure of the rate of growth of mental ability, from infancy. Any significant changes in an individual's IQ from year to year were regarded as exceptions. Thus, the theory of "the constancy of the IQ" was developed and generally accepted.

Thorndike suggested that in considering intelligence three levels or kinds of intelligent activity may be observed.[2] These are referred to as *abstract, mechanical,* and *social.* Abstract intelligence is then defined in terms of one's ability to use and understand symbols such as words and ideas. Mechanical intelligence is defined in terms of one's ability to understand and deal with things and mechanical items, such as a gun or lawn mower. Social intelligence referred to the ability to understand and deal successfully with social events, particularly those involving decision-making in human relations. At a later date Stoddard offered a functional and more precise definition of intelligence as the ability to perform activities characterized by (1) difficulty, (2) complexity, (3) abstractness, (4) economy (speed), (5) adaptiveness to a goal, (6) social value, and (7) the emergence of originals (inventiveness), and to maintain such activities under conditions that demand a concentration of energy and a resistance to emotional forces.[3]

Goddard has offered a definition of intelligence in terms of the bringing together of past experiences in the solution of immediate problems and the anticipation of future ones.[4] Perhaps a distinction should be made between intelligence as an inherited potential ability and intelligence as measured by intelligence tests. Actually the only intelligence we know anything about is that manifested in some performance or on some mental test. Intelligence as a potential ability is to a large degree an abstraction. It might be more accurate to refer to an individual's intelligence test score rather than to his intelligence. Intelligence as used in this chapter and in subsequent discussions refers to that which is determined from intelligence test scores.

Mental growth. The data available about mental growth are those obtained from administering intelligence tests to the same individual or group of individuals repeatedly for a number of years. Freeman and Flory reported results from the Chicago growth study, in which tests were administered to several hundred children over a period of years.[5] Many

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[1] A child's mental age, according to the early Binet tests and revisions of his test, was expressed in terms of the average age of children making that test score.

[2] E. L. Thorndike, "Intelligence and Its Uses," *Harper's Magazine,* 1920, Vol. 140, pp. 227–235.

[3] G. D. Stoddard, "On the Meaning of Intelligence," *Psychological Review,* 1941, Vol. 48, pp. 250–260.

[4] H. H. Goddard, "What is Intelligence?" *Journal of Social Psychology,* 1946, Vol. 24, p. 68.

[5] F. N. Freeman and C. D. Flory, "Growth in Intellectual Ability as Measured

individuals were retested at the age of 17 or 18 years at the time of their graduation from the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools. Some of these were later retested in college. A composite of four standardized tests consisting of (a) vocabulary, (b) analogies, (c) completion, and (d) opposites was used. The growth curves drawn from the raw scores showed mental development continuing well beyond the age of 17 or 18 years. There was, furthermore, some evidence from these studies that the children of average ability might continue intellectual growth to a somewhat later age than the brighter pupil. This, however, is in all likelihood a result of the failure of the average environment to present opportunities for stimulation in such a way as to continue an accelerated rate of growth on the mental tests, and is in harmony with the Minnesota studies of the mental growth of children from 2 to 14 years of age.[6] According to these studies, the nonverbal tests surpass the verbal in predicting scores that will be made at a later period. In general, curves of rate of growth, based on intelligence test scores, are considerably accelerated during the early years, and show a diminishing rate from 8 to 15 followed by a rapid deceleration in rate.

Because a child develops slowly one must not conclude that he is mentally inferior. Neither should it be assumed that because he develops rapidly he is mentally superior. Children grow and develop at different rates. A superior child may be slow in getting started, while a dull child may make an impressive beginning. Children of the same chronological age may be very different in their maturational or organismic age.

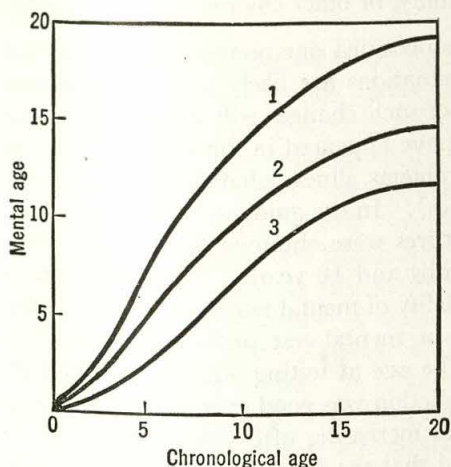Figure 4–1. THE MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF (1) SUPERIOR, (2) AVERAGE, AND (3) DULL CHILDREN.

by Repeated Tests," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development,* 1937, Vol. 2, p. 116.

[6] F. L. Goodenough and K. M. Mauer, "The Mental Growth of Children from Two to Fourteen Years: A Study of the Predictive Value of the Minnesota Preschool Scales," *University of Minnesota Child Welfare Monograph Series,* 1942, No. 19.

However, the mental development of superior, average, and backward children tends to conform to the growth surveys shown in Figure 4–1. Note that differences become greater with increased chronological age. The backward child becomes more inferior, when compared to the average, as he gets older, and the superior child becomes even more superior.

Constancy of mental growth. There has been much controversy over the general nature of mental growth curves. This has centered around the constancy of the ratio of mental age to the chronological age. The IQ, as previously noted, is determined by dividing the individual's mental age by his chronological age. The mental age thus becomes the unit for measuring mental development, and mental growth curves are usually plotted in terms of the mental age. According to early studies there appears to be a great deal of uniformity and a general continuity of growth, as is further shown by the correlation method. Recent studies offer evidence that mental growth is affected by a number of factors. Terman retested gifted children after a six-year interval, and concluded as follows:

Making due allowances for complicating factors in measuring IQ constancy, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that there are individual children in our gifted group who have shown very marked changes in IQ. Some of these changes have been in the direction of IQ increase, others of them in the direction of decrease. The important fact which seems to have been definitely established is that there sometimes occur genuine changes in the rate of intellectual growth which cannot be accounted for on the basis of general health, educational opportunity, or other environmental influences.[7]

Correlations between test scores obtained one or more years apart are far from perfect. Significant fluctuations are likely to occur in a large percentage of cases. The extent of such changes will depend upon such factors as the circumstances that have appeared in the child's life during the interim (such as emotional problems, illness, change of environment, opportunity for schooling, dynamics). In the guidance study at the University of California mental test scores were obtained upon 252 children at specified ages between 21 months and 18 years.[8] These scores were analyzed to show the extent of stability of mental test performance during this age period. The constancy of mental test performances of these children depended in part upon the age at testing and the length of interval between tests. That is, prediction was good over short age periods with the predictive value of scores increasing after the preschool years. A study of individual cases showed that the IQ's of about 60 per cent of the group changed 15 or more points. The IQ's of 9 per cent changed

[7] L. M. Terman, *Genetic Studies of Genius.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1930, Vol. 3, p. 30.

[8] M. P. Honzig, J. W. Macfarlane, and L. Allen, "The Stability of Mental Test Performance Between Two and Eighteen Years," *The Journal of Experimental Education,* 1948, Vol. 17, pp. 309–324.

30 or more points. Illustrative cases of results on repeated measurements of the same individuals are presented in Figure 4–2. These show the great amount of instability of IQ's during the early years. Prediction of IQ's at age 18, based on 6-year mental test scores, should be made with extreme caution.

Studies of adopted children indicate that the size of the IQ may be affected by the type of environment represented in the foster home. Skodak has sought to extend the facts relating to the growth of intelligence by selecting two groups of preschool children from the lower socio-economic levels.[9] The first group was placed in superior foster homes in
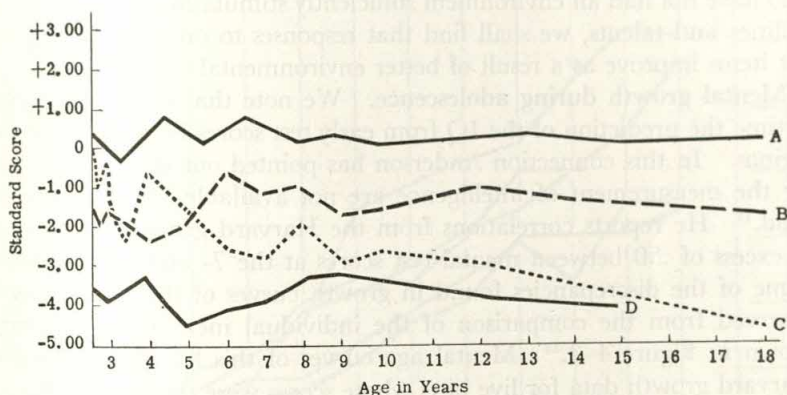
Figure 4–2. STABILITY OF IQ'S ON REPEATED MEASUREMENT OF THE SAME INDIVIDUALS.

early infancy; the children of the second group remained, for different periods of time, in their own homes or in environments known to be inferior, and were then placed in homes superior to those they had previously known. The children were given intelligence tests at different periods and these results were studied in relation to the environmental background. During the first year, no noticeable differences were observed, indicating that the causal relation between intelligence and environmental background at this period is negligible. Following the first year there was a continued increase in the average IQ's for those children in the superior environments with a continued decrease for those in the inferior environments. It is pointed out from this study that the mental level of the children is more closely related to environmental background than to that of the true mothers. The conclusions presented by Skodak emphasize the importance of a stimulating environment in raising the IQ level of children during the growing years.[10]

[9] Marie Skodak, "Children in Foster Homes," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1939, Vol. 16, Series No. 364.

[10] These University of Iowa studies created considerable controversy. Simpson has presented some interesting notions dealing with factors that may have affected the

Certain broad generalizations emerge from a careful analysis of the results of these studies. The first is that intelligence is much more responsive to environmental changes than had previously been conceived. For practical purposes of education, it is the environmental stimulation or, in many cases, the lack of early environmental stimulation that sets the limits to a child's mentality.

The hereditary constitution probably sets rather broad limitations, and when all the children have been placed in an environment sufficiently stimulating to develop them nearer to their hereditary limitations, its effects become very pronounced. As long as we are dealing with children who have not had an environment sufficiently stimulating to develop their abilities and talents, we shall find that responses to ordinary intelligence test items improve as a result of better environmental conditions.

Mental growth during adolescence. We note that over long periods of time the prediction of the IQ from early test scores becomes more precarious. In this connection Anderson has pointed out that suitable tests for the measurement of intelligence are not available for the preschool child.[11] He reports correlations from the Harvard growth data slightly in excess of .50 between mental test scores at the 7- and 16-year levels. Some of the discrepancies found in growth curves of this study may be observed from the comparison of the individual mental growth curves shown in Figure 4–3.[12] Mental age curves of this figure are based on Harvard growth data for five boys whose scores were the same at the age of 7 years—the IQ of each boy being 92. The progressive divergence of these curves, with the IQ's at the 17-year age level ranging from below 80 to 110, suggested that repeated measurements must be made if accurate classifications are to be maintained. The fact that different tests were used and that these were group tests may account in part for these variations.

There are certain factors, in common, for all the curves of mental growth during the adolescent years. In the first place, there is greater constancy during these years than there was for earlier years. A number of factors that may account for this are: (1) the presence of a more nearly constant environment for each individual during this period than

results ("The Wandering IQ: Is it Time for It to Settle Down?" *Journal of Psychology*, 1939, Vol. 7, pp. 351–369). McNemar has critically evaluated the studies and points out that certain methodological and statistical inadequacies; while Wellman, Skeels, and Skodak have defended their results against such criticisms (see the *Psychological Bulletin* for March, 1940, for the critical examination of the studies and the critical review of the examination).

[11] J. E. Anderson, "The Prediction of Terminal Intelligence from Infant and Preschool Tests," *Intelligence: Its Nature and Nurture. Thirty-ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1940, pp. 385–403.

[12] Harold E. Jones and Herbert S. Conrad, "Mental Development in Adolescence," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, p. 159.

during the earlier years; (2) the nature of the tests used at the adolescent age levels; (3) the growth in complexity of the tests at the advanced age level; and (4) an increased constancy in the administration of the tests to the more advanced subjects. Another factor found in different mental growth curves is the decrease in the rate of growth during the teen years. This was given special emphasis earlier in this chapter.

Some evidence was presented from earlier studies indicating that pubescence is preceded or accompanied by a fairly rapid rise of both the mental and physical growth curves.[13] More recent studies have not supported
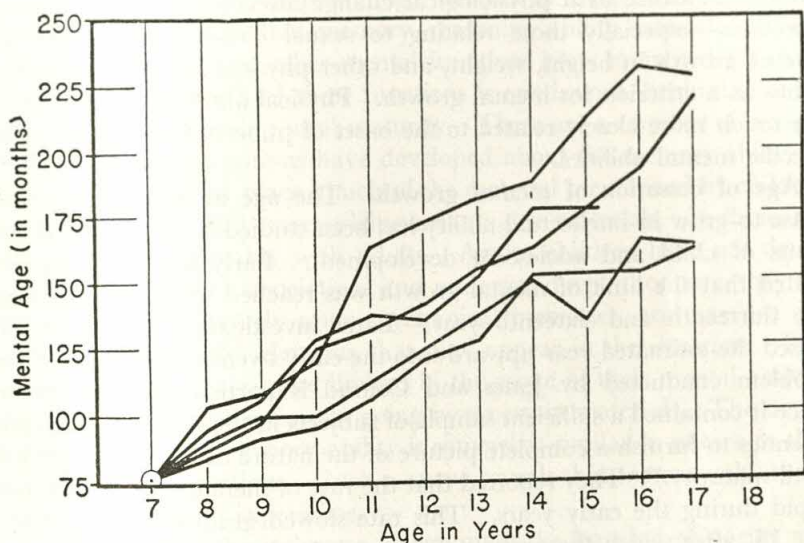
Figure 4–3. DIVERGING INDIVIDUAL MENTAL GROWTH CURVES.

this theory of mental growth. It was suggested in Chapter 2 that individuals from homes with good living standards, including good nutrition and other factors making for good health, tended to mature earlier than those from homes of unfavorable living standards. These same general environmental conditions will also have an important influence on intelligence test scores.

In a study by Stone and Barker, 175 postmenarcheal and 175 premenarcheal girls paired for chronological age were compared with respect to Otis intelligence test scores, personality, and socio-economic status of their parents.[14] The postmenarcheal girls made a mean score on the intelligence test which was 2.25 points higher than that made by the pre-

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[13] Ethel M. Abernethy, "Correlations in Physical and Mental Growth," *Journal of Education Psychology*, 1925, Vol. 16, pp. 438–466 and 539–546.

[14] C. P. Stone and R. G. Barker, "Aspects of Personality and Intelligence in Postmenarcheal and Premenarcheal Girls of the Same Chronological Age," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 1937, Vol. 23, pp. 439–445.

menarcheal girls. This difference is not statistically reliable. The Pressey interest-attitude test scores showed the postmenarcheal girls to be more mature than the premenarcheal of the same chronological age. Postmenarcheal girls were also more mature when measured by the results obtained from administering the Sullivan test for developmental age. Both of these differences are statistically reliable. The two groups were from families of about the same socio-economic status, and did not show a difference in their general personality traits as measured by the Bernreuter Personality Inventory. Apparently, then, pubescence has much more significance as a physiological change affecting various glandular secretions—especially those relating to sexual characteristics—and the rate of growth in height, weight, and other physical measurements than it has as a criterion for mental growth. Physical and emotional changes are much more closely related to the onset of puberty than are the more specific mental abilities.

Age of cessation of mental growth. The age at which individuals cease to grow in intellectual ability has been studied by a number of students of child and adolescent development. Early investigations estimated that the limit of mental growth was reached somewhere between the thirteenth and sixteenth year. Later investigators have gradually raised the estimated year upward into the early twenties. A study of this problem conducted by Jones and Conrad is particularly appropriate, since it contained a sufficient sample of subjects in the late teens and early twenties to furnish a complete picture of the nature of the mental growth until maturity.[15] They reported that the rate of mental growth was most rapid during the early years. This rate slowed gradually until around age 16, after which there was a continued deceleration until the highest point was reached between age 19 and 20.

After reviewing earlier studies of this problem and analyzing retest scores made by approximately 1,000 individuals, Thorndike concluded that ability to achieve on a standard test of intelligence continues to increase until age 20 and probably beyond.[16] He points out, however, that this conclusion is based upon data for individuals in school. One should be careful in making generalizations from this finding to adolescents who drop out of school. Although the final answer to the question of the age of cessation of mental growth is not complete, studies tend to agree that mental test scores on standard paper-and-pencil tests continue to increase beyond the teen years. At the higher levels of difficulty, group tests of mental ability become increasingly weighted with vocabulary and information exercises. Thus, it appears likely that most of the increase that

[15] H. E. Jones and H. S. Conrad, "The Growth and Direction of Intelligence," *Genetic Psychology Monographs,* 1933, Vol. 13, pp. 223–298.

[16] R. L. Thorndike, "Growth in Intelligence during Adolescence," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1948, Vol. 72, pp. 11–15.

comes at this later period consists chiefly in an increase in information and vocabulary, rather than an increase of potential ability resulting from maturation.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL MENTAL ABILITIES

The development of memory ability. There are some who have described childhood as the "golden age of memory," while adulthood is looked upon as the age of reasoning. Studies of the growth of different mental functions show that memory, reasoning ability, critical thinking, interpretive ability, and other mental functions grow in an orderly manner. Also, the growth of these functions is continuous, beginning at an early age and continuing until maturity. There are a number of reasons why certain misconceptions have developed about the memory ability of children. In the first place, much of the material memorized by children consists of mechanically memorizing meaningless materials. In these, the child competes favorably with adults. Again, children have not developed a wide range of associations and understandings; therefore, they are compelled to rely largely upon mechanical memories, and are not distracted by meaningful elements that may appear in the situation. Furthermore, children are more limited in the scope of their mental activity and spend considerable time in going over certain materials. The developmental curve for memory ability is somewhat similar in nature to that of other mental functions. Such a curve reveals that memory ability increases with age and experience.

The problem of the influence of age upon the learning of poetry and nonsense syllables was studied by Stroud and Maul.[17] The subjects consisted of 172 grade-school children, 26 ninth-grade students, and 23 college freshmen. The average chronological ages ranged from 7.7 years to 18.1 years. The different groups were approximately equal in average IQ. The growth with age in the ability to memorize poetry is shown in Figure 4–4. The memory curve for nonsense syllables is similar in nature to that shown for poetry. These curves show a continuous increase with age in memory ability. A high correlation was found between memory ability and mental age.

Vocabulary growth. Studies by Terman, Thorndike, and others have shown a constant and continuous growth in the size of one's vocabulary during childhood and adolescence. Studies of the qualitative aspects of the vocabulary of children at different ages reveal also a growth in the character of the word definitions. The general quality and completeness of word definitions given by children of different ages was studied by

[17] J. B. Stroud and P. Maul, "The Influence of Age upon Learning and Retention of Poetry and Nonsense Syllables," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1933, Vol. 42, pp. 242–250.
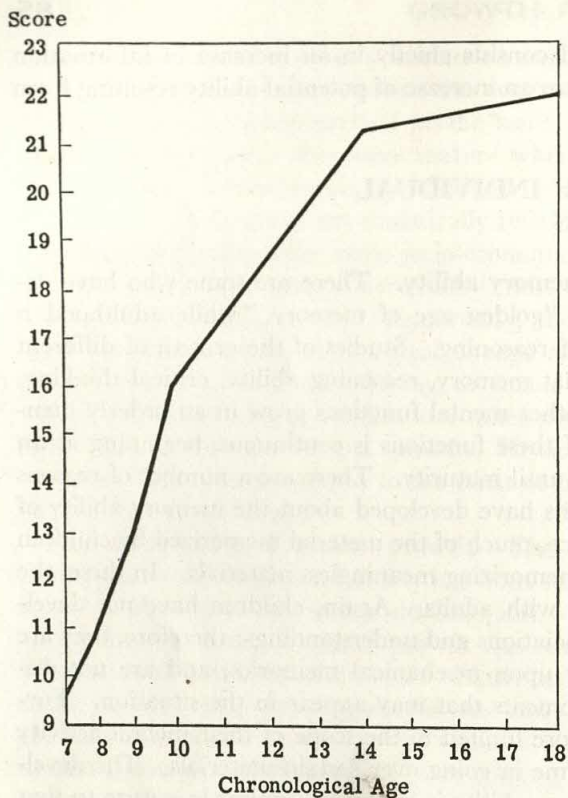
Figure 4-4. THE RELATION OF AGE TO SCORES MADE IN MEMORIZING POETRY. (*Stroud and Maul*)
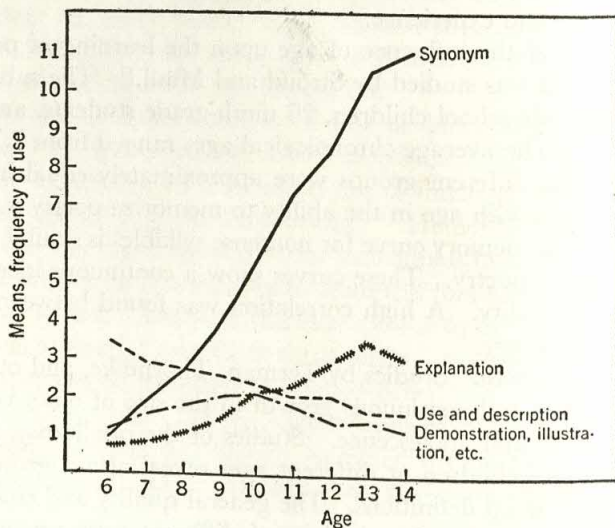
Figure 4-5. MEAN FREQUENCY OF USE OF FOUR QUALITATIVE CATEGORIES BY AGE. (*Feifel and Lorge*)

Feifel and Lorge.[18] The subjects tested consisted of 900 children ranging in age from 6 through 14 years. The children were slightly above the average in intelligence at all age levels except at age 14. The vocabulary test of Form L of the Stanford revision of the Binet tests was administered to these children, and the definitions given were studied for their completeness and qualitative nature.

A graphic presentation of the results is presented in Figure 4–5. It is apparent that children at the 6- and 7-year age level give the use and description type of response most often. For example, a response to the word *orange* would be "something to eat." The explanation type of response is used very little at this age, but appears to grow slowly and continuously in use until the 13-year age level. The growth noted at the 14-year age level may be partially accounted for by the lower intelligence of this group in comparison with that of the other groups. The synonym type of response, although seldom used by the 6- and 7-year-olds, is used quite frequently by children around the ages of 9 and 10, and continues to grow in use throughout the following years. The decline in the demonstrational and illustrative types of response during the adolescent years may be attributed to the growth in the size of vocabulary and the ability to symbolize things and events in terms of opposites and similarities.

Growth of concepts of causal relations. With increased mental development important changes take place in the ability of the growing individual to understand causal relations. This increase is also closely related to general educational growth. Thus, fifth- and sixth-grade boys and girls have a better insight into situations with which they are confronted, and deal with them in a more rational manner than do younger children.

In the study of children's concepts by Deutsche, two types of analyses of children's causal thinking were made—quantitative and qualitative.[19] Questions of causality were selected and tried out with children as subjects. From these preliminary trials, final forms of the tests were developed. Form I consisted of questions based upon demonstrations of experiments in the classroom. Form II consisted of questions without experiments. The subjects were requested to answer each of the twelve questions to the best of their ability, and as rapidly as possible. Quantified scores were derived for each of the questions. These were based on the adequacy of the answer as an explanation of the phenomenon. The results of this study showed that while phenomenistic answers comprised from 30 to 40 per cent of the answers at age 8, they included approximately 10 per cent of the answers at the 15–16 age level. Such answers were those based upon the phenomenon itself, e.g., "the wind makes the

[18] H. Feifel and L. Lorge, "Qualitative Differences in the Vocabulary Responses of Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1950, Vol. 41, pp. 1–18.

[19] J. M. Deutsche, *The Development of Children's Concepts of Causal Relation.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1937.
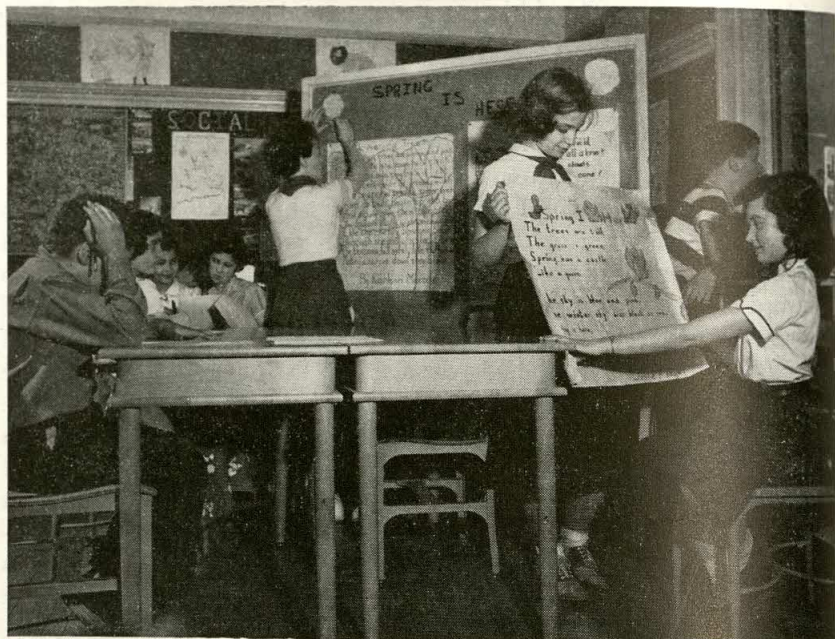
Development through experience. INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT IS EN-
HANCED THROUGH MEANINGFUL AND VARIED EXPERIENCES. (*Courtesy Port-
land, Oregon, Public Schools*)

wind blow." There was, on the other hand, a striking increase from age
8 to age 15–16 in logical deduction answers. Very little change with age
was noted in dynamic causality and mechanical causality answers.

Imagination and critical thinking. A study of the development of
imagination and critical thinking during childhood and adolescence is
made difficult by the lack of good instruments and techniques for measur-
ing these mental functions. Yet, teachers and parents recognize changes
in the imaginative abilities with age. The imagination of adolescents is
reflected in their poems, stories, drawings, music, constructive activities,
and dances. Vernon has offered evidence that children are unable to
fully understand and interpret a series of pictures prior to age 11.[20]
Imagination does not reach maturity and function in a void. The inter-
pretation given to a picture by a preadolescent will be determined not
only by his mental development but also by previous experiences he has
had with elements presented in the picture.

Tests designed to measure critical thinking in science were given to
approximately 1,000 pupils in grades 10, 11, and 12 of the San Francisco

[20] M. D. Vernon, "The Development of Imaginative Construction in Children,"
British Journal of Psychology, 1948, Vol. 39, pp. 102–111.

Bay areas.[21]   Differences in scores made by boys and girls on different parts of the tests indicate that the skills measured by these tests may be taught.   Ability to do critical thinking is generally regarded as a valid objective of the schools.   If pupils are to be taught to think they must first be taught to recognize problems, and must, secondly, learn sound methods for the solution of such problems.   This implies, then, that knowledge or information is essential for critical thinking.   Pupils will not be able to carry on critical thinking about problems to which they have been merely exposed.   The lack of improvement in the ability of the adolescent to do critical thinking may result from any one or more of the following:

(1) Failure to comprehend the problem
(2) Lack of information about the problem
(3) Inappropriate method of organizing information dealing with the problem.
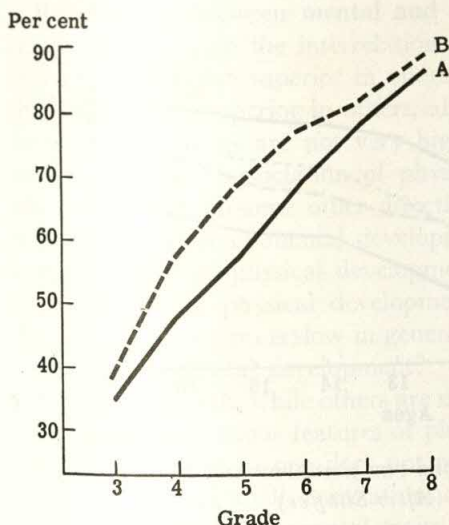
Figure 4–6. The average per cent of pupils giving the correct interpretation to five literary selections (A) and the per cent of pupils giving the correct interpretation to a single literary selection (B). (Pyle)

Insight and interpretations.   The pattern of development in the ability to interpret simple literary materials is shown in Figure 4–6.[22]   Materials for this study consisted of five selections from very simple poetry.   The pupils were given the selections along with five statements on each selection, one statement being the correct answer to the question.   The following poem was correctly interpreted by three-fourths of the sixth-grade pupils tested.

[21] T. B. Edwards, "Measurement of Some Aspects of Critical Thinking," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 1950, Vol. 18, p. 268.
[22] W. H. Pyle, "An Experimental Study of the Development of Certain Aspects of Reasoning," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1935, Vol. 26, pp. 539–546.

OH, THE WEE GREEN APPLE
I ate a small green apple;
It tasted good, and yet—
I wish that small green apple
And I had—never met.

QUESTION: Why does he wish that he had never met the apple?

1. The green apple made him sick.
2. The apple was sour.
3. The apple had worms.
4. Because he was not hungry.
5. Because green apples are not good for children.

The data for Graph A of Figure 4–6 were secured by obtaining the average per cent of pupils at each grade level giving the correct interpretations to the five selections. Graph B shows the pattern of development of pupils from the third through the eighth grade in their ability to give
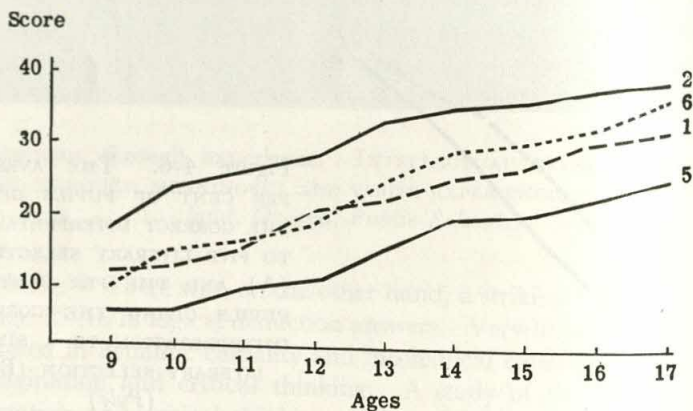
Figure 4–7. MEAN SCORE BY AGES FOR INTERPRETING CARTOONS 1, 2, 5, AND 6. (*After Shaffer*)

a correct interpretation to the poem about the green apple. The rapid development in the ability to give correct interpretations to literary selections is most significant; however, it should be noted that important variations in ability exist at each grade level.

In the study by Shaffer approximately 150 children in each school grade from grade 4 through 12 were tested for their ability to interpret cartoons.[23] There was a continuous increase in the general merit of interpretations with age. This is shown in Figure 4–7 for cartoons 1, 2, 5, and 6. Four fairly distinct types of responses were observed: *repetitions,*

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[23] L. F. Shaffer, "Children's Interpretations of Cartoons," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education,* 1930, No. 429.

descriptions, concrete interpretation, and *abstract interpretation.* Repetition occurred irregularly in the earlier age levels studied. One implication of this study is that cartoons may be successfully used at the junior-high-school level.

This study shows that the ability to interpret cartoons of a complex nature occurs considerably later than for simpler cartoons. Immature perception characterizes early childhood. The child notes things in large units. Careful classifications are wholly lacking. The horse may be called a big dog. The courthouse is a big house, with the house best represented in a drawing as a square with perhaps a chimney or television antenna on top. Increased maturity, along with a wide range of experiences, enables the adolescent to make discriminations and offer interpretations of a more accurate and realistic nature.

MENTAL GROWTH CORRELATES

Relationship between mental and physical development. From the results of studies on the interrelation of abilities, it has been found that individuals who are superior in one aspect of physical growth are more than likely to be superior in others, although, to be sure, the correlations between some traits are not very high, indicating that there are many exceptions to the association of physical growth in one direction with physical growth in some other direction. Some questions of special interest in the study of mental development are: What is the relation between mental and physical development? And, more specifically, is the child superior in physical development likely to be superior mentally? Also, is the child who is slow in general physical development more likely to be slow in mental development? Are some physical traits associated with mental growth, while others are not?

So far as the various features of physical and mental development are concerned, growth in one does not retard growth in another. Positive, though sometimes small, correlations are usually found between measurements of physical and mental traits. Dearborn and Rothney [24] report correlations between intelligence test scores and certain measures of physical development for 533 16-year-old boys as follows:

Intelligence and standing height	.224
Intelligence and weight	.137
Intelligence and iliac	.078
Intelligence and chest depth	.060
Intelligence and chest width	.138

However, the correlation between different measures of physical devel-

[24] W. F. Dearborn and J. W. M. Rothney, *Predicting the Child's Development.* Cambridge: Science-Art Publishers, 1941.

opment and mental development among children, although significant, are not sufficiently high to make safe predictions from one to the other. Furthermore, the matter of socio-economic status affects both the physical and mental development scores. The child from an inferior home and neighborhood has often been undernourished or malnourished, and has often not had the medical care, recreational opportunities, cultural advantages, and even school advantages of the child from the average and superior home and community. Wellman's summary of the various studies related to this problem indicates no close relation between mental development and such measures of physical development as width of chest, lung capacity, ossification ratio, weight, height, and grip.[25]

Physical appearance and mental development. The belief that there is an intimate relationship between mental development and general appearance, although gradually disappearing, is still quite widespread. To review the history of this belief along with the investigations that it has inspired would carry us too far from our present general interest. However, in passing we may note that Binet and Simon, in their search for some reliable method of measuring intelligence, devoted much effort to cephalometry and described their findings between 1900 and 1910 in *l'Année Psychologique*. Rose [26] in Germany and Pearson [27] in England also conducted early scientific studies, observing large groups of boys and girls; and they came to the conclusion—which has been borne out by many and more recent investigations—that in the judgment of intelligence no importance is to be attached to head measurements.

During the early part of the present century there was a general notion that diseased tonsils, adenoids, lack of energy, malnutrition, and other such *single* factors were direct causes of mental deficiency. The different studies conducted related to these problems have shown that no such direct relationship exists. A summary of studies concerned with the relationship between mental development and certain physical impairments indicates that these factors bear little relationship to each other.[28] In spite of these findings, there is recent evidence from different sources showing that a large number of subnormal children suffer from physical defects and afflictions. One of the most complete studies bearing on this shows that subnormal boys grow more slowly than normal children.[29]

[25] Beth L. Wellman, "Physical Growth and Motor Development and Their Relation to Mental Development in Children," *A Handbook of Child Psychology* (C. Murchison, Ed.). Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1931, p. 265.

[26] C. Rose, "Beiträge zur Europäischen Rassenkunde," *Archive für Rassen- und Gesellschafts-Biologie*, 1905, Vol. 2, pp. 689–798; 1906, Vol. 5, pp. 42–134.

[27] K. Pearson, "Relationship of Intelligence to Size and Shape of the Head and Other Mental and Physical Characters," *Biometrika*, 1906, Vol. 5, pp. 105–146.

[28] N. W. Shock and Harold E. Jones, "Mental Development and Performance as Related to Physical and Physiological Factors," *Review of Educational Research*, 1941, Vol. 11, No. 5, Chap. 3.

[29] C. D. Flory, "The Physical Growth of Mentally Deficient Boys," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1936, Vol. 1, No. 6.

Furthermore, it was noted that the degree of physical abnormality or deficiency was related to the degree of mental deficiency. The results of this study were further corroborated by a study conducted in Los Angeles, comparing the physical characteristics of 900 educationally backward children with those of 2,700 mentally normal children.[30] In spite of the medical care and services supplied to these subnormal children, there was a higher incidence of physical defects of every kind among them than among the children of normal intelligence.

The social-class structure. Continued exposure to differential environmental conditions, found in different social-class groups, favors the development of certain abilities and discourages the development of other. Most of the tasks to be learned at school are more closely related to the background of the middle-class children than of the lower-class groups. Consequently, middle-class children tend to excel in the tasks. This was indicated in a study by Janke and Havighurst.[31] All available 16-year-old boys and girls in a Midwestern community were given intelligence tests, performance tests, reading tests, and mechanical aptitude tests. The following conclusions were drawn from an analysis of the results of these tests:

(2) Boys and girls from families of higher social status tended to do better in all the tests than boys and girls of lower social position, with the exception of the Mechanical Assembly Test, where there was no reliable social class difference between the boys.

(3) Urban boys and girls tended to do better than rural boys and girls, but not statistically so.

(4) No significant sex differences were noted.

Most of the widely used tests of intelligence are geared to the experiences of the child from the middle and high social-economic class. Also, the definition of intelligence itself is stated in terms of learning and problem solving of materials found in school-like situations favorable to the middle-class child. The school program promotes middle-class values and rewards those children who are successful in those attainments regarded by the middle-class as superior. Thus, the lower-class child is usually at an extreme disadvantage in the performance of many school tasks.

School achievement in relation to intelligence. When one considers the nature of intelligence tests and traditional achievement tests, it seems natural that a significant relationship should exist between achievement

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[30] M. Goldwasser, "Physical Defects in Mentally Retarded School Children," *California and Western Medicine*, 1937, Vol. 47, pp. 310–315.

[31] L. L. Janke and R. J. Havighurst, "Relation Between Ability and Social Status in a Midwestern Community, II: Sixteen-year-old Boys and Girls," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1945, Vol. 36, pp. 499–509.

and intelligence.   In one study bearing on this problem 1608 pupils were first tested in the sixth grade.[32]   These pupils were studied and retested over a period of years.   The results, presented in Table 4–1, show that at each educational level studied the IQ's of those remaining in school were progressively higher than at the preceding level.   In such school situations the great majority of pupils with an IQ of 90 or less will drop out as soon as they reach the minimum compulsory school-age limit. Studies show, however, that the modern comprehensive high-school program is holding more pupils in school.   Some materials relating to this will be treated more fully in Chapters 15 and 16.

Table 4–1
STUDENTS WITH HIGH IQ'S TEND TO REMAIN IN SCHOOL LONGER
(After Binson)

	Per Cent of Group Still in School	Median IQ of Those Still in School	Median IQ of Those Who Have Left School
In sixth grade (original group)	100	108	
Entering high school	84	111	95
Graduating from high school	49	115	102
Entering college	18	119	106
Graduating from college	8	123	107

Correlations between intelligence test scores and academic grades vary with a number of factors but usually range between .30 and .75.   Bradley found that correlations between intelligence and teacher's marks for 1,500 junior- and senior-high-school pupils ranged from .33 to .64.[33]   Expressed in another way, this relation is even more impressive.   The ratio of the per cent of A grades to the per cent of pupils with IQ's above 140 was 16 to 1, whereas this ratio for those with average IQ's (90–110) was but 0.4 to 1.   These data are shown in Table 4–2.

Some problems related to mental growth.   Mental growth and development is usually accompanied by increased social and intellectual demands and the need for assuming more responsibility and for making decisions.   This presents some difficult and baffling problems for adolescents who are ill-prepared through lack of guidance and experiences to make choices and assume responsibility.   Some of these problems are discussed in later chapters dealing with guidance.

[32] V. E. Binson, "The Intelligence and Later Scholastic Success of Sixth-Grade Pupils," *School and Society,* 1942, Vol. 55, pp. 163–167.
[33] W. A. Bradley, "Correlates of Vocational Preferences," *Genetic Psychology Monograph,* 1943, Vol. 28, pp. 99–169.

Table 4-2

RELATION OF MENTAL ABILITY TO HIGH AND LOW GRADES IN HIGH SCHOOL

(After Bradley)

IQ	Per Cent of Pupils	Per Cent of A's	Ratio of Per Cent of A's to Per Cent of Pupils	Per Cent of D's	Ratio of Per Cent of D's to Per Cent of Pupils
140–149	0.2	3.2	16.0	0	0
130–139	1.3	10.6	8.1	0	0
120–129	7.5	25.5	3.4	0	0
110–119	22.5	35.1	1.6	0	0
100–109	32.5	18.1	0.6	13.7	0.5
90–99	25.3	4.3	0.2	36.8	1.5
80–89	9.7	3.2	0.3	42.3	4.3
70–79	1.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	5.3

A common source of worry and anxiety to the adolescent in our contemporary society is the question of whether he will be successful in meeting intellectual requirements. The competitive nature of our society is reflected in the procedures in our schools and the attitudes present in the homes. Passing examinations, making satisfactory marks in school, getting on the honor roll, and being admitted to college are among the common preoccupations and aspirations of pupils in the upper grades of our schools. The urgency of these demands is often unrelated to the values and aspirations the individual has set for himself; however, the adolescent does not want to be regarded as a failure by his parents, teachers, and peers. School success (particularly intellectual attainment) is held up as the important criterion of real success. Thus, many types of problem behavior and personal and social maladjustments are traceable to failure in school. Studies of adolescent groups reveal that intelligence offers little predictive value as to one's personal adjustment. There are a number of factors responsible for this. Some of these are suggested in the following statement:

These are the child's absolute level of intelligence: the level of intelligence required in the activities toward which he is being pointed, through the ambitions of his family and friends; the social pressures which arise from such ambitions; his own "felt needs" and level of aspiration; and his actual achievement. These factors are interconnected in a variety of ways and a great variety of complex patterns may result.[34]

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[34] H. S. Conrad, F. N. Freeman, and H. E. Jones, "Differential Mental Growth," *Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1944, p. 180.

SUMMARY

Many of the early notions about the nature of intelligence and the mental growth curve have been modified or discarded as a result of more recent research in this general area. It is now generally recognized that most group intelligence tests are culturally biased in favor of the middle-class child. Thus, one finds a significant correlation between scores on these tests and conditions or factors present in the life activities of middle-class children. A distinction has been made in this chapter between *potential* intelligence and *functional* intelligence. Intelligence test scores furnish data about the manifestation or functioning of intelligence in dealing with special problems. Thus, scores on these tests are influenced by the nature and amount of experience of the individuals concerned.

A mental-growth characteristic of special interest relates to the age of maturity, or limit of mental growth. Problems of maturation, learning, and motivation affect the results. Also, the nature of the test materials may be the important factor in accounting for differences found. Also, individual growth curves presented in this chapter show that the special characteristics of mental growth are not uniform from individual to individual. The close relation between intelligence test score and size of vocabulary during adolescence indicates that mental ability is closely related to the ability to learn materials of an abstract and symbolic nature. Although mental growth, like other aspects of growth, is gradual and continuous in nature, research studies indicate that it tends to proceed rather rapidly during the early years of life, and even up to the ages of 14, 15, or 16. Whether the latter slow increase is a gain in actual mental ability or one of mental content is a matter of controversy. However, it is quite likely that many extraneous factors reduce the accuracy of the rates and limits derived for mental growth at any given period.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. What experiences have you had with intelligence tests? On the basis of your experience, what do you consider they are actually measuring?
2. To what extent is mental development related to the age of pubescence? To physical maturity?
3. What do the various experiments appear to indicate relative to intelligence? What are the various correlations that have been obtained?
4. How is mental ability related to learning? How should this relation affect the curriculum prior to adolescence?
5. How would you account for the relation between mental and physical development? What is the educational significance of this relation?
6. What mental expansion in yourself took place as you reached adolescence?
7. Compare curves of growth in memory and reasoning. What would you conclude from such a comparison?

8. What is the relationship between school achievement and intelligence? How would you account for this relationship?

9. What are the educational implications of the materials presented relative to mental growth during late childhood and adolescence?

10. Differentiate *potential* and *functional* intelligence. What factors sometimes operate to obscure a child's potential intelligence?

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Chapter 5

EMOTIONAL AND
SOCIAL GROWTH

THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT
OF EMOTIONAL BEHAVIOR

Emotions and behavior. The changed concepts of the nature of the child and of the adolescent have brought with them changes in the methods and objectives of our schools and other educational and socializing agencies. There has been a shift from the consideration of the intellectual, moral, or social side of the child to that of the development of the total personality. An increased understanding of the development and importance of the emotions in the growing personality is of utmost importance to those concerned with the guidance of growing boys and girls. There is a tendency on the part of many people to regard the emotions as a stereotyped pattern of expression appearing with certain forms of stimulation. An adolescent's timidity is thus thought of as an expressive behavior pattern appearing on certain occasions. It has been suggested that in contrast with such a view, "the present tendency is to recognize that emotional components are in some form and to some degree present in all behavior." [1]

Emotional development, although treated in this chapter as a separate topic from that of physical development, must not be considered without reference to physical development. The case of Jo, reported by Zachry in a study of adolescents, illustrates how impossible it is to isolate certain elements as "physical" and others as "emotional." This case, presented here, shows the necessity of considering all the factors that enter into the nature and type of activities of an individual at any particular stage of life. [2]

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[1] H. E. Jones, H. S. Conrad, and L. B. Murphy, "Emotional and Social Development and the Educative Process," *Thirty-eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1939, Chap. XVIII, p. 363. (Quoted by permission of the Society.)

[2] C. B. Zachry and M. Lighty, *Emotions and Conduct in Adolescence.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940, pp. 69–70.

Jo is a boy of twelve who has been feeling very much out of the family picture. He is the youngest child. His sister is soon to be married and his brother has just started to work, but Jo is at an age when he is not particularly interesting to any member of the family. He has been doing only fairly well in his school work and he has definitely neglected his arithmetic.

One morning he went down to breakfast and ate rather heartily: he had oatmeal with cream, eggs, bacon, jam, and milk; and while he was eating he recalled that he was going to have an arithmetic test that morning. He had a queer, twitchy feeling of excitement in his stomach at the thought of the arithmetic test. He started walking slowly to school, thinking more about the test, and his stomach felt queerer and the oatmeal weighed very heavily on it. He had a vague feeling, which was hardly a thought, that if his breakfast were to come up he wouldn't have to go to school, and the arithmetic test came to mind again. Suddenly he found it hard to keep the breakfast down.

Shortly after his arrival at school, it did come up. He was sent home by the principal with a clear conscience to have a day in bed. The principal telephoned his mother, who immediately became concerned. She put Jo to bed in the guest room and made a fuss over him such as he had not experienced since he was quite a small boy. His sister came in and showed him her wedding presents; his brother stopped and had a talk with him before going out in the evening, an event which had not occurred for months; and his father spent the evening reading to him.

This upset stomach had a high value: no arithmetic test, and solicitude from all the people from whom he had been wishing attention for some time. The next time Jo was faced with a difficult situation and there was a queer feeling in his stomach, it was no longer necessary to go through all the preliminary steps. Now meals just come up without further consideration on his part.

The development of the emotions. According to Bridges the emotional reactions of the infant are not highly differentiated, but the most common response to emotional stimuli is that of general bodily agitation or excitement.[3] Out of this general excitation develop, during the first several months, the differential responses of distress and delight. Here we note the negative and positive forms of emotional responses that have commonly been recognized and given varied classifications. Anger, disgust, fear, and jealousy emerge at an early age from distress; elation, affection for others, and joy grow out of delight. The different ages for the appearance of different forms of behavior during emotional episodes show that crying, screaming, restlessness, and struggling, as forms of behavior, appear during the first four months of life, and may be regarded as general bodily agitation appearing in the initial stages as a result of some sort of overstimulation. Following the period of infancy the child

[3] K. M. B. Bridges, "Emotional Development in Early Infancy," *Child Development,* 1932, Vol. 3, pp. 324–341; also see W. E. Blatz and D. A. Millichamp, "The Development of Emotion in the Infant," *University of Toronto Studies in Child Development Series,* 1935, No. 4.

passes through a period of growth, coordinating and integrating each new stage with that which has gone on before. The emotional development is not so great, due to the slow rate of growth of the internal organs of the body that are controlled by the autonomic nervous system, and are thus closely identified with the emotional life.

Most of our fears or angers are acquired ways of responding to various stimuli and situations. Few of the stimuli that cause fear or anger among adults will frighten an infant. It is equally true that most of our other emotional patterns are the results of learning and maturation—particularly learning. Since emotions are learned, they may be unlearned, thus enabling one to avoid the handicaps of inefficiency, embarrassment, and annoyance that uncontrolled emotions produce. However, the term *emotion* should not be regarded as a name for a type of response that is entirely different from nonemotional behavior. Behavior is a continuous, complex process involving simultaneous activity in many parts of the body. Man does not respond now with an emotion, then with an instinct, and at some other time with a habit. These names do not designate distinctly different types of behavior; they are merely abstractions which are necessary for convenience of study. The behavior commonly called emotional is an *emotion* in pure form only within a textbook. The same is true of a conditioned reflex, or a *habit*. Some of the characteristics of emotional activity are present at all times in everyday life and comprise what is sometimes called one's *emotional tone*. These emotional elements intensify, inhibit, and otherwise modify the behavior in process at any given time and are integral parts of the whole pattern of behavior. The adolescent is likely to be in a hyperemotional state owing to the organization and repression of drives and as a result of the controls and educational forces operating at this stage of life.

The word *emotion* was derived from the Latin word *emovere*, "to move out." It is usually defined as a stirred-up state or condition. Earlier James, Lange, Cannon, and others were concerned with the physiological center of emotional responses. Today psychologists recognize that the visceral responses are important components of the emotions. The term *activation* has more recently been used by Lindsey to describe the nature of emotional responses.[4] This activation was recognized by earlier students of this problem, but not so clearly defined and described as by Lindsey. For him, the strong emotion represents one end of a continuum of activities, while the state of sleep represents the other end, at which time there is a minimum activation.

Internalized and externalized emotional responses. A careful study of early childhood emotions shows that this activation is both external and internal; however, important changes in the relative amount of internal and external activation appears with growth. One of the most

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[4] D. B. Lindsey, "Emotion," *Handbook of Experimental Psychology*, S. S. Stevens (ed.). New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1951.

important problems of the dynamics of emotions involves the relationship between internalized and externalized responses. The galvanic skin response (GSR) is sometimes used as a measure of internalized emotional responses, while observed overt behavior is used for estimating externalized emotional responses. Jones reports that some children who are most overtly excitable are least reactive on the galvanic test.[5] It is thus suggested that the increase of apparent emotional control with age may indicate a shift from externalized to internalized patterns of responses. This results in a large measure from the suppression of overt emotional behavior, since it tends to bring social disapproval and punishment.

In the Adolescent Growth Study at the University of California a series of observations of a group of children were made from age 12 to age 18.[6] These records included ratings of personal expressiveness and of various social traits. A series of eleven experiments was conducted over this period, in which polygraphic records of palm-to-forearm skin-resistance changes, pulse rates, and respiration changes in a mild stress situation of a free association test were secured. A comparison of the overt behavioral characteristics of 40 cases, evenly divided at each extreme (high reaction and low reaction) in the average magnitude of GSR, furnishes data concerning the relationship of internalized and externalized emotional responses during adolescence.

A comparison of the high and low reactives on the GSR test in social behavior ratings on the playgrounds, and other free associations, is presented in Figure 5-1.[7] The first and most striking fact noted from these data is that the high-reactive group shows significantly less overt emotional behavior than does the low-reactive group. They are less talkative, less animated, display less attention-seeking behavior, and are less assertive in their social behavior. From 85 to 95 per cent of the high reactives excel the average of the low reactives in being rated as more calm, more cooperative, more deliberate, more good natured, and more responsible.

EMOTIONAL MANIFESTATIONS OF ADOLESCENTS

A significant change in the orientation of the individual to his environment occurs at puberty, when the child moves into adolescence and toward sexual maturity. This change is clearly revealed in the changed interests that appear at this age, and will be elaborated in Chapter 8. It has been observed that the overt manifestations of emotions become less intense. The reactions of the child to thrills and dangers in the movies

[5] H. E. Jones, "The Study of Patterns of Emotional Expression," in Reymert, E. L. (ed.), *Feelings and Emotions.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950, Chap. 13.

[6] H. E. Jones, "Principles and Methods of the Adolescent Growth Study," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* 1939, Vol. 3, pp. 172–180.

[7] H. E. Jones, "The Study of Patterns of Emotional Expression," p. 165. By permission from *Feelings and Emotions,* by E. L. Reymert (Editor). Copyright 1950 by McGraw-Hill Book Co.

become more subdued. On the other hand, children and preadolescents tend to react violently to thrill and danger in movies or on television, while they are relatively unresponsive to love-making scenes. This is clearly revealed in the response of a nine-year-old boy to a question from his father about attending a movie one Saturday afternoon. The father asked: "What movie would you like to see?" The son replied: "Let's go to some movie where there is lots of riding and shooting—I don't like all this love stuff." Four or five years later, with the ripening of the sex impulse, the story will likely be very different.

Scale Scores
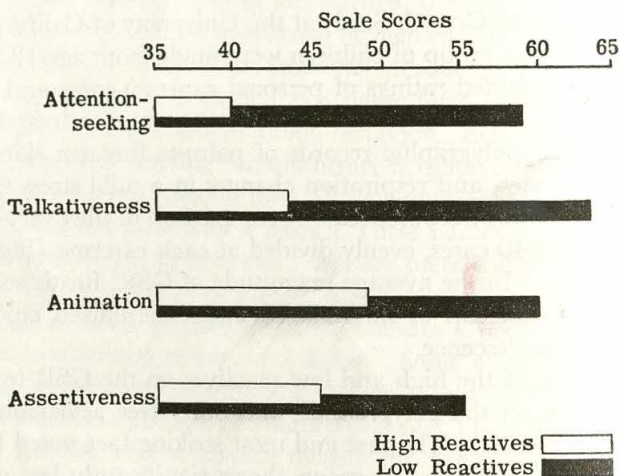
Figure 5–1. A comparison of high and low reactives (GSR) in social behavior (psychologists' ratings).
(*After Jones*)

Adolescent fears. Fear of animals and other tangible things in the immediate environment appears to decrease as the child develops from age 5 to age 12, while fear of the dark, of being left alone at night, and the like increases. With growth into adolescence, fears of a social nature come to be very important. However, a study by Hicks and Hayes shows that 50 per cent of a group of 250 junior-high-school students reported they were afraid of something.[8] Some of their fears, in order of frequency reported, were for snakes, dogs, the dark, storms, accidents, high places, strange noises, and being alone at home. This indicates that many childhood fears persist into adolescence, and there is good evidence that they tend to persist throughout life. Older adolescents become much concerned over social approval, failure in school, fear of being disliked, and other fears pertaining to their relations with their peers. The fears of adolescents may be roughly classified into three general groups:

[8] J. A. Hicks and M. Hayes, "Study of the Characteristics of 250 Junior-High-School Children," *Child Development*, 1938, Vol. 9, pp. 219–242.

(1) *Fears of material things.* These include many of the early childhood fears of dogs, snakes, storms, and the like.

(2) *Fears relating to the self.* These include death, failure in school, personal inadequacy, popularity, and the like.

(3) *Fears involving social relations.* These include embarrassment, social events, meeting people, meeting with a more mature group, parties, dates, and the like.

The frustration-aggression hypothesis. Available evidence favors the viewpoint that the emotion of anger is a result of the frustration of some goal-seeking activity. For example, when one withholds the bottle from the hungry baby anger appears in the form of aggressive behavior. The student becomes angry when he is ejected from the team. The college girl becomes angry when her dinner date fails to appear. The auto salesman becomes angry when someone severely criticizes his product and he loses a sale.

Significant data were gathered by Meltzer from college students relative to situations or conditions causing anger during a period of one week.[9] In about 86 per cent of the situations listed, frustrations were involved. A very small percentage of the frustrations presented in Table 5–1 involved organic needs. The majority of college men's frustrations dealt with things, while 64 per cent of those of college women dealt with persons.

Table 5–1

FRUSTRATIONS AND ANGER IN MEN AND WOMEN COLLEGE STUDENTS
(*After Meltzer*)

	Men (Per cent)	Women (Per cent)
Thwarting of self-assertion:		
Defense reactions to persons	29	45
Aggressive reactions to persons	7	19
Defense reactions to things	47	26
Thwarting of organic needs	6	5
Complex situational thwarting	12	5

Changes in emotional behavior. It has already been suggested that conditions or situations producing anger and fear in early childhood may lose their potency as the child matures and encounters new experiences. Also, this maturity and educational growth tends to bring forth new fears as well as enhance certain earlier behavior patterns. Observations show

[9] H. Meltzer, "Students' Adjustments in Anger," *Journal of Social Psychology,* 1933, Vol. 4, pp. 285–309.

that young children rapidly outgrow temper tantrums—oftentimes substituting more subtle and less violent ways of responding. Some of these changes have been observed and recorded by investigators. Figure 5-2 presents changes in four types of behavior.[10] According to the findings here presented, fighting reaches its peak at ages 7 and 8 and declines rapidly thereafter. Timidity likewise shows a definite decline after ages 13 and 14. On the other hand, impertinence and sulkiness continue to increase throughout the period of childhood. The rise of timidity during preadolescence and early adolescence is no doubt closely related to the development of social consciousness and the desire of social approval that are associated with the dawn of adolescence.
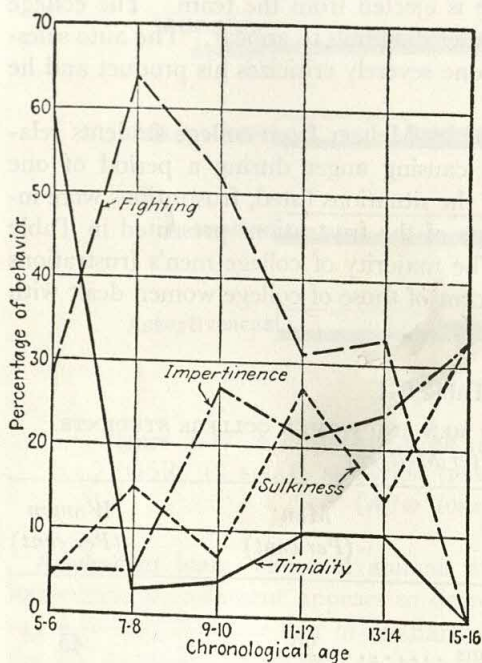
Figure 5-2. CHANGES OF BEHAVIOR WITH CHRONOLOGICAL AGE FOR SCHOOL PUPILS. (*After Blatz, et al.*)

Fear of reciting in class is common among adolescents. This appears to be even more pronounced among boys than among girls, perhaps because of voice changes occurring at this stage in a large percentage of boys. The formality of the classwork operates to produce considerable fear among adolescents. When students are required to stand when they recite, or to follow in a parrot-like fashion some pattern of responding, shyness and timidity are very much in evidence. Another source of fears present in the schoolroom situation is that of the examination. Pressure

[10] W. E. Blatz, S. N. F. Chant, and M. D. Salter, *Emotional Episodes in the Child of School Age.* University of Toronto Studies, Child Development Series, No. 9, 1937.

exerted from parents, teachers, or peers for making high marks is perhaps the major source of such fears. When the fear is sufficiently intense, learning and reciting are adversely affected. The stress given to the importance of a high score on the examination in order to secure good marks or grades produces considerable tension. Some degree of anxiety and tension may be unavoidable, and may actually be useful; however, much can be done by teachers and parents in the development of student attitudes toward the nature and function of examinations that would reduce this anxiety and tension and thus promote better personal and social adjustments.

Worries of adolescents. A number of studies have dealt with the worries of preadolescents, adolescents, and postadolescents. In one of these studies a "worries" inventory was administered to 540 children in grades V and VI in New York City.[11] The inventory consisted of 53 items. When these were grouped into eight categories, it was found that both sexes worry most about family and school situations and conditions. Next as sources of worry were those items grouped under personal adequacy, economic problems, and health problems. Little concern was noted for the imaginary and ornamental categories. The ten items ranking highest for the boys and the ten ranking highest for the girls are presented in order of frequency of worries reported in Table 5–2.

Table 5–2

ITEMS FROM THE "WORRIES" INVENTORY MOST FREQUENTLY REPORTED BY BOYS AND GIRLS, IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY (*After Pintner and Levy*)

Boys	Girls
Failing a test	Failing a test
Mother working too hard	Mother working too hard
Being blamed for something you did not do	Mother getting sick
Father working too hard	Being late for school
Having a poor report card	Getting sick
Being scolded	Father working too hard
Spoiling your good clothes	Being scolded
People telling lies about you	Being blamed for something you did not do
Getting sick	Doing wrong
Doing wrong	Father getting sick

A careful study of these sources of worry reveals that fear is the foundation of the tendency to worry. As the child passes from the preschool

[11] R. Pintner and J. Levy, "Worries of School Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1940, Vol. 56, pp. 67–76.

age to the elementary school age considerable anxiety relating to failure appears. It has already been suggested that the earlier fears related to bodily injury; but as the child grows in understanding and reacts to different social situations, he develops anxieties and fears relative to his status in the group. This does not mean that the earlier fears about bodily injury are suddenly eliminated. Zeligs found that sixth-graders were most frequently worried about matters pertaining to bodily injury, health, grades, and promotion in school.[12] Growth into adolescence is accompanied by anxieties on the part of many boys and girls connected with appearance, popularity, and inadequacies related to their sex role. A study by Lunger and Page dealt with the worries of postadolescents.[13] A *Worry Inventory* of 78 items was constructed and administered to 100 college freshmen of each sex. The items were constructed so as to be answered in one of three ways: *very much, some,* or *not at all.* Sex differences were found to be negligible with respect to both the incidence and intensity of worries. They state: "Roughly about one-half expressed some concern over such items as: general religious problems, physical defects, being late for appointments, familial obligations, inability to make friends, and vocational success." We note here much more concern over responsibilities and vocational success than appeared among fifth- and sixth-grade children. This is distinct evidence of social maturity. The items most frequently worried about and those least frequently worried about are reported in Table 5–3. This study furnishes a basis for comparing the nature of the worries of fifth- and sixth-grade children with college freshmen; it does not provide a safe basis for specific generalization about the worries of youth. A college group is a select group. Students from the lower social-economic group are highly selected and do not represent the typical youth from this group. One would expect to find financial worries and worries related to home conditions and parental hardships appearing more frequently among youth from the lower economic groups than among those from the middle and higher economic groups.

Expression of sympathy. The development of the ability to "sympathize" or express sympathy is a result of maturation and experience. The small child may cry when the mother cries, but he lacks the ability to sympathize with her in most situations and problems. In a study of adolescent boys it was found that those from low socio-economic conditions were less sensitive to the feelings of others than were boys from good socio-economic conditions.[14] However, no differences were found

[12] R. Zeligs, "Children's Worries," *Sociological and Social Research,* 1939, Vol. 24, pp. 22–32.

[13] R. Lunger and J. D. Page, "Worries of College Freshmen," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1939, Vol. 54, pp. 454–460.

[14] W. Loran, "A Study of Social Sensitivity (Sympathy) Among Adolescents," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 1953, Vol. 44, pp. 102–112.

Table 5–3

ITEMS CONSTITUTING THE HIGHEST AND SMALLEST PERCENTAGE
OF WORRIES (*After Lunger and Page*)

The largest proportion of freshmen were worried about:	*Per cent reporting specific worries*	
	Men	Women
1. Not being as successful in their work as they would like to be	94	89
2. Hurting other people's feelings	85	85
3. The impression they make on others	76	84
4. Not working hard enough	80	76
The smallest proportion of freshmen were worried about:		
1. The possibility that they are foster children	3	0
2. Going insane	2	4
3. Dying	9	9
4. Growing old	14	6
5. Their home being too shabby to invite and entertain friends	15	4

among adolescent girls. This lack of sympathy found among boys of low economic status probably stems from the economic struggle and keen competition they encounter, forcing them to suppress any show of sympathy and adopt the attitude of "every man for himself." The most sensitive adolescents were more popular with their peers than were the less sensitive ones. They displayed a greater interest in books and choices that dealt with idealistic, aesthetic, and sympathetic themes.

HABITS AND CONTROL

The importance of emotional well-being in relation to personality adjustments and mental health will be given special consideration in later chapters. Since all aspects of growth are interrelated, the child's emotional growth affects and is affected by his physical, mental, and social growth. Thus, we have noted that the emotional life and behavior of the individual is affected by physiological changes as well as by social conditions and contacts.

Emotional and social development. There are many factors in the child's physical and social environment that affect his emotional and social development. The importance of class status as a factor affecting social development will be discussed in Chapter 8. And, while class

status does not leave the same emotional imprint on all individuals, there are certain experiences common enough to the different members of a class group to warrant consideration. From an analysis of over one hundred Negro adolescents from the deep South, Davis and Dollard found that parents from the lower-class group relied upon physical punishment to a much greater degree than did parents from the higher-class groups.[15] Furthermore, it has been observed by many investigators that children from slum areas engage in fights more than children from better living conditions. Thus, readily giving way to emotions is part of the social environment of the child reared in an underprivileged home.

It should not be inferred here that all children from the lower class group lack emotional control. In this connection Davis and Dollard found that children within each of the social classes differed more widely from each other than one class differed from another. Thus, home conditions as well as biological factors operated to produce significant differences in emotional expressions within each class. There are unquestionably happy homes with little emotional tension in all class groups, just as there are unhappy, quarrelsome homes filled with tension in all class groups. However, Hyde and Kingsley have presented data showing a significant increase in mental disorders and psychopathy from communities with inferior conditions to those where superior conditions exist.[16] The adolescent's emotional habits are, therefore, affected by many factors. Adverse home and community conditions have a deleterious effect on healthy emotional growth and thus contribute to emotional instability and personality disturbances.

Habits as drives to action. The importance of this topic in the study of the adolescent cannot be overemphasized. Habits of a social nature are in their formative stage during later adolescence. In considering the individual's emotionality as a drive to activity, one must not oversimplify the general development of emotional habits and their relation to mental life. Emotional habits should, furthermore, be viewed from the developmental point of view. During the adolescent period they are still in an unstable state, and are found to be very transitory in their general manifestations. Many mannerisms appear, being manifested in isolation from the individual's general habit patterns—which, in fact, are often inconsistent and changeable. The extent to which a habit pattern once built up becomes a drive to action will depend mainly on the extent to which it becomes integrated in the individual's general habit patterns and finally becomes automatic.

[15] A. Davis and J. Dollard, *Children of Bondage: The Personal Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1940.

[16] R. W. Hyde and L. V. Kingsley, "Studies in Medical Sociology. I. The Relation of Mental Disorders to the Community Socio-economic Level," *New England Journal of Medicine,* 1944, Vol. 231, pp. 543–548.

It has been found that attentive repetition of an act tends to make for automaticity of the act. Habits are continuous rather than periodic. A habit once formed is never completely eradicated from man's neural structure, for all changes which are effected must be built upon the structural patterns existing at the time in the individual. James recognized this in his well-nigh classical statement:

Every smallest stroke of virtue or of vice leaves its never so little scar. The drunken Rip Van Winkle, in Jefferson's play, excuses himself for every fresh dereliction by saying, "I won't count this time!" Well! he may not count it, and a kind Heaven may not count it; but it is being counted none the less. Down among his nerve-cells and fibers the molecules are counting it, registering and storing it up to be used against him when the next temptation comes. Nothing we ever do is, in strict scientific literalness, wiped out. Of course this has its good side as well as its bad one. As we become permanent drunkards by so many separate drinks, so we become saints in the moral, and authorities and experts in the practical and scientific spheres, by so many separate acts and hours of work.[17]

Such changes as are made may become automatic in nature, but the old habit system operates under special emotional conditions when rational behavior is not so much in evidence. Even volition must be studied in terms of learning and can best be thought of in terms of man's habit system. All these habit patterns which tend to contribute to the efficiency of the human mechanism become potent drives for the initiation and direction of action. (We shall consider this subject further in connection with the development of attitudes and social behavior.)

Emotional control. If emotional activity results in prepotent action tendencies, it is certainly necessary that a control be exercised over both the emotions and their expressions. But here it should be noted that there is a definite difference between emotional control and emotional repression or elimination; for whenever a man reaches a point such that he experiences no emotions, he is no longer referred to as an ordinary man but rather as a case or subject for psychological or psychiatric treatment. Life would be a deadly monotony but for some emotional experiences—if, in fact, it continued at all, which would be highly doubtful in the event that all emotions, including those of sex, were eliminated from existence. Without emotions all family ties would vanish—love for wife, love for husband, love for children, love for parents: all would cease. Religion would disappear, for there would be no fear of God, no awe of God, no love of God. Governments would crumble without patriotism, feelings of security, and protection. To be sure, if emotions give us the bitters of life, they give us the sweets, also. The words of Tennyson imply the same

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[17] W. James, *Psychology* (Briefer Course). New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1892, p. 150.

thought: "The happiness of a man in this life does not consist in the absence but in the mastery of his passions."

Now we have noted that the emotions are closely related to bodily changes and are thus fatiguing, and that unless there is ample opportunity afforded for recovery following periods of emotional upsets, individual injury is the unavoidable result. Furthermore, every individual develops emotional habits to such an extent that an emotional response to a situation today will be repeated if he meets the same or some similar situation tomorrow. A well-unified habit system with the proper volitional, attentive, persistent, and imitative types of habits developed in harmony with the individual's innate physical and mental ability is impossible unless the boys and girls are given the opportunity to accept responsibility and are held accountable for consequences. This means self-control. The stage of maturity has been reached in which they can see, understand, and generalize from their home and school experiences; and in order that emotional control may be developed, they should be given the opportunity to participate in activities leading toward the acceptance of responsibility. This participation will foster a spirit of fair play and cooperation, habits of confidence, and a larger consideration of the rights of others. These are essential prerequisites for emotional control.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
DURING ADOLESCENCE

Social-sex development. The early work of G. Stanley Hall made use of diaries in studying the social development and change of interests that accompany development into adolescence. A more recent study of adolescent leisure-time activities, made through an analysis of diaries, revealed some interesting changes and conditions. A study of the leisure-time activities of 535 adolescents between 12 and 21 revealed an increase in heterosexual activities with an increase in age.[18] These later activities of adolescents consisted of dancing, talking, and the like, whereas their earlier activities included much time given to reading, listening to the radio, and to separate boy or girl club and gang affairs. These differences are well summarized in the report by Meek on the personal-social development of boys and girls from the onset of puberty into and through adolescence.[19] (See Table 5–4.) It is interesting to note how the gang interests of the adolescent are discarded during this period, in favor of closer identification with adult culture and interests. The intense desire

[18] H. E. O. James and F. T. Moore, "Adolescent Leisure in a Working-Class District," *Occupational Psychology*, 1940, Vol. 14, pp. 132–145.

[19] L. H. Meek (Chairman), *The Personal-Social Development of Boys and Girls with Implications for Secondary Education.* Committee on Workshops, Progressive Education Association, 1940, p. 121.

Table 5-4

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BOYS AND GIRLS FROM THE ONSET OF
PUBERTY INTO AND THROUGH ADOLESCENCE (*After Meek*)

FROM	To
1. Variety and instability of interests.	Fewer and deeper interests.
2. Talkative, noisy, daring behavior with a great amount of any kind of activity.	More dignified, controlled masculine and feminine adult behavior.
3. Seeking peer status with a high respect for peer standards.	The reflecting of adult cultural patterns.
4. A desire for identification with the herd, the crowd of boys and girls.	Identification with small select group.
5. Making family status a relatively unimportant factor insofar as it influences the choice of associates.	Making family socio-economic status an increasingly important factor in affecting with whom one associates.
6. Informal social activities such as parties.	Social activities of a more formal nature, such as dances.
7. Rare dating.	Dates and "steadies" the usual thing.
8. Emphasis on building relations with boys and girls.	Increasing concern with preparation for own family life.
9. Temporary friendships.	More lasting friendships.
10. Having many friends.	Fewer but deeper friendships.
11. Willingness to accept activities providing opportunities for social relations.	Desire for activities satisfying to the individual in line with talent development, proposed vocation, academic interest, or hobby.
12. Little insight into own behavior or behavior of others.	Increasing insight into human relations.
13. Accepting the provision of reasonable rules by adults as an important and stabilizing influence.	Making own rules with a definite purpose in view.
14. Ambivalence in accepting adult authority.	Growing independence from adults and dependence on self for decisions and behavior. Seeking relations with adults on an equality basis.

for status and approval in the society of his peers, together with the low regard for family status, which he manifests during his pre-adolescent years gradually gives way to a recognition of the socio-economic status of the family. It is at this point that his earlier, more democratic nature breaks down, and he begins to seek the friendship and approval of members of some select group.

The maturing sex drive. As a full-fledged drive, sex does not mature until puberty. The dynamic force of this drive comes mainly from the

hormones of the gonadal glands. These glands usually begin to function effectively sometime between the ages of 11 and 15 years, generally earlier in girls than in boys. However, many of the aidant mechanisms that later serve the sex appetite are established at an earlier period. Their development is a result of *both biological* and *social* forces. The biological reason is concerned with the fact that certain areas of the body are well supplied with cutaneous sense organs that become the points of stimulation for the development of overt responses. Furthermore, curves of growth of the sex glands reveal a gradual and constant growth, and any strong stimulation applied in the right way under favorable conditions will affect the sex drive during this early period. It has been pointed out that endocrine factors operate in preparing the preadolescent for adolescent changes. Concerning this, Shock states:

> With maturation of the sex glands, increased amounts of male or female sex hormones are liberated into the blood stream, stimulating growth and development of accessory sex organs, and resulting in the appearance of secondary sex characters.[20]

The manner in which a preadolescent reacts to a sex situation or problem will depend largely upon the attitudes toward sex formed during his earlier years. There will be important differences in the social-sex pattern for different groups and for different members of the same group. Boys reared in families where they have several sisters are likely to regard sex somewhat differently from those reared in homes where they have no sisters. In an effort to arrive at a better understanding of the development of the social-sex patterns of boys and girls, Campbell conducted a careful study of the social-sex attitudes and behavior of boys and girls in the Merrill-Palmer recreational clubs.[21] A social-sex scale was used to record the different observations. Behavior that characterizes boys and girls between the ages of 11 and 17 is presented in Table 5–5.

These results show a gradual and continuous development from the self-conscious stage at 11 or 12 to an intense interest in members of the opposite sex at 16 or 17. At all age levels the sex-pattern of girls reveals a greater maturity than that for boys of the same age.

Changed interest in personal appearance. The changed interest of adolescents in personal appearance has been noted by students of adolescent psychology, and has been explained in various ways. Most of these have tended toward oversimplification. Some have regarded this as part of the growing-up process—a sort of unfolding of natural tendencies; others have regarded it as a means of securing social approval; while

[20] N. W. Shock, "Physiological Changes in Adolescence," *Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I. Chicago: Department of Education, University of Chicago, 1944, p. 76.

[21] E. H. Campbell, "The Social and Sex Development of Children," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1939, Vol. 21, pp. 461–552.

Recreational and social life. PREADOLESCENTS ENGAGE IN MANY ACTIVITIES INVOLVING MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN SEX, WHILE ADOLESCENTS ENGAGE IN ACTIVITIES INVOLVING MEMBERS OF BOTH SEXES. (*Top photo by Ellis O. Hinsey; lower photo by H. Armstrong Roberts*)

Table 5–5

SOCIAL-SEX DIFFERENCES IN DEVELOPMENT (*Adapted from Campbell*)

Age	Boy	Girl
11		Shows self-consciousness at touching boys, except under conventional conditions
12	Shows self-consciousness at touching girls, except under conventional conditions Prefers boys in games to girls	Begins incessant whispering with her girl friends Sits next to girls when given a chance
13	If he finds himself in a group of girls, he leaves quickly	Feels shy in a group of boys
13.5	Sex modesty appears	Will not admit any boy could be attractive to her, but her behavior indicates an interest in boys
14	Extremely self-conscious and modest about the physical aspects of sex	Displays sex modesty, and is careful about exposing body and underwear Conscious of the sex attraction of clothes
14.5	Will not admit any girl could be attractive to him, but his behavior indicates an interest in girls Displays an increased interest in personal appearance	Begins frankly to enjoy dancing, and is seemingly interested in the attention of boys
15	Shies away from girls in a group, but pays some interest and is less shy when only one girl is involved	Interested in boys, but not in a particular boy Classifies work on sex lines Accepts social-sex cultural pattern and roles
15.5	Shows an enjoyment of the physical contact of dancing with girls Interested in girls, but not a particular girl Classifies work on sex lines Accepts social-sex cultural pattern and roles	Frank in her preference for boys, especially as dancing partners Uses varied techniques to attract the attention of boys, and is more interested in what boys are doing than what girls are doing Assumes external manners of an adult
16	Will sit next to his "girl friend" even though he is teased about her Enthusiastic about dancing and other heterosexual activities Assumes external manners of an adult	Shows an enjoyment of the physical contact of dancing Beginning to have dates, is overtly heterosexual, and talks to her girl friends about the attractiveness of certain boys
16.5–17	Assumes the masculine role to an increased degree, with the masculine right to dominate women	

others have conceived of it as the result of an awakened social conscious-ness and awareness of a sex role. This oversimplification, which has appeared in explanations of other aspects of behavior, oftentimes resulted from the nature and purpose of studies conducted on this problem. As early as 1897 Hall made use of the questionnaire method for studying the relation between clothing and the development of the sense of the self.[22] More recent investigators have studied the factors motivating teen-age boys and girls to take an increased interest in their personal appearance. Some students have attacked this from a psychoanalytic viewpoint, and have found evidence that clothes and personal appearance reveal characteristics of individuals.

There is a general agreement among the various studies that adoles-cence is accompanied by an increased interest in peer approval. The nature of this interest will be significantly affected by the experiences and social contacts that these boys and girls have had during early childhood, childhood, and preadolescence. Children are directed into their sex role at a very early age and become conscious of sex differences before they enter school; however, their attitudes toward members of the opposite sex will be closely related to their training and experiences.

One aspect of this problem was studied by Silverman.[23] A study of the actual clothing and grooming practices of adolescent girls was con-ducted by means of a carefully devised check list and objective questions on subjects related to the use of cosmetics, wearing of ornaments, types of clothing worn, and the like. Also a questionnaire entitled "What Do You Think About Clothing and Appearance?" and a Personal Data Sheet were administered to the girls. The study was conducted in a suburban New Jersey high school with an enrollment of 1,100 students representing a fairly good cross section of the population. The data were studied for age differences and for differences based upon economic cir-cumstances. The findings revealed the following:

a. Close conformity in the style of dress for daily wear was prevalent not only within the age groups but among the groups, girls at 12 and at all ages through 18 tending to dress in like fashion. Differences in dress among the age groups were evident in their week-end apparel, when the older girls were wearing higher heeled shoes, stockings instead of socks, and dresses rather than sweaters and skirts. . . .

b. The girls did not tend to go in for heavy use of make-up although cer-tain items were used almost universally. Age difference rather than con-formity to a pattern was the dominating factor in the use of cosmetics.

[22] G. S. Hall, "Early Sense of Self," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1897, Vol. 9, pp. 351–395.

[23] S. S. Silverman, "Clothing and Appearance: Their Implications for Teen-Age Girls," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, No. 912, 1945.

There was little difference noted in the practices and type of clothing worn by girls in extreme economic groups. The major differences were in the more expensive clothes and greater number of luxury items worn by those in the best economic circumstances; however, girls from all economic levels attempted to conform to the group style of dress and make-up. It appears, therefore, that growth and development through the teen years is accompanied by a changed attitude toward one's self and one's peers. The dynamic forces back of this changed attitude must be sought both in the changing physiological self and in the environmental forces affecting the individual. Some problems related to these changing interests and attitudes toward personal appearance will be discussed in subsequent chapters dealing with home conflicts, adolescent adjustments, mental hygiene, and guidance.

Social consciousness during adolescence. Cooley [24] was one of the first of the modern sociological writers to emphasize that man is dependent upon his fellows in a large measure for his thoughts, emotions, and modes of behavior. This emphasis was formulated under the term *social consciousness*. According to Cooley and other social psychologists, the consciousness of any single individual is nothing more than the consciousness of the many social groups with which he has come in contact. If we consider the average adolescent girl in the junior year in high school, we will find an individual bound by certain group standards, ideals, and general attitudes. The home and playmates have given her lessons in loyalty, service, cooperation, and interest in others. School studies have brought her, through her imagination, into contact with peoples of other countries and with deeds of men and women of the past. She thus has a wider and deeper appreciation of direct experience. Her religion, her politics, her pride of family and state, and her respect for the opinions of others have been molded by her social group. However, the adolescent is constantly meeting new social groups, many of which have ideals and attitudes somewhat different from those previously met; and here, Cooley points out, conflicts are likely to develop, since the individual's standards as built up through contact with different social groups may not be harmonious. Thus the adolescent upon meeting such a situation is often referred to as "green" or "nutty," or by some other name which would indicate his failure to understand and thus enter into the behavior of the new social group.

PROBLEMS RELATED TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The desire for conformity. The normal adolescent, though idealistic in his attitudes, is a slave to group conformity. His ardently poetic and

[24] C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

religious interests are seldom carried over into everyday activities. If the group frowns upon noble ideals, he will tend to frown upon such ideals; if the group keeps late hours, he is bent upon keeping late hours; and if the group swears and uses slang, he will again follow its pattern of action. There is at this stage the keen desire to follow the herd and to avoid being marked as "different." This attitude of conformity stands out above almost everything else at this period of life.

It has already been suggested that discrepancies in rate of growth may be a source of psychological tension for the less mature individual. This tension will be reflected in his social attitudes and outlook. Also, the individual maturing early may be faced with various social problems. His peers, because of his physical size, will expect certain things of him, but, since he may not have had the social experiences concomitant with physical development, or since physiological maturity may lag behind skeletal growth, he may not be able to meet their expectations, and this failure may become an important source of psychological tension. Girls who mature early and boys who mature late will be considerably out of line with their associates in development. Problems of social conformity are more prevalent among these "misfits," and may become a source of tension and difficulty for them.

Leadership among adolescents. In the study of leadership, it is essential that we recognize the importance of individual variation, not merely in native or acquired intelligence, but in the whole range of physical, emotional, and social variability. Often a prevailing social status may provide opportunity for leadership otherwise not at hand. In another social dimension, physical force may be important. The control of others, in some types of activities, demands brute strength. For example, leadership in some forms of athletics will usually be found among those superior in strength, motor coordination, and speed of reaction. This was revealed in one study in which a group of 447 13- and 14-year-old boys were classified according to leadership criteria and according to sexual maturity.[25] A comparison was then made of the proportion of leaders found among the mature and immature boys. Three types of leadership were noted: elective, appointive, and athletic. Only in athletic leadership did mature boys show a consistent superiority over immature boys. Physical maturity did not seem to have a significant influence upon elective or appointive leadership at the 13- or 14-year level.

It has been observed that where men have to impress other men in face-to-face contact, size and strength count for much in producing prestige and control. Social and emotional characteristics may be distinctly important in the development of adolescent leaders in social situations. It is apparent that with the divisions of life activities and the individual

[25] A. J. Latham, "The Relationship between Pubertal Status and Leadership in Junior High School Boys," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1951, Vol. 78, pp. 185–194.

divergencies in life organization, the personality of leaders will vary in accordance with the situations in which they find themselves. Leadership in any field is marked by positive characteristics, such as strength, self-assertion, initiative, willingness to assume responsibility, and the like. Leadership is dynamic, even when it is formalized, as is likely to be the case where large groups are involved. However, leadership is a phase of the entire life organization of the individual, and cannot be explained in terms of a series of special habits or talents.

Family influences that create, on the one hand, dominating or, on the other, submissive tendencies may play an important role in the development of leadership characteristics. However, a leader may develop from a family exerting repressive influences, if the boy or girl bears native impulses strong enough to provide a drive to offset or compensate for the sense of inferiority arising from this repression. All leadership, however, does not arise from an act of compensation. Families may be so organized as to provide experiences and conditions that will lead to the development of a personality with actual or potential leadership characteristics.

Seventy-one girls, comprising the junior and senior classes of the Horace Mann High School for Girls, New York City, were used as subjects in a study designed to determine which of a large number of psychological traits, presumably associated with personality, are related to the ability to lead.[26] The teachers of these girls were given lists of 46 traits and asked to check for each girl the item that could be attributed to that particular girl. In addition, each girl indicated on a scale of 10 the intensity of pleasant feeling she subjectively associated with every other girl of her class. Each teacher also indicated on a scale the relative amount of personality possessed by each girl. A definite relationship was found between personality and leadership. Adolescent girl leaders are pleasing to their contemporaries. Traits positively and significantly associated with leadership among these girls, in relative order, are: liveliness, wide interests, intelligence, good sportsmanship, originality, athletic prowess, cleverness, sense of humor, culture, and individuality.

Problems in socialization. Social problems are more frequently experienced by adolescent girls than by adolescent boys. Some of these problems will be discussed further in a later chapter dealing with the adolescent and his peers. Too little social life, lack of friends, wanting to learn how to dance, spending money for social activities, the desire for a new dress and the like are problems experienced by a great many adolescents. The dawning social consciousness appearing during the preadolescent stage is an important factor in the development of problems of a social nature at this period. Timidity, moodiness, temper outbursts, and daydreaming tendencies frequently result. The case of Louise shows

26 E. G. Fleming, "A Factor Analysis of the Personality of High School Leaders," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1935, Vol. 19, pp. 596–605.

how a combination of factors may operate to affect the socialization of a young adolescent girl.[27]

Louise, a twelve-year-old girl, was much taller than the other girls of her age and grade. Her intelligence quotient of 90 had made it difficult for her to do satisfactory work in school and consequently she was retarded in her school work. Although she was in a grade where most of the children were one year younger, she was unable to do satisfactory work in school, especially in reading. This was accounted for in part by her inferior cultural home background. The poverty of the home did little to overcome an unhappy home situation and tended to make her still more unattractive to the others of her class, since she was usually poorly and untidily dressed.

The teacher recognized her problems and showed a very sympathetic and understanding attitude toward them. Louise recited from her seat entirely and was never called upon to go to the blackboard for fear that this would embarrass her. Furthermore, Louise did not like to march in line with the other members of the class. Although the teacher was rather formal in nature in conducting her class work, she was rather lenient in allowing Louise to remain in the room and complete certain tasks while the other students were going out of the room in the line. However, this attitude on the part of the teacher did not solve Louise's problems. For, in fact, the problem was more than one of self-consciousness. This self-consciousness had associated with it certain habits and attitudes toward entering into group activities, finally developing into what might be termed a defiant attitude. Louise came to feel that if she did not wish to do certain things that she should be excused from doing them.

At the end of the school year, Louise, now thirteen years of age, was promoted to the seventh grade. The seventh-grade teacher was informed of Louise's problems, and was now in a position to profit from some of the well-meaning mistakes of the former teacher. The teacher set as her goal the bringing about of a better social adjustment on the part of Louise. Through visits to the home she was able to enlist some cooperation from the parents. Fortunately for Louise, one of the neighbors employed her to remain with their children, as a 'sitter.' This provided her with some spending money and gave her needed confidence in her ability and worth. At the end of the year considerable improvement was noted in her socialization. However, much guidance and direction is still needed.

Since boys and girls though of the same age do not develop uniformly, there will be a variation in their desires for social experiences. And, although social participation is essential for healthy social development, boys and girls should not be pushed into such experiences before they have reached the stage of social and emotional maturity at which they are ready for them. There is, likewise, a corollary to this proposition, namely, that adolescents should not have the activities in which they desire to participate closed to them when they have reached the stage of develop-

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[27] This case was cited by the author in *The Psychology of Exceptional Children,* Revised Edition. Copyright 1950 by The Ronald Press Company.

ment suitable to such participation. If social activities are provided periodically by the home, the church, the school, and other organizations concerned with the social development of boys and girls, there will be opportunities for the latter gradually to take part in them. Some of a particular age-group will be mere onlookers on certain occasions, but gradually the desire to play an active role will emerge, and later on they will begin to take some part in social activities; later still, there will probably be full-fledged and unanimous participation.

Cultural expectations. What is considered normal in one culture may be frowned upon in another. This may be observed in connection with certain religious cultures and those found among people with varying national or political backgrounds. American culture tends to prolong the period of adolescence; whereas many primitive cultures expect the child to move rapidly through the period of adolescence into adulthood and acceptance of adult responsibilities. Each culture has its own taboos, laws, and ethical codes. The individual who grows up successfully in a particular culture tends to accept the behavior patterns of that culture. Each society expects certain types of behavior from the members of that society; however, it differentiates in its expectations according to age, sex, and social-economic circumstances. The 13-year-old girl is not supposed to show the interest in dolls that is shown by the 7-year-old girl. Also, the 13-year-old girl is not expected to behave in the same manner as the 13-year-old boy. As a part of the individual's social development he must learn to play his age and sex roles. This question may be raised: What does the American culture expect of the adolescent boy and adolescent girl? Materials bearing on this will be presented in subsequent chapters.

Social adjustment and class status. Wherever large groups of individuals come together some sort of class structure appears. The difference between class structures in various societies depends largely on the factors that operate to produce class groupings. (Certain carefully devised procedures have been developed for the evaluation of class status in America.[28] Also, it has been observed that outstanding class differences exist in the social goals, mores, attitudes, and patterns of behavior of children and adolescents from different social-class groups. Some differences in middle-class and lower-class expectations are presented in Table 5–6. Considerably more anxiety appears among middle-class than among lower-class parents. This anxiety is in evidence in connection with education, saving money, sexual behavior, manners, and respect for law. Honesty and frankness in social situations characterize the behavior of the lower class; while tact is more frequently practiced by the middle class.

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[28] See W. L. Warner, M. Meeker, and K. S. Eells, *Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status:* Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949.

The personal and social effects of the class status in which the individual is reared have been studied by a number of investigators. According to Neugarten's study, social class seems to operate differently in affecting the reputation scores at the fifth- and sixth-grade level and at the high-school level.[29] At the fifth- and sixth-grade level upper-class status carries with it almost automatically a favorable reputation score, while membership in the lower class usually results in an unfavorable reputation score. At the high-school level upper-class status insures the individual that he will be given attention and consideration, whether his reputation is favorable or unfavorable. At this age level the lower-class child either drops out of school or takes on the behavior and values of his middle-class associates and thus tends to lose his lower-class characteristics.

Table 5-6

COMPARISON OF MIDDLE-CLASS AND LOWER-CLASS EXPECTATIONS
OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Middle Class	Lower Class
Anxious for children to finish high school	Parents somewhat indifferent toward children finishing high school
Emphasis upon postponement of marriage in order to secure an education	Likelihood of early marriage and responsibility for a family
Early taboo on sexual interests	Relatively few taboos on sexual interests
Recreation is organized and supervised	Recreation of children not closely supervised by parents
Children given an allowance and encouraged to save money	Children allowed to spend what money they have as they please
Interest in school grades and graduation from high school is inculcated	Indifference toward good grades and high school graduation shown
Aggression must be controlled; children discouraged from fighting	Children, especially boys, encouraged to "fight for their rights"
Respect for law and policeman is taught	Fear of law and policeman is taught
Tact in social situations is practiced	Honesty and frankness in social situations are practiced
Stress put on education and upward social mobility	Stress put on getting a job and accepting financial responsibility
Child learns proper etiquette—manner of social intercourse	Little emphasis placed on proper etiquette

[29] B. L. Neugarten, "Social Class and Friendship Among Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1946, Vol. 51, pp. 305–313.

Failure in socialization. The study by Bonney was designed to determine the type of individual who is generally well accepted socially as compared with the one who is socially unsuccessful.[30] Two methods of gathering data were used in this study. These were: (1) trait ratings, on the part of both teachers and pupils, and (2) the pupil's choices of friends —a method referred to as a sociometric test. One fact emerging from this study was that the most popular children are more aggressive and overt in their responses. It was found that the highest social recognition does not go to children who are submissive and docile. It appears that to be well accepted as a child or adolescent, one needs to possess positive attributes that will make him count in the group. Popularity among children and adolescents is closely related to strong personalities, enthusiasm, friendliness, and marked abilities. Although there are changes with age, as suggested in an earlier chapter, there is good evidence that the individual at all age levels is popular because of desirable positive actions rather than because of inhibitions and restraints.

The variety of social contacts increases with age, requiring new social skills as new and additional social demands are made upon the adolescent. As the child moves from his neighborhood elementary school to the junior-high-school serving several neighborhoods he loses much of the security of home and neighborhood ties. Many of his classmates are strangers to him. Social contacts are made with boys and girls from varying home backgrounds. He must learn to work with and cooperate with these classmates in many school activities. He must, furthermore, adjust to an increasing number of teachers, and additional educational demands involving a greater complexity and flexibility in social skills. Extreme introversion and daydreaming or antisocial tendencies are quite likely to arise when there is a failure in the socialization process.

During adolescence increased barriers to free social intercourse develop. Along with the development of social consciousness, referred to earlier in this chapter, consciousness of differences in color, religion, national background, and social class increase tremendously. These become increasingly important factors in the choice of friends, choice of dates, and membership in cliques. Deviated personalities begin to be observed to a large degree as the individual makes wider social contacts; the adolescent's physiological development, new contacts, heightened emotions, and enlarged mental life create a new self, and this new self seeks an expression that needs sympathetic guidance if it is to develop along desirable lines.

SUMMARY AND GENERALIZATION

The growth and development of the child into adolescence are accom-

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[30] M. E. Bonney, "Personality Traits of Socially Successful and Unsuccessful Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1943, Vol. 34, pp. 449–472.

panied by glandular changes closely related to the emotional life. The heightened emotional states during this period of life have constantly been recognized as a part of the nature of adolescents; however, in addition to a heightened emotional state at this time, there is also an expansion of the emotions into the social realm. Fears and angers related to social situations become very important; self-conscious feelings about one's own adequacy appear; and the adolescent becomes especially concerned over the approval of his peers. This increased fear is also observed in connection with classroom situations. Fear of reciting in class, fear of failure, and fear of ridicule become more pronounced at this age level.

Emotional development, no less than the development of motor abilities, is dependent upon maturation and learning. The relationship to social development may be observed in the early emotional and social responses of the infant child to the mother. Emotional and social growth are clearly entwined in the social responses of the child at each stage of his social development. Concerning the general nature of social growth, Conradi has stated:

Developmentally, the child proceeds through a series of stages—from liking to be in the presence of human beings, to experimenting with the qualities and reactions of human beings; from watching a person do something, to trying to do the same thing; from doing the same thing as another person, to understanding that people may have a common objective as they do the same thing; and from this, to the final step of understanding that people may further a common objective by doing different things—i.e., by sharing effort and by specialization of effort.

The child ultimately comes to realize that a group objective can be satisfying to both the individual and the group. But he must always work at the level of his own ability and his own insight, whether he is under the guidance of the nursery-school teacher, the elementary-school teacher, or the high-school teacher.[31]

It has been emphasized throughout this chapter that development into adolescence is accompanied by an increased interest in personal appearance, one's peers, and social activities involving members of the opposite sex. The extent to which the adolescent is able to make satisfactory social adjustments will depend upon a number of factors, including the operation of the developmental process during the earlier years. This is in harmony with the statement quoted from Conradi, which emphasizes the concept that growth and development are gradual in nature. There is, therefore, a necessity for boys and girls to have had opportunities to develop through social participation at the various stages in life. Such

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[31] C. Conradi, "Participating in Shared Child-Adult Activities," *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools.* 1950 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, pp. 161–162.

participation must always be on the level of the child's maturity and past experiences, if it is to be most effective.

With the onset of adolescence there is an increased interest in participating in such activities as clubs, team games, and so forth. If adolescents have had the opportunities for normal development under favorable guidance, they will constantly seek the companionship of members of the opposite sex as well as of their own. Social qualities become quite pronounced in speech, conduct, and common motor expressions. In the development of a social being there must, of course, be contact with others, but some other elements are essential, such as: (1) some important activity in common, for example, a language, symbol, creed, or aim; (2) the effect of suggestion by the activities of others; (3) an acquaintance, unity, or some general interfeeling and intercommunication.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Just what do you understand the term *social development* to mean? What do you consider the most important factors affecting a child's social development?

2. What type of activities characterize the play and recreational lives of 10-year-old boys? Of 10-year-old girls? Of 13-year-old boys? Of 13-year-old girls?

3. Consider some chum or pal of yours during your early teen years. What factors entered into your selecting the particular person as a pal? Is this in harmony with the materials on this problem presented in this chapter?

4. How is language related to social development? Will language training speed up social development or the socializing process? Explain.

5. What is the significance of the changes in emotional manifestations presented in this chapter?

6. Look up the James-Lange theory of emotions. What evidence have you observed that would support this theory?

7. List some principles of emotional control. Which of these have you found most useful in your life?

8. What are the major agencies concerned with social development of adolescents? Evaluate the effectiveness of three of these in light of your own experiences.

9. Study carefully the materials of Table 5–5 dealing with social-sex development. What outstanding sex differences appear in these results? Account for some of the most outstanding differences.

10. What are some ways in which cooperation, social understanding, and self-control among adolescents can be encouraged?

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Part **III**

PERSONALITY AND ADJUSTMENT IN ADOLESCENCE

CHANGE OF INTERESTS
WITH AGE

INTERESTS: THEIR NATURE
AND DEVELOPMENT

The meaning of interests. It has already been pointed out that the adolescent is in no sense a passive agent in a constant environment. The mode of reaction on the part of the adolescent is determined not only by the environment but by the specific direction, in accordance with changes that have been wrought in the neuromuscular system during the earlier years of experience, of the energies of the organism. Interest, then, is purposive insofar as a situation produces a response in the individual such that certain desires and strivings are channeled toward realization.

The word *interest* is derived from the Latin word *interesse,* which means "to be between," "to make a difference," "to concern," "to be of value." Interest has been described as that "something between" that secures some desired goal, or is a means to an end *that is of value to the individual* because of its driving force, usefulness, pleasure, or general social and vocational significance. Interest is a form of emotional state in the individual's life that is interrelated with the general habit system of activity. Moreover, during a state of interest, certain parts of the environment are singled out, not merely because of such objective conditions of attention as *intensity, extensity, duration, movement,* but because changes have been established in the neuromuscular system that cause the organism to favor some reactions to the exclusion of others. The term *interest* has ordinarily been referred to in descibing or explaining why the organism tends to favor some situations and thus comes to react to them in a very selective manner. Interest is directly related to voluntary attention, and when interest is not present, attention tends to fluctuate readily.

The organism must be considered in terms of the biological and social drives that have been noted. Hence, with growing knowledge, and experiences developing and integrating special habit patterns, the individual reaching adolescence has both *intrinsic* and *extrinsic* interests. It is of course well that there be a balance existing between these interests.

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The age of adolescence has been referred to by psychologists as the period of varied and peculiar interests. It should be recognized, first, that all interests grow out of experiences, and the life experiences of the organism tend to guide and direct the development of further interests. In attempting to build some interest in the life of the child, it should therefore be recognized that any such interest must be established according to the laws of learning, just as other habit patterns are formed. Over a long period of careful observations it becomes evident that different individuals have preferred ways of reacting to a specific phase of their environment, and these are somewhat characteristic of the organism concerned. When the adolescent chooses some special book to read instead of pursuing an athletic game, we recognize that a special type of interest is present. This interest is in itself a drive to a special type of action. When a boy pursues a game for its own sake or for the amusement and fun that he gets from the exercise, then his interest is referred to as intrinsic or as "an end unto itself." On the other hand, when a boy goes into athletics in order to keep himself fit or to develop certain desirable character traits, we have an example of extrinsic interests, or a means to arrive at some desirable element. Athletics, reading a book, driving an automobile, and practically any activity we might consider may be of either an intrinsic or an extrinsic type of interest. Intrinsic interest is usually more spontaneous than extrinsic interest.

This differentiation in the nature of interests is a matter of importance to parents, teachers, or boys' workers who wish to regulate the overflow of restlessness in boyhood and youth. An individual responds to an intrinsic interest, to the pleasure which his palate will take, for instance, in a fine dinner, more readily than to a plain meal which is good for his health. At the same time, adolescence may also be rightly thought of as the period when individuals begin to look with a longer horizon upon the experiences of daily living as a means to an end. Wise adults are accustomed to look beyond the immediate gratification yielded by an activity to discover its values.[1]

The growth of interests. The early interests of the child are centered on purely personal relations. When he sees an animal that he has not seen before, he will ask, "What is it? Will it bite?" These questions are not scientific in nature; neither are they prompted by the ideal of scientific inquiry. Nevertheless, even at this stage in the intellectual development of the child one sees evidence of individual interest in the structure, behavior, and life history of the animal. This represents the beginning of a scientific interest in life, and especially the life of animals. Interest is dependent on experience, but this does not mean that the native ability does not play a part in the development of interest. The physical growth

[1] W. R. Boorman, *Developing Personality in Boys.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, p. 41. (Quoted by permission of the publishers.)

of the organism, itself, is an important factor in the development of interests. Even visceral and glandular activities may affect the direction of one's interests.
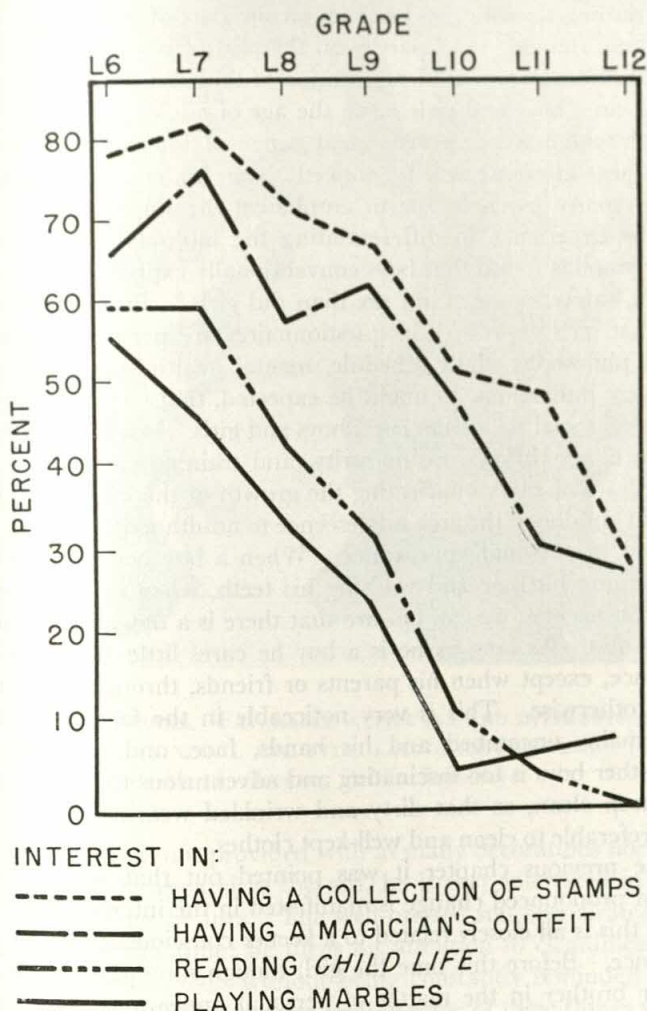
Figure 6–1. Changes of four childhood interests with change of grade status. (*After Jones*)

The University of California Interest Record was used in a study reported by Jones.[2] A group of activities in which there is a decided decline in play interests for boys is shown in Figure 6–1. These curves show that, beginning with the seventh-grade boys, there is a rapid and contin-

[2] H. E. Jones, *Development in Adolescence*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948, p. 104.

uous decline in early childhood interests in marble playing, collecting stamps, the magician's outfit, and reading *Child Life*. The extent to which a child replaces these types of interests with more mature interests, such as dating, dancing, and parties on the part of girls and team activities, dating, dancing, and parties on the part of boys, is a good measure of the social development of maturation of the adolescent boy and girl.

By the time boys and girls reach the age of adolescence and are beginning high-school work, a very great range of interests and also a pronounced sex difference will be noticed. Careful, controlled observations have led many psychologists to emphasize the importance of the role played by experience in differentiating the interests of both races and sexes. Symonds found that boys conventionally expressed greater interest in health, safety, money, and sex than did girls.[3] Prominent among interests that girls expressed on questionnaires are personal attractiveness, personal philosophy, daily schedule, mental health, and home relations. There were indications, as might be expected, that city pupils were more conscious of social skills than rural boys and girls. Environmental factors, intelligence, sex differences, maturity, and training combine as complex and integrated factors in affecting the growth of the interests of boys and girls from childhood through adolescence to adulthood.

Interest in personal appearance. When a boy begins to spend more time combing his hair and washing his teeth, when he calls for a clean shirt and a necktie, we can be sure that there is a dawning sex and social consciousness. As long as he is a boy he cares little about his personal appearance, except when his parents or friends, through constant effort, make it otherwise. This is very noticeable in the fact that his hair so often remains uncombed and his hands, face, and neck dirty. Life among other boys is too fascinating and adventurous to bother about trying to keep clean, so that dirty and wrinkled wearing apparel is often found preferable to clean and well-kept clothes.

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that when pubescence arrives, a pronounced change is manifested in the interest in the opposite sex, and this is all closely related to a keener consciousness about personal appearance. Before this time the girl, though somewhat less indifferent than her brother in the matter of personal appearance, has not shown much interest in styles or appearance except in a sort of imitative manner. With the onset of pubescence, she becomes more interested in the show window and the fashion sheet and visualizes herself dressed in a tailored suit according to the pattern of youth. The demand for sport clothes, beach wear, winter sport outfits, and sport jackets is characteristic of this period of life.

[3] P. M. Symonds, "Comparison of the Problems and Interests of Young Adolescents Living in City and Country," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 1936, Vol. 10, pp. 231–236; also, "Life Problems and Interests of Adolescents," *The School Review*, 1936, Vol. 44, pp. 506–518.

Attitudes and experiences. FAVORABLE ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS ARE PRO-
MOTED THROUGH MEANINGFUL AND STIMULATING EXPERIENCES. (*Courtesy
Portland, Oregon, Public Schools*)

Although the boy is not provided with as many decorations nor as wide
a variety of wearing apparel as the girl, he is very interested in making
the most of the things he uses. The well-pressed suit and clean shirt be-
come the order of this time; he turns his attention to cleanliness and to
well-groomed hair and nails without being constantly reminded of these
things by his mother. The taste concerning some of these things will vary
with different localities, but the one that will be followed by most of the
boys is the one that meets with approval, and especially approval from
the opposite sex.

This increased interest in both boys and girls reaches a very great height
toward the postpubescent period, and at an early stage is likely to bring
adolescents into conflict with their parents. Some of the problems related
to this will be discussed more fully in Chapter 13. The ten-cent stores
have made it possible for boys and girls to find cheap imitations that aid
them considerably in adorning themselves and in copying styles of others

who are in better financial circumstances. By examining and recognizing the nature of these interests one can obtain a more accurate portrait of the teen years and the dawning social consciousness than through perhaps any other means available.

SCHOOL-RELATED INTERESTS

Reading interests. Possibly the two media for reading preferred by most adolescents are comic books and magazines. Comic books decrease in popularity during the adolescent years, although their appeal continues throughout adolescence into adulthood. Adolescents find in reading materials a medium for satisfying a love for adventure. Brink, in making a survey of reading interests of several thousand high-school boys and girls, found adventure ranking first in the choice of both boys and girls in all grades, VII through XII.[4] In general, adolescent girls, due to advanced maturity, tend to shift from adventure and mystery to romance and sentiment earlier than boys, although the former types retain some of their charm throughout the entire adolescent period. Several studies

Table 6–1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TYPES OF BOOKS READ BY BOYS IN GRADES VII–XII (*After McCarty*)

Type of Books	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	All Grades
Adventure	29.4	32.4	29.4	28.4	20.8	16.6	27.8
General fiction	23.0	20.1	24.0	25.2	34.1	34.5	25.2
Animals	13.9	12.7	12.6	9.5	4.7	2.7	10.6
Biography and autobiography	6.4	6.0	7.9	7.6	9.0	7.4	7.2
Hobbies and sports	5.5	7.7	7.8	6.6	4.5	4.5	6.4
War and defense	5.0	6.0	7.2	6.0	5.3	7.3	6.1
Mystery and detective	8.1	6.1	4.2	3.7	2.5	2.1	5.0
Miscellany	2.7	3.0	2.3	4.7	6.3	9.8	4.0
Science	2.0	2.2	1.6	2.2	2.5	2.8	2.1
The arts	.7	.8	.4	2.3	4.5	7.1	1.9
History and geography	1.2	.9	.7	1.3	2.2	2.3	1.3
Humor	.4	.7	.9	.9	2.0	.9	.9
Mythology and fairy tales	1.1	.7	.4	.4	.5	.3	.6
Occupations	.2	.3	.1	.9	.7	1.1	.5
Career fiction	.4	.3	.5	.3	.4	.6	.4
Total							100.0

[4] W. G. Brink, "Reading Interests of High School Pupils," *School Review*, 1939, Vol. 47, pp. 613–621.

have revealed that as adolescents mature they manifest an increased interest in biographical and travel sketches.

A comparison of the choices of books by adolescent boys and girls, presented in Tables 6–1 and 6–2, reveal some interesting and significant differences.[5] With the boys, stories of adventure rank first, general fiction second, and animal stories third. The boys showed a much greater diversification of reading choices than the girls. Over one-half of the total reading of girls was in general fiction, with most of the other categories receiving little consideration. However, reading choices of both sexes showed about the same degree of maturity in the junior-high-school grades. More definite evidences of maturing interests may be noted in the choices of both boys and girls in successive grades of the senior high school.

An investigation by Witty and Coomer of the reading choices of high-school boys and girls was concerned with the magazines, newspapers, and books they were reading.[6] The results of this study showed significant

Table 6–2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY TYPE OF BOOKS READ BY GIRLS IN GRADES
VII–XII (*After McCarty*)

Type of Books	Grade						All Grades
	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
General fiction	47.0	50.8	53.0	54.4	58.0	57.2	52.5
Adventure	12.0	9.7	10.6	8.0	6.3	3.5	9.1
Animals	10.8	9.1	6.2	4.4	1.6	1.9	6.5
Biography and autobiography	5.3	5.2	6.8	6.7	8.8	6.0	6.3
Mystery and detective	11.0	7.2	5.9	3.5	1.4	1.4	5.8
Career fiction	5.2	7.7	6.5	5.4	2.8	1.7	5.4
Miscellany	3.3	3.3	4.3	6.8	7.2	12.4	5.4
The arts	.7	.7	.8	2.7	6.4	9.2	2.5
Science	1.2	2.1	1.0	1.6	1.4	.7	1.4
War and defense	.6	.9	1.3	2.0	1.2	1.5	1.2
Hobbies and sports	.7	1.1	1.2	1.4	.5	1.1	1.0
History and geography	.7	.6	.8	1.1	2.0	.8	.9
Humor	.5	.4	.8	.8	1.3	1.2	.8
Mythology and fairy tales	.9	1.0	.3	.5	.3	.7	.7
Occupations	.1	.2	.5	.7	.8	.7	.5
Total							100.0

[5] P. S. McCarty, "Reading Interests Shown by Choices of Books in School Libraries," *School Review*, 1950, Vol. 58, pp. 90–96.

[6] P. Witty, A. Coomer, and D. McBean, "Children's Choices of Favorite Books," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1946, Vol. 37, pp. 266–278.

sex differences at the different age levels in choice of magazines and books. Developmental changes may be observed in this and other studies. Other investigators have been concerned with reading materials preferred by boys and those preferred by girls. Boys prefer action, such as mischievous pranks, fights, races, moving around, and adventure; whereas girls prefer mystery far more than boys, as well as deaths, accidents, kind acts, and events involving social and romantic elements.

The differences noted in the choices of books by boys and girls are also reflected in their choice of magazines. Therefore any consideration of periodicals for the home or school must recognize this gulf. There is some evidence that the magazines to be found in the school libraries have been chosen largely from the woman's world. This may be accounted for, in part at least, by the fact that they are usually chosen by a woman or by a committee made up of school teachers (largely feminine). Three trends in American periodicals were noted by Zander.[7] These trends are increased popularity of the digest, the news, and picture types of magazines. This is in harmony with findings by Sterner.[8]

The fifteen magazines most widely read by high-school pupils of North Newark, in order of their popularity, were listed as: *Life, Look, Reader's Digest, Movie Mirror, Saturday Evening Post, Movie Story, Modern Screen, Ladies' Home Journal, Liberty, Popular Mechanics, Popular Science, Movie-Radio Guide, Silver Screen, Good Housekeeping,* and *Woman's Home Companion.* Such a list would vary considerably from locality to locality. Certainly, the boys and girls from the wheat lands of Kansas or from the cotton fields of Texas would not show the same types of interest in reading magazines as would the boys and girls of Newark, New Jersey. There are many factors that would tend to affect this; yet there are likely to appear some features in common arising out of the nature of adolescent interests as expressed in a democratic land.

The comic book, in its present form, is the most recent and in many cases the most widespread of all the leisure verbal activities pursued by preadolescents and adolescents. Even though their history is still a short one, they have been subjected to considerable criticism. They have been looked upon by some as the inspirer of bad deeds; their art has been described as a "hodge-podge of blotched lines and clashing colors," while the content has been referred to as "sadistic drivel." However, some educators recognize their appeal and have attempted to turn the method of presentation used by the funny books into a channel for developing more worthy concepts and ideals. Case studies show that the bright as well as the dull, and the child from the privileged as well as the underprivileged home read the funny books. As grade increases, however,

[7] J. Zander, "Modern Magazine Trends," *Chicago School Journal,* 1940, Vol. 22, pp. 63–67.

[8] A. P. Sterner, "Radio, Motion Picture, and Reading Interest," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education,* No. 932, 1947.

there is a gradual and continuous decrease of interest in reading funny books. As the individual moves into the postadolescent stage, pronounced sex differences become evident; although there is still considerable interest manifested by both boys and girls in the comic strips. This is well illustrated in the case of the development of Karl.

At the age of seven Karl showed a great deal of interest in cartoons displaying activities of animals and children. There was a gradual change of interest with increased age, so that by the age of ten he was keenly interested in super activities of men, who were oftentimes made heroes; with the outbreak of World War II, he became interested in constructing comics of his own and developed a series of comics at the age of eleven entitled, *Flying Tommy*.

Karl was always very successful in his school work and had a reading ability two years advanced for his age. At the age of twelve he seemed to lose interest in most comic magazines, but showed an increased interest in a number of comic strips. There was a significant relationship observed between these changes of interest in the comics and the development and change of interest in the radio, movies, and play activities.

Interests in school subjects. The general conclusions of the various studies pertaining to interest and ability do not reflect so much the individual's capacity as compared with that of others, as they do his hierarchy of abilities. Thus the individual is likely to be most interested in those things he can do best; but this "best" does not of necessity mean superiority over others in the specified task.

According to the data presented from the *Fortune* Survey, mathematics and English rank first and second, respectively, as the most-liked and least-liked subjects (see Table 6–3).[9] It might be stated that these are the subjects most widely given, and that they generally run throughout the high-school curriculum, although there is a tendency to make more of the advanced high-school work in mathematics elective in nature.

Table 6–3

HIGH-SCHOOL SUBJECTS LIKED BEST AND THE ONES LIKED LEAST
BY HIGH-SCHOOL SENIORS

Subject	Best	Least
Mathematics—algebra, geometry, trigonometry	20.0%	26.7%
English—grammar, composition, literature, etc.	17.7	22.2
Sciences—general science, biology, chemistry, other (except social)	14.8	18.7
History	11.0	12.4
Vocational courses—home economics, typing, and other business	10.3	3.9
Languages—French, Spanish, etc.	6.8	13.4
Civics, government, social science, etc.	1.8	3.2
Don't know	2.4	5.3

[9] "Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, December 1942, p. 14. The materials of Table 6-4 are based upon answers to the questions: "Of all the subjects you have taken so far in high school, which one have you liked best? Which least?"

Cross tabulations from the Survey show further that certain patterns of preferences are frequently found. Those students disliking English, languages, and history often offer as their preferences mathematics and the laboratory sciences, and vice versa.

The study of children's interests reported by Jersild and Tasch showed that, at all grade levels, items in the broad category that includes academic subject-matter areas were mentioned most frequently when children told what they liked best in school.[10] Nature study and natural science were mentioned infrequently in the earlier grades but showed a gain in popularity at the junior- and senior-high-school levels—grades 7–9 and 10–12. The results of this study (presented in Table 6–4) show, however, a decline of interest in the academic and educational features of school life, and an increased interest in sports, games, discussion clubs, student council, and the category of people. Kabat reported that three-fifths of the high-school students included in one study found nothing of interest in high school except sports and social activities.[11] These activities are in many cases more meaningful and significant to the adolescent than to the preadolescent, and are in harmony with the physiological and social changes occurring at this stage.

Table 6–4

WHAT I LIKE BEST IN SCHOOL (*After Jersild and Tasch*)

Category	Ages 9–12		Ages 12–15		Ages 15–18	
	Boys	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*
Sports, games, physical education	13.3	9.5	30.6	33.2	34.8	34.4
Areas of study, subject matter	69.7	76.3	44.4	60.1	41.3	45.5
Art activity or appreciation: music, painting, drawing	11.1	14.8	10.0	15.9	16.2	13.8
Crafts, mechanical arts	.3	0	19.8	0	15.5	.4
Discussion clubs, student council	1.3	.8	1.0	.5	3.6	6.4
People: both pupils and teachers	2.5	6.1	4.1	5.6	6.0	11.4

Interests and abilities. Several studies have been made of the relationship between interests and abilities during different periods of life.

[10] A. T. Jersild and R. J. Tasch, *Children's Interests.* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949, p. 138.

[11] G. J. Kabat, "Continuous Education for Varying Needs and Abilities," *Junior College Journal,* 1952, Vol. 23, pp. 154–163.

Thorndike was one of the first to investigate this general subject.[12] He had a group of 344 college students rank their interests in the elementary-school, the high-school, and the college period in seven different school abilities. Correlations were computed between the individual's order of interest and his order of abilities, and were found to be .89 each for the elementary school, for the high school, and for college. Bernard O. Nemoitin investigated the relation between interest and achievement.[13] The data of his study were gathered by means of a questionnaire and the use of school records. He found that the degrees of relationship between ability in high school courses "liked best," "liked second best," "disliked most," "disliked next as much," and average ability for high school courses were expressed by the correlation coefficients, $.60 \pm .04$, $.49 \pm .04$, $.58 \pm .04$, and $.57 \pm .04$, when the data obtained from 150 high-school seniors were considered. The relationship between interest and ability was found to become more variable and hence less reliable as the degree of interest considered moved from the extremes.

One of the ultimate measures of the vitality of the experiences gained in school is the extent to which the experiences lead to desirable interests and habits that endure into maturity. Interest and motivation are very closely related. It is well recognized by successful teachers that when work is properly motivated and based upon the interests of the subjects it appears easier to the student. When he is interested in a task, his attention remains more nearly in the marginal context and does not fluctuate far from the general pattern. Interest tends to focus the attention within a marginal field and thus should be considered as selective in nature as well as a driving force. Since learning is so largely dependent upon the attentive response of the subject, one will find a direct relation existing between interest and amount of learning. Attitude, which is closely related to learning, has been studied by various investigators as to its effect on both amount and duration of learning. It has been shown that, when different attitudes are set up by different purposes, the same subject will exhibit marked differences in amount learned. It might be laid down as a fundamental proposition that "interest breeds ability and ability breeds interest." It does not appear likely that one could be interested in a task if one knew nothing whatsoever about it.

Despite the fact that interest is related to ability, it cannot be concluded that a student is of especially high ability in some special line merely because of his interest in that line. In the first place, there is the question of individual variation: the student might be more interested in this special line of endeavor than in any other activity, and have better ability in it than in most other fields, but still have very little ability be-

[12] E. L. Thorndike, "Early Interests: Their Permanence and Relation to Abilities," *School and Society*, 1917, Vol. 5, pp. 178–179.

[13] B. O. Nemoitin, "Relation between Interest and Achievement," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1932, Vol. 16, pp. 59–73.

cause of a general deficiency. A boy is observed as displaying a keen interest in baseball, but this does not mean that he will be able to make the high school team. It will be much safer to predict that he will succeed better in baseball than in any other form of athletics; that is, he is probably more able to compete with a fair degree of success in this sport than in any other. There has indeed been some confusion in the drawing of conclusions concerning the relation between interest and ability. It is safer to consider the ability of the individual in the field of his intense interest in relation to his ability in other kindred activities, than to compare this ability with that of others displaying a less intense interest in this line.

Parents and teachers can do a great deal by showing appreciation of the desirable qualities, potentialities, and abilities of their children. However, they should also recognize their children's limitations, and not expect things of them beyond their possibilities. Gibby has given a detailed case history of a scholastically retarded boy that is typical of a great number of cases:

James was a poorly dressed boy of 14 years and 7 months. His face and hands were dirty and he was always in need of a haircut. He was 5 feet and 2 inches tall and weighed approximately 128 pounds; his muscular coordination, however, was not good. He is left-handed, and no efforts have ever been made to change this condition. He has no speech defects. His vision is poor and he wears glasses. According to the Stanford Revision of the Binet Test, he has a mental age of 7 years and 4 months. This would give him an IQ of 52. Upon the Ohio Literacy Test, James had a raw score of 0, which would give him a mental age of less than 5. From his reactions to other tests, it was quite obvious that he was sufficiently subnormal to have very great trouble understanding directions, and that he had not developed the ability to read.

James thought that he was clever, and would usually answer questions that he didn't know by saying: 'I haven't learned that at school yet.' He would oftentimes look at the examiner and merely smile in response to questions. His ranking on Schedule A of the *Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedule* was in the 74th percentile, and his ranking for Schedule B was in the 99.9th, indications of a very serious maladjustment on his part. James has been a problem child to the school officials ever since he entered the school system. That is, he has been a problem in that the school officials have not known what to do with him. He did not manifest any serious behavior problem traits. He was ranked, at the time of this study, in the sixth grade; however, he had never actually passed the work equivalent to that of the first grade. In the school room he would remain quiet most of the time, but two or three times a day would burst into an uncontrollable laughter and clap his hands together several times. He attended school regularly, and was awarded a certificate of honor for this perfect attendance.

His arithmetic age was about 7 years, and he showed no ability to read. This is revealed in the following episode: "The letters A, B, C, D, and E were placed on the blackboard. James was told the name of each letter, and

was drilled on them again and again. As long as the letters were in their proper order, he could repeat them correctly, pointing to each letter as it came; but just as soon as the sequence was changed, or he began with any other letter than the first, he was unable to distinguish the one from the other." His experiences with a pre-primer reader containing stories reveals further the nature of his reading: 'He was delighted to get the book, and told everyone that he was going to learn how to read. He came to school the next day, said that he had finished the book, and that he wanted another. Upon being asked to read the first story, James rattled it off correctly. He was praised for this and then asked to read the next two stories, which he also did correctly. However, upon being asked what the word "run" was, he responded with the word "baby." Questioning brought out the information that his grandmother had read the stories to him the evening before, and that she had read them to him so often that he had remembered them word for word.'

James is clearly a mentally retarded individual. He presents no serious behavior problems, but accepts blindly all rules and authority. His lack of muscular co-ordination makes it well-nigh impossible to train him for usefulness in most manual activities. Any work activities that he is ever able to do will have to be carefully planned for him, and each stage supervised. He has not benefited from his enforced period of attendance of school for nine years by mastering reading and the other 'tool' subjects. He has thus far been kept from becoming a ward of the state at the expense of the inconvenience and trouble that it has cost the school to care for him. Because of the nature of his home conditions, which are at a very low level, he will likely become a ward of the state once he leaves school.[14]

The school and the expansion of interest. The schools offer the adolescent the opportunity, among other things, to expand his social contacts, to achieve status, and to prepare himself for a normal adult life. Not all adolescents can master academic subjects, but the majority can learn to live a reasonably normal life according to the training and influence the school implants within them.

The friendships made in school during this period have a marked bearing upon the shaping of character and personality and the stabilizing of adulthood. Records and charts show that such friendships are based primarily on common interests. This fact is illustrated in the activities of any adolescent one knows: the adolescent is obviously drawn toward a fellow athlete, musician, or craftsman. Moreover, the frequency of such associations will determine the duration of these interests, and here the school promotes recurring association by means of its many avenues of approach to these varied interests, in the form of extra activities not in the regular curriculum.

Loyalty, too, has its foundation in the school. At first this quality is directed toward the adolescent's classmates and teachers, but soon it em-

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[14] R. G. Gibby, "A Clinical Study of Thirty-Two Scholastically Retarded Special-Class Boys," Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 1939.

braces the entire school in the form of school spirit. The school does not complete its function when it merely *teaches* loyalty, honesty, and democracy; the real value of these lessons is realized only when they are put into practice in all the organizations of the school. The result proves to be a stepping-stone to good citizenship, through loyalty to community and, ultimately, loyalty to country. It is at this point that many activities taking place outside the classroom function most effectively. These activities have often been referred to as extracurricular in nature; there is, however, a distinct tendency to regard them as an important part of the school's program. Such activities have been classified in various ways. Hausle suggests a four-division classification as follows: "(1) Athletics—interscholastic and intramural; (2) Clubs—subject, hobby, welfare, honorary; (3) Semi-curricular activities—those for which a school may grant subject-credit; (4) Citizenship activities—service." [15]

The disregard for individual variation by our school system is the chief reason that so many students are constant failures, academically and emotionally. The mentally and physically inadequate (by school or society's standards) are all victims of constant failure in their ambitions. An adolescent is more sensitive than an adult to the inability to win some sort of acclaim in his actions. An adult can take pleasure in bowling or golf even if he is not too skillful; he soon realizes his limitations. The adolescent, on the other hand, always has a hope, more or less intense, of becoming a champion or a leader. It is more difficult for him, therefore, to accept his role and status in society. Competition and some measure of success temper the adolescent, since they give him facts and ideas that enable him to resolve and interpret his role.

Team activities. The apparent sudden change in the play activities of adolescence is not to be accounted for on the basis of the sudden ripening or maturing of some instinct or impulse. The growing child has matured in strength and prowess, and surplus energy acts as a biological drive. New social realms are ever broadening, and constant contacts with fellow members of the group contribute to the development of team play. The individual soon learns that through cooperative endeavors he may satisfy certain needs that cannot be satisfied in solitary play; therefore team activities develop in harmony with the satisfaction of certain *felt* needs. These needs have a biological basis but are socialized in accordance with the expanding social life of the individual. Interest in team games develops along with earlier individualistic play interests and tends to supplement rather than supplant them. The maturation of the sex glands and a consequent interest in the opposite sex are partially responsible for the change toward group activity in adolescence. At this period, many games have the social element involved to a greater degree than before. The sexes are beginning to mingle and to develop interests of a sexual-

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[15] E. C. Hausle, "Objectives of a Program of Extracurricular Activities in High School," *Recreation*, 1940, Vol. 34, p. 361.

social nature; girls now become loyal to boys' teams, and boys to those of the girls. Also at this period of life, games for both boys and girls become more formal in nature, and definite rules are laid down in order better to standardize the playing. The play of adolescent girls is often similar to that of the boys, usually having some modification in order that it will not be too strenuous.

In both large and small high schools certain types of activity predominate. Athletics seem to be the most popular in the average high school. Baseball, basketball, and other games that do not require expensive equipment and prolonged periods of training are usually found in the smaller high schools. An increased number of the small high schools are providing indoor space for team activities. Group cooperation and group competition through team activities tend to take the place of individual competition. Furthermore, there is a tendency on the part of the small high school toward interscholastic rather than intramural participation.

Much controversial discussion has been carried on concerning the effect of athletics on the scholarship and health of growing youths. Exactly how much of the discussion has included points worthy of consideration is hard to determine, since the results of any athletic program will depend largely upon the nature of the program and the manner in which it is directed. There is much evidence that participation in athletics has had a beneficial effect, by keeping a great number of boys in school who did not find sufficient inducement to remain in the rest of the school program.

Interest in competitive team activities among adolescents and post-adolescents is encouraged not only through high school contests, but also through programs sponsored by the American Legion and other organizations, which have aided in creating a national interest in baseball, as well as in other types of athletics. The values to be derived from participating in athletics are many and diverse, and not the least of these is the development of interests likely to become permanent and to have recreational and mental hygiene value throughout the later years of life.

Since participation in athletics tends to make for muscular development, and since muscular development is not looked upon by our present social groups as feminine in nature, girls are less interested in participating in athletics, especially as they reach adolescence and are motivated to play the woman's role by becoming and remaining feminine in nature. This is a problem that must be reckoned with by those concerned with athletic programs for girls. There is need for a redefinition of feminine qualities and of human values and needs in connection with this problem.

OUT-OF-SCHOOL INTERESTS

Data on children's interests outside of school show that at all age levels those activities classified as sports, games, and play lead in popularity.

This is emphasized in the study by Jersild and Tasch, some results of which are presented in Table 6–5.[16] Consistent with social development during adolescence, there is an increased interest manifested in places of recreation, in going to the theater, and in other activities involving the social element. In the study by Jersild and Tasch there was relatively

Table 6–5

WHAT I LIKE BEST OUTSIDE SCHOOL (*After Jersild and Tasch*)

Category	Ages 9–12		Ages 12–15		Ages 15–18	
	Boys	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*
Material things, specific objects, toys, food, shelter, pets, dress	1.9	3.4	3.1	3.2	3.6	2.3
Sports, play, games, outdoor activities, driving car	73.5	68.0	56.4	51.9	56.9	41.8
Miscellaneous places of recreation, parks; travel, camp, resort	2.4	5.7	5.2	8.5	7.4	9.4
Radio, movies, theater, comics	5.5	9.5	9.8	16.7	8.9	18.7
Social activities, organizations, parties, Scouts, DeMolay	1.5	1.0	1.3	8.0	3.2	13.0
Areas of study, reading, school subjects	4.3	3.9	5.3	13.3	8.5	18.3
Art activity or appreciation: music, painting	.6	3.1	2.4	5.5	4.6	8.7
Crafts, mechanical arts	3.5	1.7	4.5	.7	11.3	0
Self-improvement, understanding, including vocational placement or competence	3.3	3.6	.8	5.0	18.1	6.0
Chores, duties, everyday routines	1.2	5.0	2.2	3.9	.6	.8
People: both relatives and non-relatives	3.9	4.8	3.7	8.9	9.3	20.9

little emphasis on general cultural activities, such as going to an art exhibit or a concert. Likewise, there is relatively slight mention of hobbies. When the children described what they disliked most outside school, a large proportion listed activities relating to chores, duties, and everyday routines. The impact of urban culture is evident in these community interests of children and adolescents. Those institutions that best provide for the needs of adolescents will offer the greatest appeal. If the youth

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

organization connected with a church accepts the challenge and attempts to provide a program in line with the needs and aspirations of adolescents, much interest will be manifested by the youth in the doings of the organization. Almost every community in America is so patterned that various forces are operating through organized and unorganized institutions to provide for the outlets of the needs of adolescents. In many cases, however, the outlets provided are not what might be regarded as highly desirable.

Interest in play. A differentiation has been made between extrinsic and intrinsic interests. Needless to say, both should have a place in the development of a well-balanced personality. Educators are recognizing more and more keenly the necessity for educating people in better means of using their leisure. With the increase of complexity in civilization and the decrease in hours of labor, much unoccupied time is left to the average citizen; but education has not yet prepared the citizen to use it wholesomely and worthily.

Play has an intrinsic value for the adolescent, but with further growth and development extrinsic values become more and more sought. Play activities tend to supply the adolescent with physique, health, neuromuscular skills, and the desire for recreation. Pupil interests in play are conditioned largely during the adolescent age; such forces as environment, age, sex, race, custom, and intelligence operate to effect various differences. Some of these forces we shall review.

Some early studies by Lehman and Witty indicate that interest in play cannot be confined to early childhood. They gathered data from 6,881 children concerning activities in which the children had engaged during the preceding week and the number of activities in which they had participated alone. The data thus gathered led the investigators to conclude:

1. Attempts to differentiate certain C. A. [chronological age] periods in terms of differences displayed by children in diversity of play activities seem unjustifiable.

2. The play trends which characterize a given age group seem to be the result of gradual changes occurring during the growth period. These changes are not sudden and characterized by periodicity but are gradual and contingent.

3. Nor can any age or group of ages, between 8 and 19 inclusive, be characterized as disclosing play behavior primarily social or primarily individualistic. . . . Such a practice is unwarranted.[17]

Today play activity of some kind is recognized as of value in all stages of life. The time is past when, like our Puritan fathers, we turned from the play activities because they were a total "waste of time." Only the idle, daydreaming child who indulges in fantasy instead of wholesome

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[17] H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty, "Periodicity and Growth," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1927, Vol. 11, pp. 106–116.

play activities wastes his time. Two significant facts or conclusions are revealed from the various studies of play activities. These are: (1) play is a continuous process rather than an activity confined to the period of childhood; (2) there is an enormous overlapping in play interests for individuals of the same age but of different sex, of different racial groups, or different intelligence levels.

a. *Strength and play participation.* Van Dalen reports a study of the participation of adolescent boys in play activities.[18] Strength tests were administered to 348 boys in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. The median age of the boys was 13.4 years with a range from 12 to 16 years. Strength index for the boys was determined from the results on the strength test, while the physical-fitness index was derived from comparing achieved-strength index with the norm based upon the individual's age and weight. This, then, is a measure of the immediate capacity of an individual for physical activity.

A comparison of the frequency and amount of participation of the high and low physical-fitness index groups showed that the boys in the high groups engaged in more play activities and devoted more time to play than did the low groups. This was true for all types of activities except for the reading and constructive categories. The great difference in participation in these was between the high and low physical-fitness index groups. In this comparison the low physical-fitness index group exceeded by a minimum of ten times the boys of the high group.

Another study, conducted by Van Dalen, dealt with differences in the participation in play activities of junior-high-school girls at the extremes in muscular strength.[19] Strength index and physical-fitness index were used as a basis for determining the strength of the girls. The frequency of participation of girls in the high-strength group was more than six times that of the girls of the low-strength group; while the number of play activities participated in by the high-strength group was three times that of the low-strength group. Girls in the low-strength group participated in games that were somewhat individualistic in nature and distinctly of a lower degree of organization than activities participated in by the high-strength group.

b. *Sex differences.* Simpson reported several representative play activities that are best liked by boys and girls as they advance in age.[20] These are shown in Table 6–6. In the case of sex differences, boys' games are found to be a bit more vigorous and better organized. The differences appearing in different communities reveal that sex is not alone responsible

[18] D. B. Van Dalen, "A Differential Analysis of the Play of Adolescent Boys," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 1947, Vol. 41, pp. 204–213.

[19] D. B. Van Dalen, "A Differential Analysis of the Play of Junior High School Girls," *Journal of Educational Research,* 1949–50, Vol. 43, pp. 22–31.

[20] R. G. Simpson, *Fundamentals of Educational Psychology.* Chicago: J. P. Lippincott Co., 1949, Chap. III.

for the nature and interests in play, but that customs, environmental conditions, size of the group, and educational level of the boys and girls affect the nature and extent of play activities.

c. *Intelligence and play.* There is no evidence that children of superior mental ability are lacking in play interests. The study of Lehman and Wilkerson is of special interest in connection with this problem.[21]

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Table 6–6

PLAY PREFERENCES BY AGE GROUPS (*After Simpson*)

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Boys	Girls
6 to 8 years	
Playing marbles	Playing house
Riding wagons *	Playing with dolls *
Playing cowboys	Playing school
9 to 10 years	
Roller skating	Roller skating
Playing ball *	Dressing up as adults *
Riding bicycle	Playing jacks
11 to 12 years	
Basketball	Roller skating
Riding bicycle	Hiking
Scouting (hiking) *	Swimming *
Baseball	Reading
13 to 15 years	
Baseball	Reading books
Basketball *	Social dancing and parties
Going to movies	Going to movies
Hunting	Having dates
Watching athletic contests	Watching athletic contests

* Denotes outstanding performance.

Through the use of the *Lehman Quiz Blank,* data were obtained relative to the play behavior of 6,000 children. The problem of the investigation was to compare the relative influence of mental age with that of chronological age as far as these affect the play behavior of children. From an analysis of the data gathered it appears that a variation of one year in the chronological age exerted a greater influence on the subject's play behavior than did a variation of the mental age by one year. The various studies of play activities among the gifted reveal a greater tendency toward solitary types of play; they prefer games involving rules and

[21] H. C. Lehman and D. A. Wilkerson, "The Influence of Chronological Age Versus Mental Age on Play Behavior," *Pedagogical Seminar and Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1928, Vol. 35, pp. 312–321.

systems, and engage less frequently in activities demanding muscular strength and endurance. Gifted children, like all other human beings, find success pleasing and prefer activities in which they can succeed. Since this is the case, they prefer games requiring mental ingenuity to those of pure chance.

An analysis of the data gathered by Lehman and Witty regarding sex differences of bright boys and girls shows a great similarity in activities.[22] A closer analysis reveals that the dull boys have a higher index of social participation and prefer activities of a motor type, although there is a great deal of overlapping. Successful competition which in the end brings vicarious satisfaction is the most probable explanation for these differences in interest. The organism tries out various modes of behavior until success is attained to some degree. The bright pupil gains vicarious satisfaction in reading and is able to compete most successfully in activities requiring problem solving and thinking. The formula for both the bright child and the dull child is the same; but it seems reasonable to assume that the type of activity that satisfies the felt need of the adolescent is the one that is chosen.

Interest in movies. Studies reveal that boys and girls of high school age attend movies considerably less frequently than do the children of the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades. This is due to a great amount of social activity in high schools, in clubs, and committees, which allows them less leisure. The attendance of both grade-school and high-school children is very largely confined to the week-ends—Saturdays and Sundays. During adolescent years, romantic attraction, "dating," develops and movie attendance increases on Friday evenings. Children at all ages attend more often in the evening. Boys place athletics above movies; girls do not. Later, girls show a preference for dancing and "dates" over movies. According to the materials presented in Figure 6-2, about 45 per cent of boys and approximately 60 per cent of girls 8 years of age attend the movies with the father or mother.[23] There is a constant growth with advancing age in attendance at the movies with their own friends and others. The operation of the socialization process is further shown in a study at Rockford, Illinois, which dealt with motivation at different social-class levels.[24] As part of the study, 1,248 passes to Saturday movies were given to 11- and 12-year-old children. Significant social-class differences were found in the choices of movie content. Upper-middle-class children preferred Disney's cartoons, *Song of the South,* and *It's a Wonderful Life,* which deals with the idea of a return to life. Mystery thrillers, psychological problems, and comic strips of the Dick Tracy type were

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[22] H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty, "The Play Behavior of Fifty Gifted Children," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 1927, Vol. 18, pp. 529–565.

[23] From E. Dale, *Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935. (Reproduced by permission of the publishers.)

[24] L. H. Jacobs, "Social Class Differences in Children's Choice of Movies," M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1948.

preferred by lower-lower-class children. A further analysis showed that only 19 per cent of all upper-middle-class passes were used for movies classified for adults only or for adults and mature family (12 or 14 years of age and older), while the lower-lower-class used 43 per cent of their passes for movies in these categories. This difference is perhaps an outgrowth of the greater childhood protection afforded the upper-middle-class group of boys and girls.

As growth progresses into adolescence, there is a change in their preferences. Western pictures come first for grade-school boys, sixth for high-
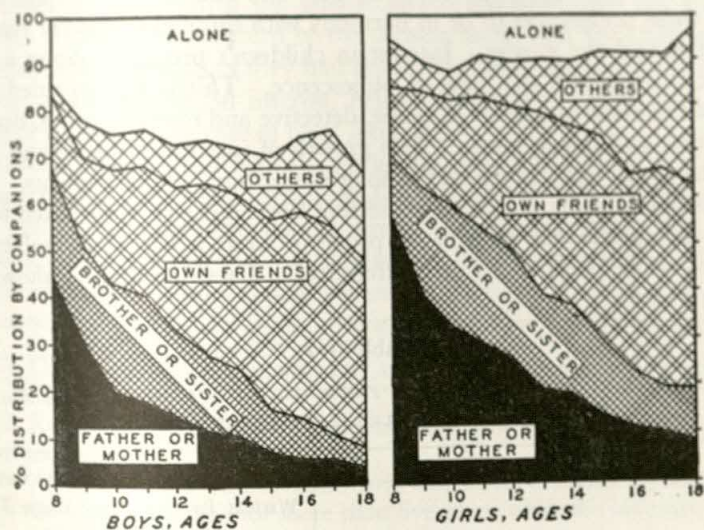

Figure 6-2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MOVIE-GOERS ACCORDING TO THE COMPANIONS ACCOMPANYING THEM. (*After Dale*)

school boys. Historical pictures come ninth for grade-school boys, third for high-school boys. Western pictures come first for grade-school girls, seventh for high-school girls. Historical pictures come seventh for grade-school girls, second for high-school girls. A study of the movie interests of 2,000 Catholic boys enrolled in parochial schools showed that the mystery-type movie ranked first among high-school freshmen but was surpassed by the musical comedy in the case of high-school seniors.[25] The rank in order of interest for the four high-school classes combined was found to be as follows: mystery, musical comedy, comedy of manners, historical, gangster-G-men, Western, news, love story, educational, and travel.

Movies and the radio have a marked influence upon adolescence. In

[25] U. H. Fleege, *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy.* Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1945, p. 251.

their earlier years, adolescents like pictures about love, war, and mystery, as well as adventure films and comedies. Generally, boys attend the movies more than girls, except when play interests keep them from attending. Interest in love stories on the stage and in the movies increases in the grades and is more characteristic of girls than boys. Ninth- and tenth-grade children like mystery plays. Often boys are interested in science pictures—such as those dealing with the atomic bomb. It is characteristic for girls to have a movie "hero" or "ideal."

Interest in radio and television. Studies made of the types of radio and television programs preferred by boys and girls at different age levels show these preferences to be in harmony with those obtained for reading activities and the movies. Interest in children's programs shows a pronounced drop with the onset of pubescence. This is accompanied by a marked increase in interest in crime, detective and mystery stories, drama, romance, and dance music. This growth of interest in dance and popular music is especially noted among senior-high-school students. The results of one study, in which adolescent boys and girls were asked to list their first preference of a radio program from a list of several types, showed some pronounced sex differences. These results are shown in Table 6–7.[26]

Table 6–7

RELATIVE LISTENING TO RADIO PROGRAMS BY WASHINGTON, D. C., CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS (*After Clark*)

Type of Program	Percentage Frequency with Which Programs of Each Type Were Mentioned		
	Age Group		
	9–12	*12–15*	*15–18*
1. Classical and semi-classical music	1.8	2.8	3.4
2. Religious	.4	.5	.7
3. Dance, popular, and novelty type	12.9	14.9	23.5
4. Comedy and variety	25.8	36.4	39.5
5. Detective, crime, and mystery programs..	3.7	6.5	2.6
6. Drama: general, historic, romantic	24.5	20.2	15.6
7. Travel and adventure	1.2	.7	.4
8. Children's programs (not otherwise listed)	25.8	12.8	6.9
9. National, public, and civic affairs	.1	.1	.3
10. News	1.2	2.4	4.3
11. Sports	.4	.9	1.1
12. Adult programs (including educational, labor, agriculture)	2.2	1.8	1.7

[26] W. R. Clark, "Radio Listening Habits of Children," *Journal of Social Psychology,* 1940, Vol. 12, pp. 131–149.

The amount of time devoted to TV by high school pupils will depend upon a number of variables, although studies agree that televiewing consumes a great deal of the typical high-school student's time. Witty reports the results of a survey of televiewing by a cross section of Oak Park and River Forest high-school pupils.[27] At the time of the study 64 per cent of these young people had television sets in their homes. Those who did not have sets in their homes watched television occasionally in the homes of friends and relatives, a common practice during early adolescence. The average amount of time devoted to TV by the owners of TV sets was 15 hours per week, with the seniors giving less time than the younger pupils. More than one-third of the owners stated that the children and adolescents read less than they had before the television set was acquired. Sports ranked highest in interest, being considerably higher than other areas of activity in the case of boys' interests.

A study by Kea dealt with the radio and television interests and habits of urban and rural high-school students of Clarke County, Georgia.[28] The results of this study furnish useful information about the radio-listening and television-viewing habits and interests of urban and rural adolescents. The results appear somewhat typical of what may be found in many rural and urban areas. Some of the major conclusions are:

(1) Urban girls spend significantly more time listening and televiewing than do urban boys.

(2) Rural high-school students spend more time viewing television than do urban students.

(3) Almost 100 per cent of both rural and urban students report having had a radio in their home for more than five years, while the majority report having a television set in their homes.

(4) The students are primarily interested in radio and television for entertainment, with popular music favored on the radio and drama on television.

THE EXPANSION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ADOLESCENT INTERESTS

Expanding interests. The child's general satisfaction with himself and his surroundings gives way during adolescence under the pressure of many problems, difficulties, and maladjustments. Once indifferent to matters not immediately related to pleasure and pain, he now has an intense curiosity and self-consciousness, and a real concern with the social and ethical standards of adults. Curiosity may show itself in a great many different ways, but it is also subject to ready perversion if in unwhole-

[27] P. Witty, "Television and the Educative Process," *School and Society*, 1951, Vol. 74, pp. 369–372.

[28] P. R. Kea, "Radio Listening and Television Looking Interests and Habits of the High School Students of Athens and Clarke County, Georgia," M. Ed. Project in Applied Education, University of Georgia, 1954.

some surroundings. This is true especially of those impulses and interests of the adolescent that are now maturing and becoming more and more important in his life. Satisfaction and complacency in routine is often replaced rather suddenly by a restlessness leading toward idealistic behavior trends or probably into antisocial activities. After years of activities concerned largely with egocentric interests and activity for its own sake, the adolescent is thrown into further contacts with others. With newer interests and contacts, he acquires new purposes and interests in special activities leading to definite results, whether in his play or in his work. But having acquired these expanded interests, he stands in need of further stimulation, inspiration, information, and guidance.

These expanding and maturing interests are clearly revealed in the changes in the topics of conversation among boys as they progress from freshman to senior year in high school.[29] The results of Table 6–8 are based on the replies of 2,000 boys who mentioned nearly 6,000 topics that they most frequently talked about among themselves.

The most outstanding change noted was the greatly increased interest in girls, dates, and matters relating to sex. However, there is also an increase of interest in current happenings and in vocational pursuits.

Sex differences. A comparison of the problems and interests of high-school boys and girls shows a greater sex difference in interests than in problems.[30] These differences are most outstanding during the late adolescent period. A detailed study of sex differences in interests shows that the conventional notion of sex differences is a correct one. Boys show a greater interest in physical health, safety, and money, and are motivated by a successful career more than women. Girls, on the other hand, are more passive and receptive. They display a greater interest in clothes, adornment, and personal attractiveness in general. Their greater passivity and receptivity make them more introverted. They are more interested in religion, personal philosophy, planning detailed schedules, and mental health. Also, they show their traditionally greater interest in people, manners, and home relations. Boys are more interested in the great outdoors, codes, and things about them.

The *University of California Inventory I: Social and Emotional Adjustment* was given seven times to groups of adolescent boys and girls in April or May of each year, beginning in 1932 with groups in the high-fifth and low-sixth grades.[31] Some of the items dealt with fears and wishes. Table 6–9 gives the percentage of boys and girls wishing for

[29] U. H. Fleege, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[30] P. M. Symonds, "Changes in Sex Differences in Problems and Interests of Adolescents with Increasing Age," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1937, Vol. 50, pp. 83–89.

[31] *U.C. Inventory I: Social and Emotional Adjustment.* Revised form for presentation of the cumulative record of an individual with group norms by items for a seven-year period. University of California. (This consists of two forms, one for girls and one for boys.)

Table 6–8

TOPICS HIGH-SCHOOL BOYS MOST FREQUENTLY TALK ABOUT AMONG
THEMSELVES (*After Fleege*)

Rank	Topic	Freshmen	Sopho-mores	Juniors	Seniors	All Classes
1.	Sports	62.0%	80.2%	75.0%	75.1%	73.3%
2.	Girls	53.6	67.6	70.6	80.0	68.0
3.	School, studies, teachers	27.0	27.2	29.0	27.3	27.6
4.	Social activities, dates, good times	9.6	16.0	20.1	24.2	17.5
5.	Sex, sexual relations, dirty jokes	11.2	12.4	16.4	20.1	15.0
6.	Movies	16.4	10.4	9.0	7.6	10.9
7.	Current happenings	7.6	7.9	7.1	10.6	8.4
8.	Cars, airplanes, machines	5.4	8.2	7.4	7.0	7.0
9.	Generalities	7.4	5.0	4.1	6.4	5.7
10.	Other boys	5.4	4.2	3.3	3.4	4.1
11.	One's experiences	6.0	3.2	2.0	1.6	3.2
12.	Hobbies	2.5	3.2	4.4	2.0	3.0
13.	Job or work	1.0	1.8	2.0	6.1	2.7
14.	Money	1.2	2.8	3.0	3.1	2.5
15.	Things one is going to do	1.9	2.0	3.4	2.2	2.4
16.	Future vocation	1.2	1.4	1.6	4.7	2.2
17.	Miscellaneous: religion, clothes, homes, food, and so forth	4.0	2.2	3.2	4.3	3.4
18.	No answer	3.4	1.6	.8	.4	1.6

certain items from a list of thirteen. The desire to be grown-up and to get away from home was not manifested by many boys or girls and showed little change with age. The desire to be brighter was expressed by a majority of the girls at each age level. "To be better looking" was not one of the foremost wishes among boys, but was indicated by a large percentage of girls at each age level and appeared to increase with advanced age. The desires to be bigger and stronger are closely associated with masculine aspirations during the growing years. After the fifth- and sixth-grade levels, very few girls wished to be stronger and larger. The feminine role, although not so clear, gradually assumes a more important place in the life of the girl after the early stage of adolescence. The need for money seems to be felt by both boys and girls as revealed in their wishes at all grade levels, although this was not the paramount wish of this group of boys and girls.

Interests and intelligence. There are a number of experiments that have given information about the ways in which the interests of children of superior mental ability differ from those of children of inferior mental ability. Boynton has made a study of the relationship between children's tested intelligence and their hobby participation.[32] The subjects of his

Table 6–9

THE PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS AND BOYS EXPRESSING CERTAIN WISHES AT
DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS FROM THE H-FIFTH AND L-SIXTH TO THE
H-ELEVENTH AND L-TWELFTH GRADES IN SCHOOL

Wishes		Years						
		'32	'33	'34	'35	'36	'37	'38
To be grown-up and get	Boys	6	4	0	3	1	3	3
away from home	Girls	0	1	1	3	6	4	6
To be brighter than I am	Boys	46	61	59	51	58	63	68
now	Girls	61	69	68	53	57	61	56
To be better looking	Boys	10	18	13	11	13	18	11
	Girls	41	37	50	54	49	58	54
To be bigger than I am	Boys	23	20	18	27	31	25	25
now	Girls	18	15	18	12	8	11	7
To have more money to	Boys	24	17	15	20	28	34	32
spend	Girls	18	18	18	31	32	34	49
To be stronger than I am	Boys	80	75	76	66	48	54	55
now	Girls	39	25	12	6	15	8	10

study consisted of 4,779 boys and girls from the sixth grade of 258 schools. The children were given the *Kuhlmann Anderson Intelligence Tests,* and the teacher arrived at their hobbies from a conference held with each child. Most of the children had from three to six hobbies. Boynton concludes that, "Some hobbies tend to be participated in more frequently by children of high tested intelligence than do other hobbies." Children without a hobby, especially girls, are more likely to be below average in general intelligence. When both sexes were considered together, the hobbies of collecting, playing musical instruments, and reading were found frequently among those of superior ability. No single hobby appeared to be associated with those of lower than average intelligence. The superior children also appeared to have a greater diversification of hobby interests than very inferior ones. This finding is in harmony with certain conclusions arrived at by Bayard from a compara-

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[32] P. L. Boynton, "The Relationship Between Children's Tested Intelligence and Their Hobby Participation," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1941, Vol. 58, pp. 353–362.

tive study of the interests of high and low ability high-school students. He concludes the following:

1. The sum of the average likes and dislikes is the same for both groups; but whereas the high ability group likes approximately twice as many activities as it dislikes, the low ability group dislikes slightly more than it likes. . . .

7. A comparison of the profiles shows that in general both groups like and dislike the same activities in the same categories, although the relative liking of one area as compared to another area may be different. The one exception which may be significant is mathematics.[33]

Another study, conducted at Peabody College under the direction of Boynton, revealed that reading interests and intelligence go hand in hand. In this study Lewis and McGehee gathered data from children from 455 schools in 310 communities in 36 states.[34] The interests of those scoring in the top 10 per cent on the *Kuhlmann Anderson Intelligence Tests* were compared with those of the lowest 10 per cent. According to their study, dramatics, religious activity, studying, scouting, and camping activity make a greater appeal to children of superior mental ability. More than twelve times as many retarded children as gifted indicated no hobby. The superior children were more interested in both active and quiet games than were the inferior.

Stability of interest. An outstanding characteristic of the adolescent period is the instability or change that appears during a relatively short period of time. According to the genetic case study of interests, conducted by Mackaye with adolescent subjects, early fixation and permanence of interests were most commonly found among those of inferior intelligence.[35] The interests of subjects of higher intelligence were therefore more unstable in nature. Wishful thinking is oftentimes the basis of vocational interests, and the interests may show very little relation to actual ability. This is especially true for interests formulated without experience as a background.

Considerable work has been done in the development of interest inventories for use in educational and vocational guidance. The *Kuder Preference Record* [36] is now the most widely used inventory for evaluating pupil interests. Through results of this test a profile of interest scores may be made in ten broad areas: outdoor activities, mechanical, computational, scientific, persuasive, artistic, literary, musical, social service, and clerical. Other well-known and useful tests in this category are the

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[33] B. Bayard, "A Comparison of the Interests of Students of Low Ability Enrolled in Physical Science and of Students of High Ability Enrolled in Physics," *University High School Journal*, 1941, Vol. 20, pp. 15–19.

[34] W. D. Lewis and W. McGehee, "A Comparison of the Interests of the Mentally Superior and Retarded Children," *School and Society*, 1940, Vol. 52, pp. 597–600.

[35] D. L. Mackaye, "The Fixation of Vocational Interest," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1927, Vol. 33, pp. 353–370.

[36] Published by Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois.

Strong Vocational Interest Blanks for Men and Women [37] and the *Lee-Thorpe Occupational Interest Inventory.*[38] More research has been done with the Strong Blanks than any of the other instruments. They are widely used in industrial practices.

In a study conducted by Crumrine data were available for 250 high-school students who had completed the *Kuder Preference Record* at the ninth-grade level and again at the twelfth-grade level.[39] A tabulation of the per cent of cases in which the highest areas of interest at the ninth-grade level were also the highest at the twelfth-grade level is presented in Table 6–10.

There is good evidence from the results presented that high ranking interests at the ninth-grade level tend to remain high at the twelfth-grade level, although changes in rankings of specific interest areas appear for the majority of students. These changes, however, are not likely to be extreme as is evidenced by the fact that 80 per cent of the highest ranking area of the ninth-grade level were among the three highest ranking areas at the twelfth-grade level. A comparison of the rankings of the areas of

Table 6–10

CONSTANCY OF THREE HIGHEST AND THREE LOWEST INTERESTS
FROM GRADE NINE TO GRADE TWELVE (*After Crumrine*)

Highest area of interest that remained highest	52 per cent
Highest that remained in highest three	80
Second highest that remained in highest three	71
Third highest that remained in highest three	51
Lowest area of interest that remained lowest	43
Lowest that remained in lowest three	76
Second lowest that remained in lowest three	65
Third lowest that remained in lowest three	50

least interest at the ninth-grade level that remained among the lowest three areas at the twelfth-grade level yielded somewhat similar results. Combinations of areas of least interest tended to remain in the lowest areas. For example, 64 per cent of the cases of the three lowest areas in grade nine were among the three lowest at grade twelve.

The results of these studies indicate that specific interests during the high-school period are not necessarily permanent, although in most cases the highest interest at one period in high school will rank among the three highest interests at a later period. The persistence of an interest will depend largely upon its foundation, the extent to which it is rooted in the

[37] Published by Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
[38] Published by California Test Bureau, Los Angeles, California.
[39] W. M. Crumrine, "An Investigation of the Stability of Interests of High School Students," Master's Thesis, University of Michigan, 1949.

activities and experiences of the adolescent. This may be noted in the case of Louise.

Louise was talented in music and above average in intelligence. She enjoyed Sunday School experiences and at the age of 16 was in charge of a Sunday School class for younger girls.

The mother of Louise was ambitious for her to go into the field of music. However, Louise had a sister who was a graduate nurse, and was very fond of her. The three interests that ranked highest with Louise at the time of her freshman year in high school were in order of rank: music, nursing, and church work of some type. By the time Louise reached her senior year in high school her interest in nursing had waned. She took part in various musical activities at high school, playing an important role in the Music Club. Her interest in music continued along with a general interest in church activities. Louise was allowed to make her own choice and plans about going to college. She entered a coeducational college about 40 miles from her home, and decided at the end of her freshman year that she would take the courses that would prepare her for teaching in the elementary school with a minor in music. The interests here present are those which had begun at an early age and were deeply rooted in her experiences and ability.

Problems of adjustment in relation to changing interests. There are no difficulties encountered in changing interests by those boys and girls whose interests and values coincide with those of the group with whom they work and play in school and on the playground. However, there are some children whose physiological development is accelerated. For these boys and girls an interest in less mature and less social games is a thing of the past. Such boys and girls may seek connections in the church or in some special neighborhood activities where there are other boys and girls with these more mature interests. A wholesome and friendly home relationship may help the individual during this stage. If there are several others in the grade at school who have more mature interests also, the adjustment may result in the acquisition of close chums or in the formation of small cliques.

Then, there is the boy or girl who is less mature in his or her interests than the other boys and girls of the group. This individual oftentimes develops an attitude of indifference toward the activities of the group as a whole, but may be able to find comfort and the needed friendship in activities with any others of the group who likewise reveal a less mature interest; in which case, such children will not be seriously affected by the time lag in their maturity. Such friendships should be encouraged at this stage.

However, it is for the individual who has advanced at the same pace as the average in his physiological development but who, for some social or cultural reason, is unable to participate in the activities of the group, that the problem is more serious. Racial, religious, or social conflicts between the practices or ideals of the home and those of the group may

be responsible for such a condition. An individual who, because of some such condition, is unable to change his pattern of interests in harmony with the interests of the growing boys and girls with whom he is thrown, in and out of school, is going to be faced with a difficult adjustment problem, and this problem is likely to affect his school work, his attitude toward his home, and other phases of his personal and social life.

SUMMARY

Many problems of growing up are closely related to changes in interests. The early interests of adolescents are personal in nature; but the social and emotional changes that appear at this stage are reflected in the development of interests in others and especially a changed attitude and feeling toward members of the opposite sex. This changed attitude is discussed at length in later chapters.

The play life of adolescents involves more of the team spirit and group action than was the case during the preadolescent stage. Adolescent boys continue to show an interest in adventure, but the adventures are less fantastic and are more closely connected with present-day living conditions and problems. The changes in interests are further reflected in the attitude of adolescents toward movies and radio and television programs. It should not be inferred, however, that these changes are sudden and complete. Much inconsistency will be found in the interests and behavior of adolescent boys and girls. Their interest in a movie of an adventurous nature involving some romance may be followed by interests in make-believe activities resembling those of the 10- or 11-year-old individual. Differences will be found in the interests of boys and girls, with girls showing a more mature interest; this is in keeping with their advanced physiological development. Also, differences will be found in the interests and activities of adolescents from different social-class structures. There is much evidence that differences in social-class structure are very important in affecting differences in interests during childhood and adolescence.

The adolescent's interests lead in many directions and may change considerably in a short time. When they are not expressed in reality they usually appear in his daydreams, wishes, and imagination. It is essential that parents and teachers have a knowledge of adolescent interests, so that they may aid him better to understand himself and direct or guide him toward a more complete fulfillment of his aspirations and possibilities.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Point out the significance of adolescents' interests in magazines.
2. Discuss the range of adolescent interests as compared with the interests of the 8-year-old child.

3. What interests have been somewhat permanent in your own life? Why?

4. Show how a knowledge of the nature of adolescents' interests is of special value to a school teacher; to a scoutmaster.

5. How do you account for the intense interest of preadolescents in the comic books? Note the extent to which this appears to hold over into adolescence and postadolescence.

6. Study Table 6–5 and note the significant changes in school interests that occur with an increase in age. What are the implications of these changes that might be important to the teacher?

7. Study the case of Louise presented in this chapter. In what ways has the early interest in music persisted? How has this affected Louise's choice of a career?

8. What games or activities interested you most when you were 10–12, 14–16, 18–20 years of age? Note the changes of interests. Were these changes sudden or gradual? How would you account for the changes?

9. How does pubescence affect the interests of growing boys and girls? What are the implications of these changes to the development of a good recreational program at school or in the community?

10. Compare the play activities of girls classified in the high-strength group with those in the low-strength group. What generalizations would you make from this comparison?

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GROWTH IN ATTITUDES
AND BELIEFS

THE DEVELOPMENT AND MODIFICATION
OF ATTITUDES

The term *attitude* has been adopted to express a phase of development of a more highly integrated nature than that of factual learning. We speak of one's attitude toward racial or religious groups, or toward fundamental social and economic issues such as price controls, reciprocal trade agreements, and public versus private development of power. Although attitudes are more passive in nature than interests, they are extremely important in determining one's action in connection with various situations or problems with which he might be confronted. Thus, attitudes have been referred to as inclinations, prejudices, or preconceived notions and feelings toward things, persons, situations, and issues.[1]

A concept presented by Newcomb offers a functional definition of attitude, and is used as a basis for much of the discussion presented in this chapter.

An attitude is not a response but a more or less persistent set to respond in a given way to an object or situation. The concept of attitude relates the individual to any aspect of his environment which has positive or negative value for him.[2]

The development of attitudes. Attitudes relate to situations around which we have constructed various habit patterns and built up various images and concepts; it has been constantly observed that physical and social contacts result in the establishment of conscious adjustments and reaction tendencies. The child born and reared in a social world is continually subject to ever-changing social stimuli; socially, he becomes what his environment makes him. G. H. Mead points out that we learn who we are and the kind of person we are from the reaction of other people

[1] L. L. Thurstone, "Attitudes: I. Their Nature and Development," *Journal of General Psychology*, 1939, Vol. 21, pp. 367–399.

[2] T. M. Newcomb, "Studying Social Behavior," in *Methods of Psychology* (T. G. Andrews, ed.). New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1948.

to us.[3] This learning begins at an early stage, so that by the time puberty is reached the individual has acquired notions about *self* and others like and different from himself. Racial and religious attitudes, then, seem to be acquired as a part of the individual's attitude toward himself and as one of the areas of definition of his relationship with others. The reactions and attitudes of others toward us serve as a guide to our future roles, and thus become an important part of us.

Attitudes and beliefs are "soaked up" from the milieu in which the child develops. They are a result of all the physical and social stimulation he has encountered. As boys and girls mature their attitudes and beliefs develop and change, a result of the influence of their families, community mores, religion, and peer culture. Results of the Purdue University polls of young people conducted under the general direction of H. H. Remmers show that students become more realistic and perhaps less idealistic in their attitudes as they grow toward maturity.[4] This may be noted in their responses to the question: To what extent do you believe social classes exist in America? Their responses are presented in Table 7-1. As students progress from grade 9 to grade 12 they appear to recognize more fully that social classes exist. There is, furthermore, a more general acceptance of social classes and cliques as the individual reaches his senior year in high school.

Table 7-1

RESPONSE OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS TO THE QUESTION: "TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU BELIEVE SOCIAL CLASSES EXIST IN AMERICA?"

(After Remmers, et al.)

	Grades (percentage)			
	9	10	11	12
They do not exist	10	7	5	2
They exist but differences among them are slight	55	54	58	61
They exist and differences among them are large	35	39	37	37

Prejudices shown by children and adolescents. Social, religious, and racial prejudices existing in a particular community are acquired at a relatively early age, so that by the time the child reaches the first grade at school these are already operating. These prejudices appear as part of

[3] G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934.

[4] H. H. Remmers, R. E. Horton, and S. Lysgaard, "Teen-Age Personality in Our Culture," *The Purdue Opinion Poll*, Report No. 32, Purdue University, 1952.

the development of the concept of *self*. The elementary-school child has already acquired a concept of the self which is somewhat in harmony with that placed upon him by others, particularly by adults whom he has encountered.

Early in their lives children are confronted with the word "American," and identify themselves as Americans. Likewise children develop attitudes toward different American groups and identify themselves with one of the groups. A study by Radke-Yarrow and Miller dealt with the meaning of the word *American* to 275 children and adolescents from grades 5 through 12.[5] The subjects of this study, predominantly Protestant, were from a small midwestern town. There were no Negroes nor members of the Jewish faith in the group.

The responses of the pupils to a question dealing with the meaning of *American* are given in Table 7–2. The idea of an American being ambi-

Table 7–2

RESPONSE OF STUDENTS BY GRADES TO THE QUESTION: "WHAT ARE AMERICANS LIKE?" (*After Radke-Yarrow and Miller*)

Response	Percentage of Children Grades			
	5–6 (N-50)	7–8 (N-68)	9–10 (N-95)	11–12 (N-62)
Democratic ideology, patriotism				
Have many freedoms	12	22	24	10
Government by people	4	3	1	3
People loyal to government	14	36	13	11
Kinds of people				
Mixed nationalities	2	7	8	8
White people	6	2	1	0
Rich and poor	4	3	1	3
Comparison with other people				
Like others	28	25	7	13
Different from others	0	2	1	2
Better than others	4	12	12	16
A powerful nation	2	3	3	8
Personal characteristics				
Ambitious, energetic, achieving	20	19	31	46
Kind, honest, friendly	64	65	41	31
Clean	4	4	5	0
Educated, intelligent	4	12	14	19
Carefree	0	2	4	16
Religious	0	6	1	0
Value money, material possessions	4	6	11	13
Criticism of personal characteristics	6	16	15	21

[5] M. Radke-Yarrow and J. Miller, "Children's Concepts and Attitudes About Minority and Majority American Groups," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1949, Vol. 40, pp. 449–468.

tious and energetic, with many freedoms, is emphasized. An attitude of superiority of the American people in comparison with others grows from grade 5 to grade 12. Although there were few derogatory descriptions, the number of personal descriptions increased with age, indicating an increased understanding of desirable and undesirable personal characteristics.

Most of the children ascribed personal or group traits to the minority groups included in the study. The results, summarized in Table 7–3, show that inferior traits are frequently ascribed to Negroes, while bad or undesirable traits are ascribed to Jews. There is some evidence in this study of increased prejudice with age, an observation, if true, which should give concern to those concerned with the education and guidance of children and adolescents.

Prejudice—the presence of scapegoats. When things do not turn out as we had hoped or expected, we are likely to blame some individual or group of individuals. These people are made the "scapegoats." The emphasis given in our culture to competitive success creates an anxiety in which successful competition becomes the dominant goal. This may be observed in the adolescent girl who is driven to seek the leading role in a class play. Failure to attain this role is accompanied by a feeling of hostility, anxiety, and envy. This is sometimes resolved, according to Dollard and others, by projecting the blame on some individual or group —thus the "scapegoat" theory.[6] In this way the hostility is displaced from the true source to a more convenient and defenseless target, usually a minority or inferior-status group. The individual, then, through a process of rationalization reinforces and justifies this displaced hostility.

Differential amounts of hostility and anxiety may be observed among different individuals or groups. According to Davis the social drives of the individual as well as socialization itself are products of one's subculture.[7] The individuals from different social-status classes will view quite differently social problems and social reality, including the self. In general, the middle class is more interested in the *status quo*, while the lower class, although conservative in many areas, is more radical. There is a close relationship existing between socialization in our culture and socially directed anxiety. Conformity tends to allay these anxieties, and leads to an intolerant attitude toward those who are different. This intolerant or authoritarian attitude serves as a support, especially for those who may feel insecure. Thus, rigid conformity to the group and prejudice against minorities is likely to be greatest among those adolescents who feel most insecure. Those who feel secure tend to reveal a more

[6] J. Dollard, *et al., Frustration and Conflict.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939.

[7] A. Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," in G. E. Swanson, *et al.* (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (rev. ed.). New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952.

tolerant and friendly attitude toward minorities and underprivileged individuals.

Table 7–3

CHARACTERISTICS ASCRIBED BY PUBLIC-SCHOOL CHILDREN TO NEGROES AND JEWS (*After Radke-Yarrow and Miller*)

Characteristic	Ascribed to Negroes (Per cent)				Ascribed to Jews (Per cent)			
	5–6	7–8	9–10	11–12	5–6	7–8	9–10	11–12
Favorable	34	36	27	21	20	13	13	16
Inferior	26	41	39	67	4	4	3	8
Bad	0	18	23	27	50	45	69	80
Peculiar, unique	22	10	12	25	22	21	7	5

Adolescent attitudes. Adolescents, although somewhat idealistic in many of their attitudes, adopt in the main the attitudes of their parents on economic issues, such as government versus private ownership and control, favoring private enterprise in some areas and public enterprise in others. In general where differences exist between the attitudes of adolescents and their parents, it is noteworthy that adolescents are more willing to break with tradition and the *status quo*. It is at this point that their idealistic nature and less deep-seated prejudices may be observed. This has important implications for citizenship training which are discussed further in Chapter 18.

On matters relating to health, results of the Purdue Opinion Panel show that high-school students are better informed about diseases and contagious conditions than about personal hygiene, dental care, and mental health.[8] A number of health superstitions were accepted by a considerable number of students despite their high school training. Remmers suggests that some of these misconceptions may be associated with the effects of mass media of communication in our present-day culture. In such a case the home and the school have a responsibility of helping adolescents interpret such materials in the light of modern scientific findings.

PUBESCENCE AND CHANGED ATTITUDES

The period of adolescence is characterized by instability in performances and by changed attitudes toward the self and members of the opposite sex. The heightened sex drive, referred to in Chapter 5, is

[8] H. H. Remmers, "Youth Attitudes: A Mid-Century Appraisal," Presidential address, Denver Regional Meeting, American Educational Research Association, March 14, 1955.

accompanied by an increased interest in members of the opposite sex. The attitude of preadolescent boys toward girls was studied by Sollenberger. The reactions of 700 boys, age 9 to 18, to a question concerning their attitude toward girls are presented in Figure 7–1.[9] Over 40 per cent of the boys at age 9 regard girls as a nuisance, while another 20 per cent neither like nor dislike them.

With the onset of puberty there is an increase in sex hormones which brings about an increased sexual tension. The maturing individual learns that associations with members of the opposite sex are rewarding in that they both produce and relieve sexual tension. However, in our society
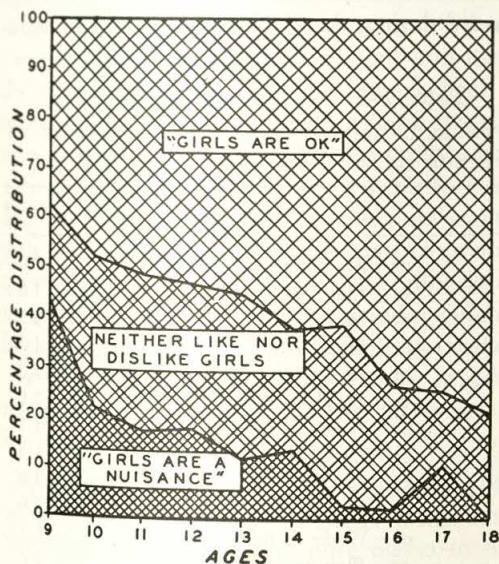
Figure 7–1. REACTIONS OF 700 BOYS TO A QUESTION CONCERNING THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD GIRLS. (*Based on unpublished data of R. T. Sollenberger; from F. K. Shuttleworth, "The Adolescent Period: A Graphic Atlas,"* Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, *1949, Vol. 14, No. 1*)

these adolescent drives are not ordinarily relieved through direct sexual behavior but through substitute behavior. These substitute forms of behavior, which appear with the onset of puberty, differentiate the responses of more physiologically mature adolescents from those less mature.

The changed attitude appearing at this time is emphasized in a study by Jones and Bayley, a study in which comparisons were made between two groups of boys approximately equal in chronological age but two years apart in skeletal development.[10] This comparison of the two groups showed that the early-maturing boys were in all age brackets from 12 to 17, above the average in being natural and unaffected. As would be expected, the early-maturing boys displayed a greater interest in personal

[9] R. T. Sollenberger, "Some Relationships between the Urinary Excretion of Male Hormone by Maturing Boys and Their Expressed Interests and Attitudes," *Journal of Psychology,* 1940, Vol. 9, pp. 179–189.
[10] M. C. Jones and N. Bayley, "Physical Maturity Among Boys as Related to Behavior," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 1950, Vol. 41, p. 137.

grooming, and were rated ahead of the late-maturing boys in personal appearance. The results of this study have been borne out by a number of other studies on this and related problems. According to the study by Sollenberger the degree of maturity of expressed interests and attitudes of adolescent boys correlates higher with hormone activity than with chronological age. A comparison of the responses of a high- and low-hormone group of boys on "Things Wished For" showed the high-hormone group on a higher plane of reality than those of the low-hormone group. A comparison of the two hormone groups on the items "Things To Do" is presented in Table 7-4.[11] A careful study of these comparisons shows that, with increased hormone activity, there is a significant change of interest toward dating, dancing, and other social activities involving girls.

Table 7-4

COMPARISON OF THE RESPONSES OF THE HIGH- AND LOW-HORMONE GROUP ON THE ITEMS, "THINGS TO DO" (*After Jones and Bayley*)

Things to Do			C.R.*
Bowl	or	Fly kites	1.0
Read novels	or	Play "Follow the Leader"	1.6
Listen to a band playing	or	Make candy	2.5
Play "Parchesi"	or	Play "I Spy"	1.2
Go out with a girl	or	Play with Meccano	1.2
Read sport news	or	Play checkers	3.8
Play soccer	or	Play with electric trains	1.1
Take a walk with a girl	or	Erase blackboards	1.3
Drive an auto	or	Go to Scout meetings	1.8
Go out with a girl	or	Chew gum	1.6
Go visit a girl	or	Wade in the water	1.3
Go to a dance	or	Play croquet	2.0

* The C. R.'s give the reliability of the difference in which the items of the first column were most frequently chosen by the high-hormone group.

Although the studies cited refer to changes of interests and attitudes among boys, there are also pronounced changes in attitudes and interests among girls with the onset of pubescence. These changes, appearing at an earlier age for girls than for boys, aggravate the socializing problem in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. As for reading material, these girls select books bearing on romance. In their social activities they prefer those involving both sexes. At this time they tend to shun sports and strive to play the feminine role.

In order to determine the effect of the menarche,[12] Stone and Barker

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[11] *Op. cit.*

[12] Onset of the menstrual period denotes neither the beginning nor the end of the pubescent period. Even prior to the menarche, there are some noticeable changes present in the contour of the girl.

studied the interests and attitudes of 1,000 girls of two large junior high schools of Berkeley, California.[13] It was necessary to include all the children of the age range in which from one and one-half to two years' difference in menarche appeared. These girls were matched with respect to chronological ages and social status, but were significantly different in physiological development—the one group being considered postmenarcheal and the other premenarcheal. From this study it was found that postmenarcheal girls favor the interest and attitude items that are more mature in nature to a greater degree than the premenarcheal. A greater proportion of postmenarcheal than of premenarcheal girls of similar chronological ages favor those responses that indicate an interest and favorable attitude toward the opposite sex. The postmenarcheal girls were more interested in adornment and display of the person than were the premenarcheal. The postmenarcheal girls, according to their responses, engaged in daydreaming and imaginative activities of such types to a greater degree than did the premenarcheal. There was no noticeable difference found in the extent to which the two groups rebelled against or came into conflict with family authority. The postmenarcheal girls indicated less interest in participation in games and activities requiring vigorous activity. These comparisons indicate a growing interest in adult activities, an increased independence, and an increased interest in the opposite sex, as a result of forces associated with the menarche.

Probably the most striking feature of development at this stage is the psychological differentiation of the sexes. Stolz, Jones, and Chaffey have described this as follows:

The girl feels a necessity to prove to herself and to the world that she is essentially feminine; the boy needs to demonstrate that he has those masculine qualities which will require others to recognize him as a man. This characteristic accounts for the girls' spending a large part of their leisure time in shopping and in personal adornment. This is the secret of the manicured nails, painted red to match vivid lips. This is why they must wave and curl their hair, and, having perfected the process, must pin into it ribbon bows, bits of lace, or flowers. This is the reason for the boy's urge to learn to drive a car and for his willingness to move heaven and earth to borrow or own one. Along with this development, also, we are told by our group that a girl to be popular must be modishly pretty, keep herself clean and neat, be a good mixer. A boy, on the other hand, must be aggressive and must excel at sports. He must have the ability to dance and to talk easily with girls, and in addition he must show that he can compete readily with other boys, that he can achieve and master. This picture of adolescent development is often disturbing to adults, but it should be reassuring to know that, once the girl has arrived at the status in the group to which she has aspired, or has learned to adjust herself to a version of the universal feminine model

[13] C. P. Stone and R. G. Barker, "The Attitudes and Interests of Premenarcheal and Postmenarcheal Girls," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1939, Vol. 54, pp. 27–72.

which suits her own personality, she will be a happier person and a pleasanter one to teach or to have around the house. Likewise, once the boy feels that he is accepted as a man, he can go on with the important business of preparing himself for a job or for college. We have repeatedly noticed that those boys and girls who have acquired some understanding of their personal relations to others and have made a place for themselves in a mixed group have become more stable and predictable.[14]

Table 7–5

SOURCES FROM WHICH 2,000 BOYS FROM TWENTY CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OBTAINED THEIR INFORMATION ABOUT SEX (*After Fleege*)

Source	First information (Per cent)	Later information (Per cent)
Companions	54.9	49.8
The street	34.6	22.8
Books	33.4	38.9
Magazines	24.9	32.3
Priests	18.2	26.3
Father	17.4	17.3
Mother	15.4	15.7
Teachers	14.9	22.2
Movies	14.8	17.4
Newspapers	14.5	18.8
Older people	9.8	14.7
Brothers	5.0	7.5
Relatives	5.0	6.8
Doctor	3.4	6.5
Sisters	2.0	2.3

Information and attitudes about sex. A number of studies have been made about sources from which adolescents gain sex information. Data was obtained by Fleege from 2,000 boys attending Catholic high schools about where they received their first information about sex, and from what source or sources they had received subsequent information on this subject.[15] The results, presented in Table 7–5, show that fathers and mothers ranked fifth and sixth, respectively, among the sources from which these boys received their first information. Over one-half of the boys received their first from companions, while 34.6 per cent obtained theirs from the street.

A survey of approximately 5,000 boys and girls from the state of Washington revealed somewhat similar findings. These results, given in Table

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[14] H. R. Stolz, M. C. Jones, and J. Chaffey, "The Junior-High-School Age," *University High School Journal*, 1937, Vol. 15, pp. 63–72.

[15] U. H. Fleege, *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy*. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1946, p. 272.

7-6, indicate that almost two-thirds of the girls received their information about sex from parents and adults at home, while only 38.6 per cent of the boys listed this as the source of their information on the subject.[16] The conclusions reached in a survey of teen-agers by the *Ladies' Home Journal* pointed to companions, popular novels, lewd pamphlets and comics, and the movies as sources of sex information for the majority of adolescents.[17]

Table 7–6

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT SEX (*After Elias*)

	Boy	Girl	Total
Parents and adults at home	38.2	64.6	52.6
Church, Sunday school, minister	3.2	2.5	2.8
Older kids, magazines, movies	52.3	26.7	38.3
Class and supervised discussion	10.5	20.8	16.1
An adult counselor	8.7	6.4	2.5

Table 7–7

ATTITUDES OF BOYS TOWARD SEX (*After Fleege*)

Whenever the thought of sex comes to my mind, I usually find myself regarding it as:

	Per cent
Something that puzzles me	31.0
A power of creation we share with God	22.5
Something sacred	21.2
Something dirty and vulgar	20.3
A source of thrills	16.6
Something disgusting	12.5
An ever-present opportunity for pleasure	12.3
Something mysterious	12.0
Lots of fun	11.5
Something fearful	6.1

Closely related to the source of sex information is that of attitudes toward sex. A large number of studies lend support to the viewpoint that the character of these attitudes will depend largely upon the manner and sources from which the adolescent received his information. Of the boys, in the study by Fleege, who received their information about sex from such sources as companions and the street, 53.5 per cent thought

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[16] L. J. Elias, *High School Youth Look at Their Problems.* Pullman, Washington: The State College of Washington, 1949.

[17] "Where do Teen-agers Get Their Sex Education," *Ladies' Home Journal*, 1949, Vol. 54, pp. 234–237.

that the effects were bad; whereas, of the boys who obtained their information from wholesome sources, 80 per cent thought the effects were good. A wide range of attitudes toward sex was found among the 2,000 boys. The attitudes of these boys are shown in Table 7–7.[18]

The phenomenon of sexual maturation evokes different attitudes among boys and girls, with girls indicating more worry than boys. In American society, sex is a more common topic of conversation among adolescent boys than among adolescent girls. A comparison of results obtained by Fleege from 2,000 Catholic high-school boys with those obtained earlier by Sister Knoebber with 3,000 Catholic high-school girls indicates that boys regard matters of petting and related activities as less serious in nature than girls regard such matters.[19]

SCHOOL ATTITUDES

The adolescent brings with him to the classroom certain attitudes and interests formulated as a result of his activities and experiences at home, on the playground, in school, at church, and elsewhere. The teacher who fails to take into account the various cultural forces that have operated in the development of a particular child's attitudes and interests will be unable to appreciate and understand him and the problems he encounters.

Attitudes toward classmates. Among the attitudes formulated by junior and senior high school students are certain notions about the activities of their classmates. There is a strong tendency for these boys and girls to assign special roles to each other, based upon their special characteristics or abilities. The results of the California studies show some of the special likes and dislikes of adolescents in this connection. Items from the inventory used in the California growth study bearing on attitudes toward classmates that were most frequently checked are presented in Table 7–8 along with the percentage of boys and girls checking each of the items at three age levels.[20] There is a continuous decline in the per cent of both boys and girls that checked those items connected with the tendency for adolescents to form into cliques as they develop from the preadolescent to the adolescent and thence to the postadolescent period. The high-fifth and low-sixth grade groups checked a significantly larger percentage of the items than did the high-eleventh and low-twelfth grade groups. No consistent sex differences were observed in the responses to these items.

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[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 284.

[19] Sister M. Knoebber, *The Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Girl.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1936.

[20] For a further discussion of these items and a method for using the inventory for studying the development of an individual during the adolescent years, see H. E. Jones, *Development in Adolescence.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948.

Table 7-8

ASPECTS OF SCHOOL LIFE DISLIKED BY ADOLESCENTS:
ATTITUDES TOWARD CLASSMATES

Aspect	H5 L6		H8 L9		H11 L12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Classmates who plan games or hikes or parties and then won't let others in on the fun	45	32	20	25	15	7
Groups or gangs or crowds that won't have anything to do with pupils outside of these groups	42	31	21	26	11	26
Having some of the pupils start a club which they won't let others into	39	31	17	14	8	6
Having the classmates you like most turn out to be stuck up	46	44	24	22	30	11
One's classmates are snobbish and stuck-up	39	44	27	37	30	21
Having certain pupils run everything in the school	61	49	38	43	27	46
Classmates whispering and making fun of one behind one's back	55	47	20	26	23	10
Having a few pupils in the school make fun of some of the other pupils	46	42	18	25	10	15
Being laughed at when one recites in class	39	35	35	35	23	21
Being called nicknames	18	11	3	8	0	0

The attitudes of adolescents toward their classmates are also reflected in their acceptance or lack of acceptance of the members making up the group. Brown noted that the greater the number of school organizations to which students belong, the greater is the likelihood of their being in the high-acceptance group of their classmates.[21] Thirty-seven items were assembled for each of the 200 most-accepted and for each of the 200 least-accepted students of the Anderson (Indiana) High School. Over 40 per cent of the low-acceptance group in his study belong to no school organization. Students from the low socio-economic class take a less active part in club activities as well as in most other extraclass activities than do other students. Thus, these students are often left out of many school functions and are frequently found among the low-acceptance group.

[21] D. Brown, "Factors Affecting Social Acceptance of High-School Students," *The School Review*, 1954, Vol. 42, pp. 151–156.

Attitudes toward the teacher. The attitude assumed by adolescents oftentimes represents a group and sometimes a community attitude. When the leaders of certain gangs or cliques assume some special attitude toward a teacher and assign him or her a special role, this may become the model for most other adolescents to follow. Sometimes a community may place a teacher in a favorable or unfavorable role and thus influence the actions of adolescents. However, there is evidence that adolescents are more honest and forthright in their appraisal than are the parents. Adolescents respond favorably to fair treatment, and have in many cases taken a fair attitude toward a teacher who was being maligned by members of the community because of some belief or practice not wholly in harmony with that held to and practiced by leading members of the community.

Table 7–9

ASPECTS OF THE SCHOOL SITUATION DISLIKED BY ADOLESCENTS:
TEACHERS AND DISCIPLINE

Aspect	H5 L6		H8 L9		H11 L12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Being punished for things you do not do	69	58	69	56	59	36
Teachers who are not interested in their pupils	30	26	38	33	34	44
Teachers who make one feel embarrassed before the class	51	46	54	67	46	60
Teachers who mark you down because they do not like you	49	39	68	65	58	54
Examinations that are unfair	35	25	65	51	62	49
Too many teachers' pets	61	42	49	39	38	22
Teachers who have the wrong opinion about you	30	28	52	51	51	36

In the California growth study 71 boys and 72 girls completed an inventory consisting of 50 items entitled "Things You Do Not Like About School." [22] This inventory was checked annually by these boys and girls for seven consecutive years. Items from the school situation involving teacher-pupil relations are presented in Table 7–9. The numbers of pupils checking the items at the first checking (H5 L6), the fourth checking (H8 L9), and the seventh checking (H11 L12) are presented as a basis for comparing these boys and girls at the preadolescent or early

[22] *U. C. Inventory I: Social and Emotional Adjustment.* Revised form for presentation of the cumulative record of an individual, with group norms by items for a seven-year period. University of California.

adolescent years, the adolescent stage, and the postadolescent stage. At all of these stages of development both boys and girls showed a strong dislike for unfair practices on the part of teachers. Boys were slightly more inclined than girls to check the various items, except for the one relating to being embarrassed by the teacher before the class.

These studies reveal that many adolescents dislike school. Materials bearing on this in relation to school dropouts will be presented in Chapter 15. However, the majority of adolescents attain success and satisfaction through the wide range of activities provided in the modern school program. These studies indicate that unfavorable attitudes of adolescents toward school result from teachers who lack an understanding of adolescents, a school curriculum out of harmony with the interests and goals of many adolescents, and procedures of an authoritarian nature that fail to furnish the students with opportunities to preserve and enhance the ego.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES
AND BELIEFS

Various attempts have been made to relate the religious activities of man to instinctive tendencies. The religious activities so universally present have apparently developed out of a medley of impulses, such as fear, assertion, sex, and the developed desires and interests of the individual. These impulses, some of which are outgrowths of native impulses, become integrated as drives in the intellectual and social habits of man.

The average adolescent today, when confronted with the popular question "What is religion?" may give any number of strange and incoherent answers. There is little likelihood that any two young people will give an identical definition. Strange though it may seem, this is to be expected. Religion goes beyond a mere definition to be mechanically learned and carried from generation to generation. We find, however, that there are certain fundamental principles and concepts upon which the religious experience of the adolescent is based.

Studies have been made of the religious development of adolescents from adolescent diaries, letters, and poems; and these, together with results from questionnaires, have given valuable materials relative to the development of the religious self.[23] Little can be learned from a study of the religion of childhood, as such, since felt and understood religious experiences do not ordinarily appear until puberty. The religious community and the temperament of the individual determine whether the development shall be continuous or catastrophic and leading to conversion. Factors such as sex, nature, and love influence religious development, but it cannot be said that the development is exclusively determined by them.

[23] For a study of religious development from diaries, letters, and so forth, see O. Kupky, *The Religious Development of Adolescents* (Tr. William Clark Trow). New York: Macmillan Company, 1928.

Some of these forms affecting the religious nature of adolescents are given special consideration in this chapter.

In one investigation a group of girls between the ages of 15 and 17 were questioned about when and where they first experienced a feeling of reverence.[24] The meaning of reverence was made clear to them before they were presented with this assignment. During this period the project was so developed that the girls freely gave this information and recognized that such experiences did not need to relate to a certain formal religious creed or program. Of the 148 girls questioned, 22 stated that they had never had any emotional experience that could be called "reverence"; 68 girls stated that such feelings arose at a time when they suddenly came to realize the beauty and wonder of nature; only 31 girls, or 21 per cent, reported their first feeling of reverence or awe to be connected with some religious observance. Some of the girls expressed reverence toward some person they had known—in some cases this approached what is usually termed pity—while others reported reverence toward special types of music or some masterpiece of art. The results suggest that reverence tends to be aroused toward anything that is impressive, beautiful, or extremely thought- and emotion-provoking.

The period of conversion. Turning to the transition from childhood to adolescence, one finds some important religious significances. The general development of the child is complicated in nature and is conditioned by many factors, among which are the development of the original tendencies charged with their incoherent energies, and also a constantly growing stock of energy seeking an outlet. The adolescent period is characterized by various physiological changes that have very definite influences on the individual's psychic development. This period has already been described as one in which there is manifested a marked expression of self-consciousness, as well as a marked development of social consciousness. This development of a social consciousness, during which the child comes to be looked upon as a social rather than as an egocentric individual, tends to follow naturally the realization of life's purposes and the consciousness of perfected physical and mental powers. "In cases of normal development the religious teaching and impressions of childhood now come to a head, and are invested with a reality and significance they formerly lacked." [25]

Conversion means change—a modification of the goals and directions of one's life. The nature of the conversion experience may be as varied as life itself, there being many ways of reorienting one's life energies. The type of conversion is influenced by the nature of our religious institutions and the theology. A theology of crisis tends to produce experiences of crisis, or even a crisis in one's life may produce a religious crisis or awak-

[24] O. Kupky, *op. cit.*

[25] W. H. Selbie, *The Psychology of Religion.* London: Oxford University Press, 1926, p. 176.

ening. This form of conversion appears more frequently among certain evangelical groups, whereas other groups seek by some such means, such as confirmation, to bring forth a gradual religious awakening and growth. Three types of religious conversions were earlier noted by Clark: (1) definite crisis (in emotions and attitudes); (2) emotional stimulus (less intense, with no special change or transformation recalled); and (3) gradual awakening.[26]

The more radical awakening or crisis tends to occur between the ages of 15 and 17, while the gradual awakening comes considerably earlier. The conversion is likely to be more revolutionary in nature when the crisis is deferred. The account of conversion among adolescents today even in evangelical circles is not likely to be one involving a violent crisis, but rather one including an acceptance of the teachings of the church and a series of decisions on the road toward the development of a philosophy of life.

If the individual is awakened and stimulated to further thought and activity with a positive emphasis on new loyalties, the group welfare, and proper habits of conduct, there will probably be a more healthy and balanced growth in the social, educational, and religious life. It is when the negative emphasis, in which the sins of the past are recounted and the natural sex and the various social tendencies are criticized so vehemently, that we find morbid fears developing and becoming prime factors in the development of emotional instability and perversions. Adolescent boys and girls are susceptible to religious appeals. Statistics of conversion as well as various testimonies, however, show that girls are more affected by the emotional appeal in religious life, whereas boys are more attracted by codes of honor, ethical sanction, and group activity.

Change of religious beliefs during adolescence. Growth has been described throughout the previous chapters as a gradual and continuous process. New experiences and maturity bring about an enlargement and a reorganization of old concepts. Thus, as the child grows, his concept of God takes on an added and to some degree changed meaning; his understanding of his relationship to God becomes more inclusive and less concrete in nature; and his concept of the "brotherhood of man" is enlarged in scope. These changed concepts are a part of the development of the *total self*, and affect changes in emotional, personal, and social behavior patterns. These beliefs are closely related to one's philosophy of life and to standards for evaluating character and conduct.

In the study of the religious beliefs and problems of adolescents by Kuhlen and Arnold [27] a questionnaire was prepared that listed 52 state-

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[26] E. T. Clark, *The Psychology of Religious Awakening.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1929.

[27] R. G. Kuhlen and M. Arnold, "Age Differences in Religious Beliefs and Problems during Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminar and Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1944, Vol. 65, pp. 291–300.

ments representing various religious beliefs. The subject completing the questionnaire was instructed to mark each statement according to whether he *believed it, did not believe it,* or was uncertain and *wondered about it.* Responses were secured from 547 (257 boys and 290 girls) sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-grade pupils. These three groups were chosen since the sixth-grade group is largely prepubescent (especially boys; many girls are pubescent or near pubescent), the ninth-grade group pubescent, and the twelfth-grade group postpubescent. Approximately three-fourths of the pupils were Protestants, 22.85 per cent were Catholic, and several were either of Jewish faith or indicated no church attendance.

The findings were analyzed by determining what proportion of each group checked each statement indicating the nature of their belief regarding that statement. The results from this study are analyzed in Table 7–10. It is evident from the results here presented that significant changes appear in the religious beliefs of boys and girls as they reach adolescence and grow into maturity. Of the 52 statements included in the study, statistically significant changes appeared in 36. A pronounced change appears in the attitude toward the Scriptures as shown by the responses to the statements, "Every word in the Bible is true," and "It is sinful to doubt the Bible." The responses to a number of the statements provide evidence for the assumption that a greater tolerance toward different religious beliefs and practices appears with increased maturity of the growing individual.

Factors related to adolescent beliefs. It has already been suggested that the preadolescent has accepted quite completely the beliefs he has been taught in the home and by religious teachers. However, as early as 12 or 13 some degree of doubt and oftentimes opposition begins to be manifested, as is revealed in Table 7–11. Certain investigators have sought to determine the factors related to the development of religious beliefs. MacLean found a negative correlation between chronological age and accepted beliefs.[28] The revolt of girls against accepted beliefs comes at a later age than that of boys and is found less frequently and is probably not as inclusive. The general relationship between the educational and economic level of the home and the acceptance of definite religious beliefs is negative, as is also that between intelligence and acceptance of beliefs.

All religions seem to have as their central idea a belief in a supreme being. For example, Christianity, with which most Americans are closely identified or at least familiar, teaches belief in God as the Heavenly Father of mankind. Religious leaders have held throughout the ages

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[28] A. H. MacLean, "The Idea of God in Protestant Religious Education," *Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education,* No. 410, 1930. Also see Luella Cole: *Psychology of Adolescence.* New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936, pp. 171–173. This material is used by permission of the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Table 7–10

CHANGES IN SPECIFIC RELIGIOUS BELIEFS DURING ADOLESCENCE AS SHOWN BY THE PERCENTAGE OF 12-, 15-, AND 18-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN WHO CHECKED VARIOUS STATEMENTS INDICATING (A) BELIEF, (B) DISBELIEF, OR (C) UNCERTAINTY (WONDER)

(After Kuhlen and Arnold) *

Statement	Believe			Disbelieve			Uncertain		
	12	15	18	12	15	18	12	15	18
God is a strange power working for good, rather than a person	46	49	57	31	33	21	20	14	15
God is someone who watches you to see that you behave yourself and who punishes you if you are not good	70	49	33	18	37	48	11	13	18
I know there is a God	94	80	79	3	5	2	2	14	16
Catholics, Jews, and Protestants are equally good	67	79	86	9	9	7	24	11	7
There is a heaven	72	45	33	15	27	32	13	27	34
Hell is a place where you are punished for your sins on earth	70	49	35	16	21	30	13	27	34
Heaven is here on earth	12	13	14	69	57	52	18	28	32
People who go to church are better than people who do not go to church	46	26	15	37	53	74	17	21	7
Young people should belong to the same church as their parents	77	56	43	13	33	46	10	11	11
The main reason for going to church is to worship God	88	80	79	6	12	15	4	7	6
It is not necessary to attend church to be a Christian	42	62	67	38	23	24	18	15	8
Only our soul lives after death	72	63	61	9	11	6	18	25	31
Good people say prayers regularly	78	57	47	9	29	26	13	13	27
Prayers are answered	76	69	65	3	5	8	21	25	27
Prayers are a source of help in times of trouble	74	80	83	11	8	7	15	10	9
Prayers are to make up for something that you have done that is wrong	47	24	21	35	58	69	18	17	9
Every word in the Bible is true	79	51	34	6	16	23	15	31	43
It is awful to doubt the Bible	62	42	27	18	31	44	20	26	38

* Discrepancies between the total of "Believe," "Not Believe," and "Uncertain" and 100 per cent represent the percentages that did not respond to the statements.

that certain ethical or moral values attend one's concept of God. Thus, the question arises: What relationship exists between one's conception of God and one's behavior? In order to throw some light on this problem,

Table 7–11

PER CENT OF 13-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN MARKING THE STATEMENTS TRUE
(N-646) (After MacLean)

	Per Cent
1. Religion consists of obeying God's laws	70
2. God is simply imagination	21
3. We learn about God through dreams and visions	28
4. God made us, the animals, the stars, and the flowers, and everything in the world	82
5. God knows everything we say or do	78
6. God cares what we do	89
7. God has a good reason for what happens to us, even when we cannot understand it	92
8. God protects from harm those who trust him	70
9. God cares whether we repent of our sins or not	82
10. God hears and answers our prayers	85
11. True prayer consists of thinking of the wonderful ways of God in the world	66
12. It is possible to get things by prayer	31
13. The soul lives on after the body dies	71

Mathias constructed the *Idea-of-God Test*. The purpose of the test as expressed by Mathias was "(1) to draw out an individual's social attitudes concerning God, and (2) to crystallize the person's viewpoint of God from the angle of available information regarding the universe and its mysteries, as we conceive them." [29]

Correlations were obtained between sixteen factors, referred to as background factors, and composite *Idea-of-God* scores. Correlations were positive but low, the highest being between moral knowledge and scores on the *Idea-of-God Test*. Correlations were also obtained between fifteen factors, referred to as behavior patterns, and composite *Idea-of-God* scores. All correlations were again positive but low, the three highest having as second members high motives (.28), self-functioning (.25), and school deportment (.21). It appears, therefore, that certain background factors, as well as personal factors, tend to be associated with high composite concepts of God. However, this does not mean that one is the cause of the other; but rather "that what have been designated as desirable concepts of God tend to be found in those pupils who come from homes with church affiliation and who have a good cultural background, and in individuals of high intelligence, moral knowledge, and social attitudes." [30] Also, the results support the notion that high motives in con-

[29] W. D. Mathias, "Ideas of God and Conduct," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education*, No. 874, 1943, p. 43.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

duct, independent action, and church and club participation tend to be associated with desirable concepts of God.

Adolescent doubts. Many adolescents, especially those whose early training has been dogmatic in nature, become very skeptical of all problems not concrete and not specific in nature. As the growing, developing youth increases his realm of knowledge and develops better habits of thinking, he is led to question many of the things he had formerly accepted uncritically. The youth coming into contact with more of life's realities assumes more mental and moral independence. He is thrown upon his own initiative and required to make decisions for himself. He therefore develops habits of thinking and analyzing on the basis of fact. He comes to learn that many of the things he had been taught earlier and had accepted uncritically are not in harmony with the facts presented at school or in his everyday readings. Early faith, so firmly entrenched, thus receives a serious setback when the child learns that the answers to many of his questions are not based upon almost obvious facts.

This critical attitude develops according to the developmental viewpoint as presented throughout this study. It has its beginning with the first observations of the child that the things he has been taught are not wholly in harmony with facts observable in later life. New and broader experiences often aid in destroying faith in other early teachings. This destruction of early faith continues with the acquirement of certain scientific principles that are out of harmony with early learning. Thus the development of doubt continues and finds further support in the behavior and attitude assumed by those who have a powerfully suggestive influence over the life of the subject.

Functional peculiarities of beliefs and attitudes are at this stage of life quite prevalent. The adolescent may desire to stay away from church for some social reason; therefore he comes to doubt the value of the work of the church as well as the general honesty of the leaders. This doubting may serve further to effect the satisfaction of a desire that has been blooming, or justify some need already existing. During adolescence there are usually several elements in the situation that combine to augment doubts extremely.

How should doubts be treated? In the first place, it should be recognized that doubting is not confined to the religious sphere of life. Neither should anyone be misled into believing that doubting is a universal trait and therefore similar in nature to an instinctive form of behavior. The adolescent does not need a dogma or creed to anchor on: his need is to find himself, and to interrelate in his own thinking the processes of the universe with the general plan of life. An anchorage in open sea in a storm is analogous to the type of treatment usually given the individual during this stage. But the first essential in helping the individual to find himself is intellectual honesty. Of course, facts and knowledge should be gathered in harmony with individual needs and interests.

SOCIAL FORCES AFFECTING ADOLESCENTS

The home and attitudes. There is a rather widespread notion that the youth of each generation revolt against the ideas of their parents and of their parents' generation. A study by Remmers and Weltman was undertaken to gather data bearing on such a hypothesis.[31] The *Purdue Opinion Poll for Young People* was available for gathering data in this study. A representative sample of 88 sons, 119 daughters, 207 fathers, 207 mothers, and 89 teachers from ten school communities in Indiana and Illinois were available for the study. Comparisons and interrelations were obtained between the responses of parents and children, daughters and sons, and teachers and pupils. These comparisons showed that a high degree of community of attitudes exists between parents and children. The strength of this relationship varied, however, with the general nature of the attitude object. The correlations, presented in Table 7-12, show a closer relationship between mother and father than between the parents and children. Likewise, daughter and son attitudes agree more closely than those of parents and children. This reveals some tendency for those of one generation to agree more closely than individuals a generation apart in age. However, the close correlation between the attitudes of parents and those of adolescents, and the lower correlation between the attitudes of teachers and those of pupils indicate that home influences are most important factors affecting the attitudes of adolescent boys and girls. The importance of the home in the formation of attitudes is borne out further by the results of a rather comprehensive study at Teachers College, Columbia University.[32] As a part of the Citizenship Education Project the attitudes and political preferences of more than 6,000 eleventh-grade students were studied. The findings supported results from earlier studies that revealed a close relationship between students' attitudes and parents' attitudes. Eighty-three per cent of the adolescents preferred the political party of their parents. This percentage would perhaps be even higher in most rural areas or where there is a more traditional school program, since these conditions do not contribute as freely to growth in independent thinking.

Importance of class structure. It was pointed out in Chapter 5 that class status is important in connection with the socialization of adolescents. This is further shown in a study of the moral beliefs of the youth of Prairie City by Havighurst and Taba.[33] They report that class struc-

[31] H. H. Remmers and N. Weltman, "Attitude Inter-Relationship of Youth, Their Parents, and Teachers," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1947, Vol. 26, pp. 61–67.

[32] N. Young, F. Mayans, Jr., and B. R. Corman, "The Political Preferences of Adolescents," *Teachers College Record*, 1952–53, Vol. 54, pp. 340–344.

[33] R. J. Havighurst and H. Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949, p. 95.

Table 7-12

CORRELATIONS OF PROPORTIONS OF AGREEMENT RESPONSES ON SIXTEEN

ITEMS FROM THE PURDUE OPINION POLL

(*After Remmers and Weltman*)

	Correlations
Parents vs. children	.86 ± .01
Mothers vs. fathers	.96 ± .03
Daughters vs. sons	.93 ± .05
Daughters vs. mothers	.87 ± .05
Daughters vs. fathers	.80 ± .07
Sons vs. mothers	.80 ± .07
Sons vs. fathers	.82 ± .06
Teachers vs. pupils	.65 ± .11
Teachers vs. parents	.65 ± .11
Children in grades 9 and 10 vs. parents	.90 ± .04
Children in grades 11 and 12 vs. parents	.79 ± .07
Children in grades 9 and 10 vs. children in grades 11 and 12	.96 ± .01

ture affects the adolescent's sense of honesty and responsibility, but is less effective in connection with loyalty, moral courage, and friendliness. During adolescence the individual learns his class role in manners, social activities, prejudices, attitudes toward peers, and the like. At school the child of a lower-class status is often faced with the fact that he is not wholly accepted by those of his age level, or, if accepted, he is given a rather minor role in the various activities. To be accepted he must take on the attitudes and values of a middle-class culture, which the high schools tend to promote.

The results of the *Purdue Opinion Panel* revealed significant class differences in activities involving deferred gratification. In answer to the question about what the pupil would do if he won a prize, "say two thousand dollars," 23 per cent of the higher occupational group (Group A) and 34 per cent of the lower occupational group (Group D) would spend it immediately. The middle-class pupils were more "choosy" in selecting friends, were more interested in joining clubs or organizations and in the attainment of honors and good grades at school. Some social-class differences were also noted in attitudes toward manners and conduct. More of the middle-class pupils dislike people who get drunk, are loud, ill-mannered, or have little regard for the opinions of others.

Also, results of the *Purdue Opinion Panel* verified the general observation that adolescents from low-occupational-status homes have a lower aspirational level than those from a higher status. High-school pupils were furnished a list of 12 occupations, ranging from high to low in terms of income and prestige. The pupils were instructed to check the occu-

pations they regarded as "not good enough" for their own life work. This furnished a basis for evaluating their level of aspirations. The results showed that a high aspiration score tended to be associated with a high-class status. It was also noted that the attitudes of pupils toward business and labor reflected their class status. More of the pupils from the low occupational background were favorable to American union ideas, and believed that business is interested in profits at the expense of the welfare of people as a whole.

A further study of the results of the *Purdue Opinion Panel* showed that attitudes toward school are different for members of the different social classes. A larger percentage of pupils in the higher social strata worried about grades and results from examinations than was the case for students from the lower social groups. This is no doubt closely related to the greater anxiety of parents of students from the middle-class groups. The existence of social classes in our society is a reality for teen-agers and affects their attitudes and behavior in diverse ways. Choice of friends, vocational goals, attitudes toward crime and laws are all affected by social-class identification. The middle-class pattern of behavior places more emphasis upon education and deferred gratification. Thus, pupils from our middle-class culture are more likely to have long-time goals than is the case for pupils from our low-class culture. It should be pointed out, however, that there is considerable overlapping among the various classes. Also, these differences in attitudes, although somewhat consistent, are not actually large, indicating a considerable overlap in aspirations, attitudes, and goals.

Youth and the church. To arrive at sound conclusions about the part the church is playing in the lives of young people is not a simple task. The obvious difficulties are aggravated by the fact that it is impossible to isolate the church as a single factor in the experience and background of youth. It is quite possible, of course, to discover the conditions under which the youth of different church groups are living, and also to find out whatever differences may exist in the ways that they react to current problems. However, to presume to measure the extent to which these differences are due to dissimilarities in religious backgrounds and affiliations is not only unscientific but highly dangerous.

It is one thing to suggest that certain variations in concepts and attitudes are associated with such religious groups as Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, but quite another thing to insist that these dissimilarities are directly the result of different church affiliations. For example, in the Maryland study conducted by the American Youth Commission, almost 20 per cent of the youth from Protestant homes were Negroes.[34] Thus,

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[34] H. M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*. Maryland was chosen for a study of youth because it was believed that it presented in miniature form the major economic and social characteristics of the nation. The study is a forceful analysis of what young people are doing and thinking based on personal interviews with more than 13,500

what may appear on the surface to be a distinctly religious factor turns out to be influenced by the factor of race. Of 35 per cent of the youth from Catholic homes, either the mother or the father or both were foreign-born. This means, of course, that ethnic as well as religious backgrounds contribute to whatever differences may appear in the Catholic and non-Catholic groups. Similarly the attitudes and the conditions of the Jewish youth were, without doubt, considerably influenced by the facts that 84 per cent of their parents were foreign born (more than half of them came from Russia) and that their median grade attainment was about two grades higher than that of the youth in any other religious group.

Thus it is that differences which, on the surface, may appear to be basically religious in character are, in fact, profoundly affected by such factors as race, nationality, locality of residence, and educational attainment.

It is of considerable interest to note the extent to which youth from homes of different religious backgrounds tend to accept the religion of their parents. In the Maryland study over four-fifths (81.1 per cent) of the youth with some church affiliation had adopted the faith of both their parents. When both parents had church affiliations, but when there was a difference between the persuasion of the father and mother, there was more than twice as strong a tendency to accept the faith of the mother. The proportion of youth who had adopted a belief different from that of either parent is quite negligible: 4.2 per cent for the Catholic youth, 2 per cent for the Protestants, and none for the Jewish.

The O'Reillys noted significant differences in the religious beliefs of college students who acknowledged membership in the Catholic church, as well as some interesting relationships between these beliefs and attitudes toward minorities.[35]   The subjects of their study consisted of 92 white males in a Catholic liberal arts college for men in a southern city and 120 white females in a Catholic liberal arts college for women in the same city. The results supported the hypothesis that prejudice against minority groups tend to cluster together, with some individuals displaying more prejudice than others. The evidence of a relationship between religious attitudes and prejudice is supported further by intercorrelations between these variables:

	Correlations	
	Men	Women
Anti-Semitism and Anti-Negro scores	.69	.68
Anti-Semitism and Religion	.39	.31

young people between the ages of 16 and 24. Chapter VI gives some very interesting and valuable information dealing with youth and the church.

[35] C. T. O'Reilly and E. J. O'Reilly, "Religious Beliefs of College Students and Their Attitudes toward Minorities," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 1954, Vol. 49, pp. 378–380.

One should not generalize too quickly from these results. Perhaps a distinction should be made between religious attitudes involving a humanitarian point of view and religious attitudes that are narrower in scope. Further materials bearing on this will be presented in Chapter 12.

In one study college students were asked to check various influences that they believed might have affected their religious viewpoints.[36] The results, presented in Table 7–13, show the importance of parental influence, personal influence of others, fear and insecurity, and conformity with tradition. The principal sex difference involved greater susceptibility of women toward the influence of gratitude, mystical experience, and aesthetic appeal. Thus, it appears that the influence of culture in defining the role of women may have an important bearing on their religious beliefs and practices.

Table 7–13

PERCENTAGE REPORTING VARIOUS TYPES OF INFLUENCES UPON THEIR RELIGIOUS LIFE (*After Allport, Gillespie, and Young*)

	Harvard (Boys)	Radcliffe (Girls)
Parental influence	51	34
Fear of insecurity	43	46
Personal influence of others	36	43
Conformity with tradition	35	27
Aesthetic appeal	25	41
Church teachings	24	34
Gratitude	23	42
Reading	20	24
Studies	17	19
Sorrow or bereavement	17	26
A mystical experience	10	21
Sex turmoil	8	8

Intellectual development and attitudes. Intellectual maturity, as an integral part of the total maturity of a growing child, is accompanied by pronounced changes in attitudes. As the child grows into adolescence, he becomes more discriminating in the choice of friends. At this time prejudices formed earlier as a product of home and neighborhood contacts become more generalized. Attitudes take on a fuller meaning and reveal an increased complexity. Many things of an abstract and non-personal nature become more significant and personal. Proof of a close

[36] G. W. Allport, J. M. Gillespie, and J. Young, "The Religion of the Post-War College Student," *Journal of Psychology*, 1948, Vol. 26, pp. 3–33.

relation between intelligence and the development of social attitudes and habits is demonstrated in studies of this problem.[37] The *Furfey Developmental Age Test* was given to 26 boys, median age 11 years, and to 24 girls, median age 11 years, of superior intelligence. There was a considerable variation in the maturity shown for the different items. The highest maturity was revealed on the items concerned with choice of books to read, future vocations, and things to think about.

A study by Epstein with high-school juniors and seniors as subjects showed that social and political attitudes could be changed as a result of experiences with particular social and political problems.[38] The students were given a social- and political-attitudes questionnaire consisting of 45 items. The senior class was then taken on an extensive field trip, visiting certain government projects and other enterprises. The junior class was not taken on this trip. Following an interval of three weeks both the junior and senior classes were given the questionnaire a second time. Pronounced changes were noted in the responses of the members of the senior class, while no significant changes were observed in the responses of the members of the junior class. The results of this study indicate that meaningful experiences may produce important changes in the attitudes of high-school students.

The results of another survey conducted among high-school students showed that students similar in many ways, but different in the amount of information possessed about world affairs, expressed significantly different opinions about international issues.[39] Of the 16 opinion questions studied, significant differences were found between the well-informed and poorly-informed students on all but one question. The well-informed group, from its answers to the questions, may be characterized as more optimistic, more international-minded, better able to make decisions on the questions, less eager to go to war over minor incidents, and less given to emotional solutions to international problems.

The influence of education upon the formation and direction of attitudes will depend largely upon the emotional climate in which the learning takes place.[40] High-school students will be influenced more by a teacher whom they admire than by one that they dislike or take a neutral attitude toward. The teacher who is able to present a problem in such a way as to motivate students to think critically about it will influence their

[37] R. L. Thorndike, "Performance of Gifted Children on Tests of Developmental Age," *Journal of Psychology*, 1940, Vol. 9, pp. 337–343.

[38] L. J. Epstein, "Attitudinal Changes Attendant upon Variations in Experience," *Journal of Educational Research*, 1941, Vol. 34, pp. 453–457.

[39] B. Shimberg, "The Relationship between Information and Attitudes of High-School Students on Certain International Issues," Purdue University, *Studies in Higher Education*, No. 68, 1947–50.

[40] See T. M. Newcomb, "The Influence of Attitude Climate upon Some Determinants of Information," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1946, Vol. 41, pp. 291–362.

attitudes to a greater degree than will the teacher who merely enlists their attention, while he recites facts about an issue or problem. Thus, the extent to which the schools influence the attitudes of the students depends in a large measure upon the personality of the teacher and his rapport with the students.

The effects of movies, radio, and television. The various studies that have been made dealing with the influence of motion pictures on children's attitudes indicate that this form of entertainment may be a potent force in conditioning or reconditioning certain attitudes. The introduction of the television set as a part of the standard equipment of a large percentage of homes has increased enormously the possibilities of such forms of entertainment in molding and changing existing attitudes. Furthermore, changes introduced in this manner are not likely to be just temporary in nature. The realism and manner of presentation make these instruments important avenues for building and changing attitudes and values.

Studies of the effects of movies following World War I showed that certain movies favorable to the German people were effective in building more favorable attitudes toward the Germans. In a more recent study the effects of the motion picture, *Gentleman's Agreement*, on attitudes toward Jews was studied.[41] An experimental and control group of college students were used as subjects in this study. An essay-type questionnaire consisting of five items was administered. There was a change in the average attitudes indicating greater tolerance for Jews on the part of the group that viewed the picture. However, not all students of this group registered such a change. A few showed greater prejudice and intolerance after seeing the picture. During the period there was no appreciable change in test scores of a control group that did not see the picture. Since the adolescent is more impressionable than the college student, one would expect an even greater change in his attitude during this period following the attendance at the movie or televiewing.

There are many far-reaching educational implications from these and many related studies. The manner and setting in which many adolescents listen to the radio or watch television sometimes reinforce the effectiveness of these media of teaching and learning. Adolescents display much interest in the radio and TV and spend considerable time listening to the radio and televiewing. Data bearing on this were presented in Chapter 6. These conditions make them some of the most potent forces for building and molding attitudes. The schools should be on the alert to take advantage of special programs. These programs can, then, be closely correlated with the aims and purposes of the school program.

[41] I. C. Rosen, "Effect of the Motion Picture 'Gentleman's Agreement' on Attitudes Toward Jews," *Journal of Psychology*, 1948, Vol. 26, pp. 525–536.

SUMMARY

The development of attitudes during adolescence has been discussed throughout this chapter. It has been pointed out that attitudes become better integrated as a part of the total self with growth and development toward maturity. The attitude of the individual toward current problems and the extent to which they have become an integral part of the total self become measures of the social and mental maturity of the individual. Attitudes toward members of the opposite sex are furthermore profoundly affected by the physiological maturity of the individual. This accounts for some of the changes in attitudes that occur during adolescence.

Ideas of religion, interest in religious problems, religious convictions, and changes in life outlooks appear in the lives of many adolescents as they grow toward maturity. The mental and social development of adolescents are closely related to a religious awakening and changed attitudes. During adolescence conversion reaches its peak, only to be followed in postadolescent years by doubts. Doubting grows out of wider social and intellectual contacts, and in this the adolescent needs sane, reliable, and honest guidance. It appears that adolescents are eager to find something of value in religion and are often disillusioned. Such a condition may lead to cynicism, doubt, and withdrawal from religious activities. But this is not always true; many a youth in his teens has ascended to heights of religious experience unsurpassed even by adults. When ideals are established and integrated in these religious experiences, there is an increased permanency in the dynamic force in operation. Ideals represent an integration of behavior units into a larger pattern, which comes to be a vital force in determining conduct. Additional materials bearing on this will be presented in Chapter 8.

Attitudes of adolescents develop out of their social milieu. Various studies referred to in this chapter support the following conclusions about their development:

1. There is a close relationship between the attitudes of adolescents and those of their parents.

2. The attitudes of adolescents reflect their social-class status.

3. Deep-seated prejudices appear reasonably early in the lives of individuals.

4. Intellectual development tends to contribute to the development of more liberal attitudes.

5. The adolescent's church affiliation and interests have an important bearing on his attitudes and beliefs.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Study the methods suggested for developing attitudes. Indicate attitudes you now possess that were developed by each of these methods.

2. What are the effects of puberty on the development of attitudes? Did you note any pronounced change in attitudes that occurred in your life during this period?

3. Write out a frank and accurate account of the genesis and development of your own religious attitudes from childhood up to the present time.

4. Is it conceivable that religion will ever be stripped of its contrasting and varying creeds and points of view? Would this be desirable? Give reasons for your answer.

5. What are the effects of movies on attitudes? Can you cite any change in attitudes observed by you as a result of the movies?

6. Why does religion appear to play an important role in the life of the adolescent?

7. Enumerate factors related to the beliefs and attitudes of adolescents. Show how these operate in connection with your own religious, racial, or governmental attitudes.

8. Why are religious doubts prevalent during adolescence? What can be done to minimize the frequency or seriousness of religious doubts?

9. Compare your attitudes toward various groups with your knowledge of and experiences with each of the groups. What are some conclusions that you might draw from this comparison?

10. Rate yourself for your attitudes toward other races, religions, and nationalities. Can you account for the differences in attitudes toward the various groups?

11. If you belong to a minority group or have ever been placed in a situation where you were regarded as a member of a minority group, list incidents in which you felt you were being discriminated against. What were your general reactions to this discrimination?

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Chapter 8

IDEALS, MORALS, AND RELIGION

MEN AND NATIONS CAN ONLY BE REFORMED IN THEIR YOUTH;
THEY BECOME INCORRIGIBLE AS THEY GROW OLD. *Rousseau*

WE HAVE NOTED THROUGHOUT this study of the growth and development of adolescents toward maturity that they are beset with many problems. The developmental concept of the individual suggests that moral concepts and ideals are learned during childhood and adolescence. Childish concepts are quite simple and usually concrete in nature. The young child accepts without question the concepts of his parents. With the onset of adolescence the individual comes to think for himself. This is referred to as growth in independence.

Materials presented throughout Part III indicate that the adolescent stage is accompanied by many problems connected with the transition from childhood to adulthood. Chapter 17 will present data showing that there is a preponderance of crime during the period. There are many who despair of the frank self-expression of modern youth and its refusal to be blindly obedient to present-day customs and teachings. This attitude is by no means new, as was pointed out a number of years ago by V. K. Froula in his presidential address before the Washington Education Association.[1] He said:

Permit me to give you an example of a lamentation that is as old as the hills, but sounds like an excerpt from a fundamentalist's sermon: 'Our earth is degenerate in these latter days. There are signs that the world is coming to an end. Children no longer obey their parents. The end of the world is manifestly drawing near.' The clay tablet upon which this inscription was made 6,000 years ago was found by archaeologists somewhere in the Mesopotamian Valley and now reposes in the British Museum with other relics of past times.

Attitudes toward mores and institutions. The attitude of the adolescent toward the mores and institutions of his society can be characterized

[1] V. K. Froula, "Education and Public Morals," *Washington Educational Journal*, November, 1927.

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as acceptance, adherence, conformity, rejection, belligerence, and the like. The social framework within which he lives, outside the school situation, is extremely important in the formation of these attitudes.[2] The lower-class adolescent may be under pressure from friends of his own social level to drop out of school, to spend money right now, and even to engage in sexual irregularities. At the same time he usually receives little pressure from his parents to remain in school, since they see little value in school-ing beyond a certain level. The attitudes and values of the class to which an individual belongs exert considerable pressure, and are most important in the formation of particular ideals and values.

The middle-class child is faced with the necessity of acquiring some-what orthodox attitudes. He must not be too critical of the sacred dog-mas and violate the moral codes of society, lest he meet with social disapproval and perhaps punishment. The church and school tend to reinforce the mores of the middle class. However, differences will be found in the religious practices and beliefs of individuals from the various social-class groups. In our society there is perhaps a larger permissible range of variation in attitudes and moral concepts than in primitive cul-tures, consequently the adolescent is in a position to be more critical of parental viewpoints and not be considered dangerously radical or a her-etic. It is at school, in particular, that the adolescent from the lower-class culture meets the pressure of middle-class values and mores. The insistence of the school on middle-class forms of behavior, without due consideration of the attitudes and values of many adolescents from a lower-class culture, presents difficult problems for these boys and girls. An understanding of the attitudes and mores of the lower-class child, on the part of these concerned with his guidance and training at school and elsewhere, is essential in a sound educational program for all youth.

Changing mores. Because our culture is not static, behavior patterns and mores are constantly changing. This is especially observable in the case of sexual mores, which are discussed more fully in Chapter 13. These changes occur gradually and insidiously. The younger generation takes its behavior cues from the older generation, but tends to modify them in harmony with existing conditions. In modifying them it finds that disastrous consequences do not ordinarily result, despite the wailings of the older generation. Thus, new sex patterns tend to emerge. The ultimate effect of the changes in sexual patterns now operating in West-ern civilization cannot be determined. However, individuals working with adolescents are fully aware of changing mores. Such individuals often face a real dilemma. They can attempt to retard these changes by guiding the adolescents in accordance with patterns they are most famil-iar with, but which adolescents are often inclined to modify. The limi-

[2] See, for example, A. Davis and J. Dollard, *Children of Bondage.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1940, pp. 281–282.

tations of these patterns are well known by parents, teachers, and others who deal with adolescents. An alternative to this is to accept changes within limits set perhaps by each counselor, and guide adolescents along a less well-known route toward complete sexual maturity. The results of following such a course are unknown, but failure to recognize social change will only lead to a greater gulf between adolescents and adults who would guide them.

What is most needed is sympathetic guidance of adolescents so as to reduce sexual confusion. The adolescent should be guided in the development of standards of conduct that will enable him to meet and solve problems of daily living. Such guidance cannot be dictatorial; neither should it be without any support. It can best be given by those who have attained emotional and social maturity and through normal channels within the framework of a sound and workable philosophy of life.

Discipline and moral behavior. It has already been pointed out that behavior in conflict with the mores and practices of a particular group is condemned by the group. Sometimes this behavior is regarded as contrary to the welfare of the group, such as delinquent behavior referred to in Chapter 11. Discipline in connection with antisocial behavior in school, in the home, and on the playground is usually thought of as related to the milder forms of antisocial behavior. Thus, the breaking of some rule at school, the infringement upon the good will of some other member of the home or school, many acts of mischief, and other forms of behavior many of which are not necessarily antisocial behavior manifestations, are considered by someone in authority as undesirable and thus the subject concerned is disciplined by some means. The problem of discipline as it relates to the development of conduct in harmony with the mores of the group has been recognized in all emotional processes. Needless to say, the method of punishment has varied considerably from period to period. Not quite a century ago a rather detailed plan of discipline was established in our secondary schools. The following is a partial list of punishments that were in effect in an academy in Stokes County, North Carolina, in 1848: [3]

1. Boys and girls playing together	4	lashes
2. Quarreling	4	"
7. Playing at cards at school	10	"
9. Telling lies	7	"
14. Swearing at school	8	"
16. For misbehaving to girls	10	"
19. For drinking liquors at school	8	"
22. For wearing long finger nails	2	"
31. For blotting your copy book	2	"

[3] C. L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies: A Documentary History,* p. 763. (State document, 1915.)

33. For wrestling at school   4   "
35. For not making a bow when going out to go home   2   "
43. For not saying "Yes sir" or "No sir," etc.   2   "
45. For not washing at playtime when going to books   4   "
46. For going and playing about the mill or creek   6   "

Modern conceptions of child training lay stress on the fact that morality is not developed by rules, creeds, dogmas, or the establishment of specific amounts of punishment for various acts of mischief. If the disciplinary act strikes deep into the innermost life and feelings of the individual and leads him to recognize that the antisocial behavior act will not be tolerated, probably some good effects will result. But too often discipline is looked upon by the adolescent boy as a punishment for getting caught or as a means set forth by the teacher or parent for paying for some behavior act—a form of vengeance.

The development of moral behavior of a group of children was studied by Havighurst and others at the University of Chicago over a period of eight years.[4] These children were observed from the time they were 9 or 10 years old until they were 17 or 18 years of age. At the end of this period of study ratings were made on the moral development of these children. These ratings were then compared with different facts about these boys and girls. The relation of severity and consistency of discipline to good character development was studied, with the observation that severity of discipline bore no relation to character development. Some of the children who had been severely disciplined had good character while others had poor character. Likewise, some of the children who had been very lightly disciplined had good character while others had poor character.

In the case of consistency of discipline they found a close relationship with character. The coefficient of correlation obtained between character ratings and consistency of discipline was .62. Thus, it appears that discipline can be successful or unsuccessful, depending largely upon the spirit in which it is administered and the consistency of parents in administering it.

Too often discipline is concerned with procedures for compelling the child or adolescent to act in certain prescribed ways dictated by the parent or teacher, with little consideration of the method used or its effects upon the individual concerned. Bad habits are not usually formed overnight; neither are they likely to be broken in so short a period. Like other forms of behavior patterns, changes in conduct follow the general laws of learning and occur gradually. Parents often express amazement at the apparent onset of some maladaptive form of behavior on the part of the growing boy or girl, but usually this maladaptive form of behavior

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[4] R. J. Havighurst, "The Functions of Successful Discipline," *Understanding the Child*, 1952, Vol. 21, pp. 35–44.

has not been so sudden as it appears. Here is, in most cases, an illustration of the failure of the parent to understand the other habits that have been established prior to the appearance of unadaptive habit. Discipline, if it is to be of value, must (1) be administered in terms of the past life of the child, (2) be based upon understanding rather than emotions, (3) be understood by the subject concerned, (4) relate to the behavior act from which it resulted rather than to the one administering the act, and (5) follow immediately after the act. Discipline is related to conduct in that, through purposive activity, habits of a desirable nature are established and maintained. Discipline is therefore directly related to self-control, and in this all discipline should have both its beginning and its ending.

Need for guidance. The problems of freedom and authority have been given much consideration by those concerned with the guidance of boys and girls. Individual differences will be found here as elsewhere. One cannot set forth a rule or principle applicable to all cases, except in a very general way. Better adjusted boys and girls can be given greater freedom than those more poorly adjusted. However, there are many cases in which the poorly adjusted have had too much restraint and are in need of greater freedom. Since they have been given no opportunity to accept responsibility, there will be need of guidance in connection with these new liberties. There is good evidence from the results obtained in our modern educational programs that when pupils are given increased responsibility and freedom under guidance better social and personal adjustments result.

Various studies of maladjusted adolescents indicate that many of them have been dealt with in an autocratic manner. In some cases the adolescent has met this by means of a withdrawing mechanism; in other cases open rebellion has resulted. As the boys and girls grow out of childhood into adolescence, they are faced with many problems different from those met during the childhood years. Greater freedom and increased responsibility should come with growth and development. Thus, there is a constant need for guidance rather than unlimited freedom or an autocratic control. Social development is essential for adequate adjustment in our social order. Boys and girls must be taught that there are certain customs and conventions that must be followed if they expect to be accepted by the group. Davis has pointed out that expectations and anxieties vary with different class cultures. This has an important bearing on the concept of self developed by individuals from different social-class groups. Also, this affects the treatment and behavior of adolescents from different class cultures. Davis states that:

The middle-class adolescent is punished for physical aggression and for physical sexual relations; the lower-class adolescent is frequently rewarded, both socially and organically, for these same behaviors. The degree of

anxiety, guilt, or frustration attached to these behaviors, therefore, is entirely different in the two cases. One might go so far as to say that in the case of middle-class adolescents, such anxiety and guilt . . . are proof of their normal socialization in their culture.[5]

THE MORAL SELF

Several problems of importance are encountered as we study the moral life of the adolescent: (1) What are the desirable attitudes that the home, school, church, and other agencies should strive to establish? (2) What specific habit patterns, when integrated, tend to produce such ideals and attitudes? (3) How can these specific habits best be acquired and integrated into a general attitude?

Moral development. The most important place in a list of environmental factors influencing moral behavior for most children is that of the home. From the period of their first perceptions they look first of all to their parents for guidance by precept and example. A child gets his first impressions in the home, and these impressions are made during that period when the foundational habits and moral attitudes are being formed. Undoubtedly, a good home is the greatest asset, and a bad one the greatest liability. Moral and religious values will be found in concrete social relations of daily living in a growing and expanding life rather than in meaningless creeds or stories or emotional exhortations. "Children who have immoral surroundings, whose struggle to exist involves corrupt practices, whose whole horizon is dark with foreboding shadows cannot have healthy social attitudes." [6]

During the earlier period of life the individual is neither moral nor immoral; he is to a large degree unmoral. Whatever his conduct may be, it is largely the result of simple forces that have played upon and thus conditioned his behavior during the earlier years of life. This is not so true of later adolescence, for now the period of habitual morality has closed. Whatever his actions may be, we are certain that the adolescent is thinking and reacting to various situations in terms of ideals that are being established as a unified part of his personality. Then it is not so strange that he turns part of his newly acquired abilities and interests toward problems more far-reaching, involving common ideals, and pertaining to conduct.

This was clearly shown in a survey of the opinions of 5,500 high-school students (the majority of whom were seniors) from the state of Wash-

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[5] A. Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," in G. E. Swanson, et al. (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology (rev. ed.). New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1952, p. 529.

[6] E. J. Chave, Personality Development in Children. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937, p. 270,

ington.[7]   The problems relating to the morals, religion, ideals, and the future most commonly checked by these high-school youths are presented in Table 8–1.   These results indicate that moral concepts and problems came into prominence at this age that had not been felt and recognized earlier.   Students appeared to desire to achieve a better understanding of themselves, their behavior, and the actions of others.

Table 8–1

THE FREQUENCY OF RESPONSES OF HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH TO CERTAIN
PROBLEMS RELATING TO MORALS, IDEALS, RELIGION, AND THE
FUTURE (*After Elias*)

Problem	Per Cent		Total
	Boys	*Girls*	
Making something of myself	27.2	33.0	30.4
Worrying about mistakes I've made	14.5	23.3	19.3
How to do my best	11.9	18.3	15.4
Concerned about life and death	9.7	18.9	14.7
What's happening in the world	11.4	16.6	14.2
I swear too much	20.8	8.3	14.0
Puzzled about religion	13.5	14.4	14.0
Worried about some bad habits	16.3	11.3	13.5
Understanding things people do	6.9	14.9	11.3
Learning how to enjoy life	11.5	10.7	11.0
Students cheating in school	8.3	12.6	10.6
Having high ideals	8.0	11.6	10.0
The morals of my crowd	6.0	11.0	8.7
Losing faith in religion	9.6	7.4	8.4
Kind of life kids lead	6.2	10.3	8.4
Not facing problems squarely	7.8	8.2	8.0
Worried about my reputation	7.5	7.3	7.4
Prejudice and intolerance	4.8	9.1	7.2
About going to church	6.7	6.8	6.8
Embarrassed by friends' action	4.7	7.6	6.3
Worried about my morals	6.4	4.3	5.2
Always alibiing	4.2	3.4	3.8
Religion and school conflict	2.7	4.8	3.8
Interested in dirty stories	5.4	2.0	3.6
People are cruel and selfish	2.9	2.2	2.5
Getting into trouble a lot	3.4	.9	2.0

The place of the church.   Varied opinions are expressed about the place of the church in character development.   Some studies have served to question the value of church attendance in the development of char-

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[7] L. J. Elias, *High School Youth Look at Their Problems.*   Pullman, Washington: The State College of Washington, 1949.

acter and the reduction of juvenile delinquency. However, one should be careful in making widespread generalizations from studies involving specific groups of adolescents. To those interested in the role of the church in the improvement of character, some important questions may be put: To what extent is the church reaching young people? What part is religion playing in their lives? How can it be more effective in helping adolescents develop useful and worth-while behavior patterns along with a sound philosophy of living?

Statistics reported from the Crime Bureau and the Juvenile Bureau of the Detroit Police Department throw light on the answer to the first two questions. Data gathered about the church attendance of 2,137 boys interviewed are presented in Table 8–2.[8] It will be noticed that over 40 per cent of the boys were credited with regular church attendance, whereas only 14.15 per cent stated they never attended. There is further evidence that the boy who goes to church is a better risk than the one who does not; however, the results on this as well as most other aspects of the study were inconclusive.

Table 8–2

CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF BOYS INTERVIEWED ON COMPLAINT BY DETROIT POLICE, 1946 (*After Wattenberg*)

Frequency of attendance	Number of boys	Percentage of boys
Regular	931	43.56
Occasional	546	25.54
Seldom	339	15.86
Never	302	14.15
Not stated	19	.89
Total	2,137	100.00

In Table 8–3 the frequency of offenses committed by boys claiming regular church attendance is compared with those whose attendance is reported as occasional, seldom, or never. The greatest differences noted were for robbery and burglary. A careful analysis of the home background of those who went to church and those who did not must be made before one can conclude that it is the church that reduces the likelihood of delinquency. This study, however, supports the general hypothesis that church attendance is a way of life in a total complex or field, and generally reduces tendencies toward delinquent behavior. No doubt, different religious programs have different effects, but a program built

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[8] W. W. Wattenberg, "Church Attendance and Juvenile Misconduct," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1950, Vol. 34, pp. 195–202.

upon sound educational and psychological principles and designed to satisfy the needs of adolescents should be most effective.

The role of the school. The failure of the junior and senior high schools to adjust their programs in harmony with the interests and abilities of the increasing number of pupils entering high school is probably the greatest accusation that might be heaped upon them. This failure is probably a result of a false application of our democratic ideal. *It should be the aim of the school to give the child the opportunity to develop those abilities he possesses, rather than to set up a great educational ladder to fit the abilities of all.*

Table 8–3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REGULARITY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE AND
OFFENSES CHARGED AGAINST BOYS INTERVIEWED ON COMPLAINT
BY DETROIT POLICE, 1946 (*After Wattenberg*)

Charge	Total	Regular attendance	All others	Ratio Regular	:	Others
Assaults	45	20	25	10	:	13
Sex offenses	48	24	24	10	:	10
Robbery	25	8	17	10	:	20
Burglary	263	105	158	10	:	15
Larceny	468	207	261	10	:	12
Auto thefts	96	50	46	10	:	10
Drunk	26	12	14	10	:	11
Disorderly	90	33	57	10	:	18
Traffic offenses	42	19	23	10	:	12
Miscellaneous	604	260	344	10	:	13
Total	1,707	738	969	10	:	13

The case of an adolescent boy who was pushed by well-meaning and fairly intelligent parents beyond his ability, described by Slattery, illustrates a common failure of both parents and schools. It is in this connection that report cards in the hands of many parents become a source of confusion and disturbance.

Rodger had an IQ of about 80. His father, a high school principal, wanted his son to be a white collar worker. He was blind to the fact that the boy could not make high school. Owing to his father's position, the high school covered up Rodger's failure by giving him passing grades. The further Rodger went in high school, the more at sea he became.

Rodger did possess a fair degree of mechanical ability and great interest along mechanical lines. Bewildered by academic subjects and frustrated in his efforts to express his natural tendencies, Rodger expressed his interest in an underhanded fashion.

He began by stealing animal traps and concealing the identity of the other

boys' traps by taking them apart and assembling parts of various traps to make a new one. Success along these lines encouraged him to more ambitious thefts. Gossip did not reach the father until things got to the point at which the father's position was threatened. The father was beside himself with rage. . . . It took a great deal of persuasion to induce this father to send his son to a trade school, but when he did the behavior difficulties of the boy abated.[9]

Chapter 15 presents some findings showing that dissatisfaction with school is the most important reason for pupils' leaving high school. For many pupils, dropping out of school is the beginning point of a delinquent career. Some factors and conditions that make schools ineffective in dealing with potential delinquents may be listed as follows:

1. Some teachers are not properly qualified to detect the needs of adolescents.

2. Some teachers are not properly qualified to deal with problems when they appear among the pupils.

3. Teachers are often overloaded and are unable to give the individual attention needed in a good educational program.

4. The classroom program is not always conducive to the motivation of good behavior.

5. Curriculum materials are too often meaningless or empty verbalism for many pupils.

6. The extraclass activities are not organized and administered in harmony with the needs and interests of the individual pupils.

7. The school does not furnish the special assistance needed by teachers in detecting and dealing with potential delinquents.

8. The program of the school is not sufficiently integrated into the life of the community to be effective in developing good moral concepts and behavior.

The neighborhood. The social environment of adolescents is not restricted to the home and the school; another primary determinant, the neighborhood, also exerts a powerful influence. It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that the school grade and neighborhood were the great determining factors in the choice of chums. Yet the neighborhood is not only an important factor in the choice of playmates; its ideals in connection with the community are forces that determine to a large degree the behavior activities of growing boys and girls. There is a close relation between overt delinquent behavior and specific personal and environmental factors. Within recent years attempts have been made to take boys who are "criminals in the making" and train them into good future citizens. Illustrative cases show that efforts have not been in vain; however, too often conclusions relative to a program are based upon faith or wish-

[9] R. J. Slattery, "Spotting the Maladjusted Pupil," *The Nation's Schools,* 1942, Vol. 30, pp. 45–46.

ful thinking fortified by one or more cases of boys whose lives were directed into more useful channels.

It should be emphasized that the attitudes of juvenile delinquents are largely a result of the attitudes of others toward them, particularly the adult society. Thus, work among teen-age delinquents must begin with an effort to change their attitudes by instilling in them understanding of the good faith and motives of the adult society. One of the most noteworthy studies of the art of winning the confidence of youthful offenders is the Harlem Street Clubs Project.[10] The results of this project dispelled the notion that the delinquent is naturally tough, courageous, and filled with hostility as opposed to love. These are more often defense mechanisms operating as a result of tensions built up through failure at school, at home, in social situations, or in some other phase of life.

As a result of the efforts of those working with the Harlem teen-age gangs, four highly-organized and apparently hostile but self-conscious gangs were changed into somewhat respectable street clubs.[11] A variety of teen-age clubs have been organized and studied during the past decade or more. Those working with these clubs have, through their insight into the nature of boys and through their offer of genuine friendship, found that so-called juvenile gangs become law-abiding youthful clubs. Additional material dealing with community programs designed to provide for the needs of adolescents and to build good citizens are presented in Chapter 14.

Recreation or delinquency. There is much in common between juvenile recreation and juvenile delinquency, especially in the early stages of delinquency. That delinquency is often a form of play may be observed in such acts as:

Boys annoying or teasing smaller boys by partially undressing them in a city park.

Boys releasing the brakes of automobiles parked on a hillside and watching them coast down the hill and crash into another car.

Girls scattering pastry over a teacher's desk.

Girls hiding or destroying stamps or seals which the teacher has in her desk.

Pupils cooperating in stealing pies from the pie wagon by having one pupil hold the attention of the attendant with some annoying act, while the others steal the pies.

These acts may satisfy the need for achievement better than most conventional activities at home or school. The situation becomes most complicated when there is some reward, such as a pie for the hungry adolescent with a big appetite.

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[10] *Working with Teen-Age Gangs.* Welfare Council of New York City, 1950.

[11] D. H. Stott, *Saving Children from Delinquency.* New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1953, Chap. 4.

Tradition operates in delinquency as in recreation. Both recreation and delinquency are largely group activities, although they are sometimes carried on alone. However, these groups are different insofar as they reflect the customs of the community and its general welfare. Recreation

Recreation. A GROUP OF CHILDREN FROM THE SCHOOLS OF KANSAS CITY ENJOYING THEMSELVES AT HALLOWE'EN TIME THROUGH A WELL-PLANNED PROGRAM.

is constructive in nature, whereas delinquency is destructive. Delinquency is a violation of the law; recreation is carried on within the spirit of the law. Random play may develop into acts of delinquency or wholesome recreation. For example, boys and girls may use an old abandoned building as a little theater. In such a case they would secure lumber,

build a stage, and invite their parents and friends to the opening performance.   On the other hand, the abandoned building may be a place where immoral practices occur, or where loot from escapades of theft is hidden.

There is nothing inherent in either the building or the adolescents that could be classed as vile or delinquent.   The important variable lies in the education and guidance given these boys and girls at home, in school, at church, and in various neighborhood pursuits.   Where the forces influencing them have been favorable, desirable activities may be expected; where these are unfavorable, undesirable practices are most likely to be found.   After the boys and girls have developed habits of delinquency, the problem becomes more difficult.   New habits, new attitudes, and changed goals must be established.

Recreation facilities are being developed more and more, and it has been well demonstrated that directed activities through recreational programs will do much toward thwarting the adolescent pranks and mischief that may not appear bad in themselves but are often quite costly and, still worse, lead too often to dire consequences.   The ways in which some communities direct the energies of boys and girls are well illustrated in connection with Halloween activities.   The mischief associated with the mystic orange-and-black traditions has in many cases been very expensive as well as annoying.   Many cities organize costume parades, various types of contests, and directed games.   This may be noted in connection with Halloween occasions such as that shown in the picture of the Kansas City school children enjoying themselves during a picturesque Goblin Parade.

IDEALS AND VALUES

Ideals and values differ from attitudes in their ever-present, imperative nature.   It was suggested earlier that the adolescent has an indefinite number of attitudes and that these are often most inconsistent.   Ideals are fewer in number—being broad guiding principles of behavior.   Since they are principles they tend to give stability and direction to one's life.

Ideals and the adolescent.   The integration of behavior units into a general scheme or pattern, the development therefrom of a potent force that acts as a drive or tendency toward further activity, has been referred to in connection with habits as drives to behavior.   It is in this integration of the various units of behavior that ideals arise and thus come to control the behavior of the individual.   During the early days of life, ideals are passing through an elementary formative stage in harmony with the child's innate tendencies and the environmental forces playing upon him.   The individual's experiences are then rather narrow and his ideals very elementary, involving mainly the welfare and pleasure of the

ego. (The socializing process at work on the playground, in club activity, in social life, and so forth, has already been discussed in this connection.) But as we look upon the socializing process as a process of growth and development, so must we consider the growth of ideals similarly, especially during this expanding and developing period of life from 12 to 21. Ideals are thus dependent upon maturation and experience, and may be narrow or, in harmony with a wider and fuller life, broad.

Ideals, like attitudes, are soaked up from the milieu in which the child lives and learns. The home, church, school, and other youth-serving agencies have as one of their major objectives the development of desirable attitudes in the boys and girls whom they serve. Concerning their work, Havighurst and others have pointed out that ". . . youth-serving agencies influence the ideals of youth as much or more through the presence and behavior of teachers, clergy, and youth-group leaders as through their verbal teaching." [12]

Values—their meaning and importance. Any attempt to completely separate attitudes, ideals, and values would be misleading. Values refer to what we regard as important rather than what we know. They are organizing factors within the personality and are especially important in relation to morals and character. They may best be understood from a brief description of the six main types, presented by Spranger.[13] These six types are: (1) the *theoretical*—the individual who regards theories and knowledge the all-important thing; (2) the *aesthetic*—one who places a high premium on beauty and loveliness; (3) the *economic*—one who cherishes things because of their material or economic value; (4) the *social*—one who places considerable importance upon the social factors; (5) the *political*—the person who has a strong desire for power and control; and (6) the *religious*—the person who finds satisfaction and joy in his relationships with the whole of life's experiences and purposes. These values have been organized into a measurable test by Allport and Vernon, and considerable research has evolved from these and other attempts to measure individual's choices.

The importance of values in character formation has been emphasized by a number of investigators. Leckley has postulated that after values are integrated into the personality they act as barriers to the acceptance of new ones which might be in opposition to them.[14] This is necessary if the personality is to remain consistent and somewhat stable. Four prevailing sets of conditions are set forth by Leckley: (1) new values that are in opposition to those already accepted by the individual may be re-

[12] R. J. Havighurst, M. Z. Robinson, and M. Dorr, "The Development of the Ideal Self in Childhood and Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Research,* 1946–47, Vol. 40, p. 257.

[13] E. Spranger, *Lebensformen* (has been translated into English under the title, *Types of Men*). Halle, Germany: Niemeyer, 1928.

[14] P. Leckley, *Self-consistency.* New York: The Island Press, 1945.

jected; (2) new values may be so modified that they are no longer in opposition to the accepted values; (3) new values that are in opposition to old values may be ignored and thus not incorporated into the value system; and (4) old values may be modified in such a way that the new values are incorporated into the total value-system.

The relationship between value patterns of college students and economic status, level of education, and size of home town was shown in a study by Woodruff.[13] Groups of individuals with similar social-economic backgrounds engaged in similar educational or vocational pursuits tend to have similar value patterns.

Developmental sequence of ideals and values. Ideals and values follow a developmental sequence from early childhood to maturity. They are a function of the socialization process. In an attempt to generalize the changes in values occurring between 12 and 15, Tryon states:

During the period between ages twelve and fifteen, values for girls have undergone some revolutionary changes; values for boys have undergone relatively minor changes, mainly in terms of slightly shifted emphases. For the twelve-year-old girl, quiet, sedate, non-aggressive qualities are associated with friendliness, likableness, good humor and attractive appearance. Behavior which conforms to the demands and regulations of the adult world is admired. Tomboyishness is tolerated. At the fifteen-year level, admiration for the demure, docile, rather prim, lady-like prototype has ceased. Instead, many of the criteria for the idealized boy such as extroversion, activity, and good sportsmanship are highly acceptable for the girl. The ability to organize games for parties involving both sexes and the capacity to keep such activities lively and entertaining is admired. In addition, the quality of being fascinating or glamorous to the other sex has become important, but is looked upon as relatively specific or unrelated to other desirable qualities. At the twelve-year level, the idealized boy is skillful and a leader in games; his daring and fearlessness extend beyond his social group to defiance of adult demands and regulations. Any characteristic which might be construed as feminine by one's peers, such as extreme tidiness, or marked conformity in the classroom, is regarded as a weakness. However, some personableness and certain kindly, likable qualities tend to be associated with the more highly prized masculine qualities. At fifteen years, prestige for the boy is still in a large measure determined by physical skill, aggressiveness, and fearlessness. Defiance of adult standards has lost emphasis; though still acceptable and rather amusing to them, it tends to be associated with immaturity. In addition, much greater emphasis is placed on personal acceptability, suggesting the effectiveness of rising heterosexual interests. In fact *Unkempt-Tidy*, related to this constellation, is the only trait among the twenty on which the boys completely reversed their evaluation.[14]

[13] A. D. Woodruff, "A Study of the Directive Factors in Individual Behavior," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1941.

[14] C. M. Tryon, "Evaluations of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1939, Vol. 4, pp. 77-78.

In studying the sex differences revealed by these data, one is impressed by the lack of steadfastness to ideals revealed by the girls, as compared with the boys, over this relatively short period of three years. These data tend to support the theory that the behavior of the female of the species is characterized by expediency, design, irresoluteness, and caprice. A plausible explanation for the phenomenon, which appears early in the social development of boys and girls, is that social activities place a greater demand upon girls than upon boys for flexibility, capacity to readjust ideals, and ability to reorient themselves to new goals.

The role of the school. The wide variations in values found among high-school pupils present difficult problems to teachers and others concerned with the educational program for adolescents. The differences in interests, aspirations, and moral behavior of boys and girls from the different social-class groups has been emphasized by a number of students of education and psychology. A large percentage of adolescents from lower-class homes are not interested in the values of good grades and a high-school diploma, which the schools hold up to them as an incentive to remain in school, study hard, and graduate. The problem of motivating these boys and girls presents a real challenge to the high-school teacher.

Since ideals and values are learned, teachers are faced with the task of motivating adolescents to develop a balanced sense of values. It has already been suggested that ideals are taught through examples to a greater degree than through verbal teachings. Teachers cannot avoid helping pupils develop ideals and values. However, not all teachers are equally effective in helping pupils clarify their values and formulate other values. In the first place, teachers themselves do not always have clearly defined and consistent values. This will most assuredly affect their influence upon the pupils. Certain misconceptions and lack of understanding about the needs and problems of adolescents hinder teachers in their efforts. If teachers are to be effective in the teaching of values to adolescents, they must:

(1) have fairly clearly defined values themselves.
(2) be consistent in their values.
(3) respect the value patterns of all the pupils whom they encounter.
(4) recognize that value patterns are best learned from examples rather than from mottoes and rules.
(5) recognize that a learning situation involving value-patterns will not be equally effective for all pupils.
(6) understand the operation of the learning process in the development of value patterns.
(7) understand the adolescent as a dynamic product of the interrelation of heredity and environment.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION

Religion is a complex phenomenon, not easily defined. To many Americans it means churches. Actually these are only external signs of the operation of religion as a social institution. Probably the best way of understanding religion is to list the needs with which it deals. It was apparently born out of the human need to understand the operation of the forces of nature, and to give life meaning and purpose. All religions declare a priority on selected beliefs and patterns of living. There is, however, a lack of agreement among the different religions about specific behavior patterns. This tends to present difficult problems to many adolescents. Adolescents are, also, confronted with contradictions in our culture between early home teaching, scientific outlook, and a traditional religious viewpoint. Adolescents learn many facts about the world of today, but often have only vague notions about the meanings and purposes of these experiences. It was suggested earlier that an important developmental task of adolescents is that of developing a philosophy of life. There are differences of opinion about how important this is, although intelligent living presupposes a clear and accurate picture of the world, how it operates, and the role of man in this world.

Religious needs of adolescents. It has already been suggested that individuals are beset with problems relative to the meanings and purpose of life. They feel the need for bringing their life experiences together and out of the many fragments arriving at some satisfying solution to the problems, contradictions, and conflicts of everyday living. A nationwide poll of high-school students revealed that the typical student is given to daily praying.[17] It should be remembered that it is at this age that individuals affiliate with the church and make other important decisions involving religion and morals.

In the second place, adolescents find themselves in a world where different standards of conduct appear. These may be noted in connection with drinking, ways of making money, petting, and the like. The adolescent needs help and guidance in arriving at a set of values and standards to guide him in his relations with his peers and others. "What are right and wrong? What makes a thing right or wrong?" These are important questions in the lives of adolescents. There may be several ways of arriving at answers to these questions. Certainly at the present time in our culture, adolescents are largely dependent upon religion to help them arrive at an answer to these and related questions.

Despite the fact that church attendance tends to drop off during the adolescent years, interest in moral and religious problems remains relatively high. This was shown in one study of the moral and religious

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[17] See H. H. Remmers, M. S. Myers, and E. M. Bennett, "Some Personality Aspects and Religious Values of High School Youth," *Purdue Opinion Panel*, 10, No. 3.

Religious needs. THE CHAPEL AT THE 4-H CENTER IN EAGLE ROCK STATE
PARK IN GEORGIA HELPS TO PROVIDE FOR THE RELIGIOUS NEEDS OF THOU-
SANDS OF BOYS AND GIRLS ANNUALLY, AND IS REGARDED AS AN ESSENTIAL
PART OF THE SUMMER TRAINING PROGRAM. (*Photo by Frank Tuggle,
Atlanta Journal-Constitution*)

problems of 1,000 students from different grade levels.[19] The results, pre-
sented in Table 8–4, show a pronounced growth of interest in questions
about courtship and marriage. Questions about right and wrong, re-
ligion, God, and the church remain high throughout the high-school
years.

[19] From *Understanding Youth*, copyright 1938 by Roy A. Burkhart, pp. 65–68.
By permission of Abingdon Press.

Table 8–4

QUESTIONS ASKED BY ADOLESCENTS AND POSTADOLESCENTS

(After Burkhart)

Nature of Question	Number of Questions Asked		
	Grades 7, 8, 9	Grades 10, 11, 12	College
Habits of behavior	619	367	247
Religion, God, and the church	584	467	271
Self-improvement	538	1,298	369
Right and wrong	347	819	139
Courtship and marriage	334	1,457	1,183

A third need of youth that can best be satisfied through religion is that of emotional direction and sensitivity. The increased amount of delinquency, in spite of improved standards of living and increased education, presents a real challenge to educational, religious, and civic-minded leaders. Much of the character-building work being done for adolescents is too artificial and too highly organized to be effective. The adolescent needs deeply rooted convictions and loyalties to certain ideals that will give stability and force to his character. Character building that does not take into consideration the importance of the education of the emotions will be largely ineffective, lacking the dynamic force essential for self-control. The emotions have been aptly described as "the modes of physiological integration through which we meet relatively critical situations." [19] Character based upon the immediate situation and chance impulses will lack the strength needed to lead the individual to make worth-while sacrifices, or inhibit certain impulses for the general welfare of others.

Religious education. The present situation in our society of the role of religion in education is: (1) an increasing recognition of the importance of spiritual values and the role of religion in the development of these values, and (2) confusion as to how religion can be integrated into a total educational program for the development of boys and girls. Some would raise the question: "Why should education be concerned with religion?" A number of reasons may well be offered in answer to this question. Perhaps the fact that Western civilization is imbedded with the philosophy, teachings, and traditions of Judeo-Christian religion is itself a sufficient reason. One of the reasons given by Van Dusen should furnish an adequate answer to this question. He states: "Religion has to do with the most elemental, the most universal, and in the end, *the most important issues of human existence*—its origin, its nature, its mean-

[19] D. A. Prescott, *Emotion and the Educative Process.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1938, p. 59.

ing and purpose, its destiny, especially with the determination and ines-
capable events which mark and moved each person's life—birth, love,
parenthood, death." [20]

Evidence from reports obtained from college students indicate that
most students believe that religious training influences their upbringing.[21]
Only 6 per cent of the men and 10 per cent of the women report a total
absence of such influence. When the degree of religious influence on
upbringing is compared with the present felt need for religion it is found
that the felt need is greatest among those students trained in religion.
The results presented in Table 8–5 show that the numbers reporting the
need are in direct proportion to the degree of religious influence. This
finding, supported by results from other studies, lends support to the
viewpoint that early religious training is likely to be the principal psycho-
logical influence upon an individual's later religious life.

Almost all of those brought up in the Roman Catholic faith reported
a need for some religious orientation in their lives. Fully 40 per cent of
those trained in some form of Judaism or in "liberal Protestantism"
failed to regard religious sentiment necessary for them. This is no doubt
further related to the fact observed in a number of studies that students
of Roman Catholic faith remain loyal to their church in greater numbers
than do students of most other faiths represented in America.

Table 8–5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEED FOR RELIGION AND DEGREE OF
RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE IN UPBRINGING (*After Allport, et al.*)

	Percentage reporting need	
Religious Influence	*Harvard*	*Radcliffe*
Very marked	82	96
Moderate	78	85
Slight	52	76
None at all	52	44

Religion, if properly taught, certainly would help young people to
grasp the meaning and values of life. Too frequently the truth that our
religion is evolutionary, that religion is still in the making, is not made
clear to youth. The real assault upon religious opinions is not made by
scholars but by the daily life and experience of the common people.
Contact with any life situation tends to develop new interpretations of
so-called spiritual matters. New standards of living mean the visualiza-

[20] H. P. Van Dusen, "What Should be the Relation of Religion and Public Educa-
tion?" *Teachers College Record*, 1954, Vol. 56, pp. 3–4.

[21] G. W. Allport, J. M. Gillespie, and J. Young, "The Religion of the Post-war
College Student," *Journal of Psychology*, 1948, Vol. 26, pp. 3–33.

tion of new meanings in religion. In this connection, Kuhlen and Arnold have set forth two implications from their study that should be of interest and value to those concerned with a religious education program. These are:

First, those issues represented by statements which are increasingly 'wondered about' as age increases may give clues as to appropriate topics for consideration in the teen years in both Sunday School classes and young people's groups. Second, beliefs discarded by children as they grow older may well be studied for their implications for teaching at earlier ages. Children's concepts regarding religion are more concrete and specific than are those of adults, the latter tending to be abstract and general. This change represents the normal growth of concepts. It would seem desirable that the specific and concrete beliefs taught to children be beliefs compatible with the more abstract adult views, and not beliefs later to be discarded because of incompatibility.[22]

SOME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The adolescent has been described, throughout the previous chapters, as a dynamic individual. He is faced with certain needs, many of which are largely culturally determined. The juvenile delinquent has the same basic needs as the nondelinquent. Achievement, self-esteem, and social approval are just as important in his life as in the lives of nondelinquents. Likewise, the mentally and physically handicapped adolescents feel the need for achievement, self-esteem, and social approval. Those concerned with the guidance and training of adolescents should realize that an effective educational program must take into consideration these basic needs. The attitude of those responsible for the guidance of adolescents will have an important effect upon the personal and social adjustments of these boys and girls as well as upon their morals, ideals, and values.

Satisfying activities. The value of the positive phase of conduct has already been emphasized, especially for the endeavor to establish desirable forms of behavior. Various types of rewards, either direct or indirect, are constantly being introduced in the effort to relate the element of satisfaction to the performance of the desired act. When undesirable behavior is allowed to bring about satisfaction or reward, this will naturally be the form of behavior established. Situations should be so set up that there is a natural reward for doing the desirable thing. This reward, as it concerns adolescents, may be of an abstract nature involving ideals and attitudes of a worth-while and wholesome type. It has been found that beliefs are directly related to desires; thus one can well say that ideals are directly related to desires. Desires are established in part through a conditioning and directing of the natural impulses of the individual along

[22] R. G. Kuhlen and A. Arnold, "Age Differences in Religious Beliefs and Problems during Adolescence," *Pedagogical Seminar and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1944, Vol. 65, p. 297.

lines in harmony with the ideals set forth by the group. Desires can and should be guided; but this guidance cannot best secure its end unless the desires are established in relation to situations for which there is an ultimate reward or form of satisfaction.

Adolescents should gradually learn through experience that antisocial conduct leads to their own misery and unpleasant experiences. It appears likely that one of the chief difficulties met by preadolescent and adolescent boys is the lack of men to idealize, who understand boys and their problems and are able to win their confidence and admiration. Men teachers, physical education and recreational directors, 4H Club leaders, the vocational agriculture teacher, the boys' counselor, and others who work closely with boys have opportunities to influence their ideals and attitudes significantly. They meet these boys at a period when masculine contacts are desperately needed.

Developing morals and ideals. There is much evidence that Sunday school and classroom instruction, which have relied largely upon verbal teachings, have been ineffective in meeting the moral demands of modern life. Moral development, like the development of social habits and attitudes, will be most effective when it takes place in connection with situations arising naturally in the classroom or on the playground. The Sunday school can teach appreciation of one another and respect for the rights and feelings of others; but if this is done in a vacuum, and children see no relation between such teachings and the problems they meet on the street, at school, and in the park, the teaching will be so much babbling. Inconsistencies in moral concepts between parents, other adults, and his peers are a source of confusion to the adolescent and cause him concern and uncertainty. If it becomes apparent to him that the behavior of those people in whom he has much confidence fails to measure up to his expectations, he becomes disillusioned. Thus, the behavior of those concerned with the guidance of adolescent boys and girls is an important force in moral development.

Another essential in moral teachings, if they are to be effective, is the harmonious correlation of all agencies affecting the moral life of boys and girls. The concepts presented in the home, on the playground, in school, and at church are usually too unrelated to have any great functional significance. The program of the church is in so many cases too far divorced from the other interests of the child, and the materials presented are too archaic to have any meaning for him in connection with present-day living. What seems to be needed is a positive approach to morals. Or, as Fleege states, "It would seem that too much emphasis has been placed on impurity and not enough on purity. The virtue has been left in the shadow while the failings have been paraded across the stage." [23]

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[23] U. H. Fleege, *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1944, p. 286.

The adolescent is likely to resent authoritative control. The self-conscious attitude so clearly displayed at this stage of life tends to mark him as an individual on the alert, watching for someone to consider him as a child and thus boss him around. He is idealistic in nature and expects the teacher to play fair with him in his activities; he may question many of the procedures of the teacher for this reason. His personal manner of regarding everything as directed toward the self is a factor that should be watched. The adolescent is impulsive, oversensitive, and impressionable to mistreatment or unfair dealings. His needs and desires should be guided; but those concerned with his education and guidance should have an understanding of his characteristics and a genuine interest in his moral development.

Building spiritual values. It has already been pointed out that as the individual emerges from childhood into adolescence new outlooks appear and new moral concepts must be established. This does not mean that all early teachings are to be laid aside, but rather that with the growth of independence the individual must accept responsibilities and meet problems formerly met with the aid of others, as well as new problems. He must now adjust to making decisions where he is largely the judge of whether the behavior is right or wrong. He must furthermore adjust himself to behaving in accordance with group standards of conduct as well as his own.

The development of moral concepts and spiritual values is not carried on in a vacuum. Neither are these developments unrelated to the mental, social, emotional, and physical development of the adolescent. The modern school emphasizes the growth of the total child, and is concerned with his total development—including spiritual development. Through associating with his peers and teachers under ideals set forth for living together in the school community, the child learns to live with others, to have consideration for their feelings, rights, and happiness, to gain satisfaction from achievement by the self or the group, to understand the orderliness of nature, and to recognize and accept ideals for guiding his daily activities. He learns how he can be helpful and how others can be helpful to him. He builds a framework of values from which to judge himself and his peers.

Values are learned in the same manner as other learnings, through experience. However, the nature of the values a child acquires must not be left to chance. The individual pupil has many needs in common with lower forms of life. In addition, he has insights, aspirations, and possibilities for learning and development that are distinctly human. Because of this he is capable, through experiences, of acquiring habits of initiative and responsibility relative to his own behavior. This gives him a measure of self-control not to be found among lower forms of life. Ideals of honesty, fair play, and consideration for the feelings of others are acquired

through experiences with others in situations in which such ideals are guiding forces. In this connection, Sister Mary Phelan asked a group of pupils: "Who is your ideal? Why have you chosen this ideal?"[24] Over 60 per cent of the responses at ages 11 to 18 involved either religious, historical, or contemporary public figures. This is in harmony with results obtained by Hill with public-school children as subjects, except that the number of religious persons was greater.[25] This may be accounted for by the difference in the pupils, those of Sister Phelan's study being from a parochial school.

These studies furnish evidence that moral and character development of adolescents are clearly influenced by association with people who are in positions of prestige and leadership. The implications of this for the churches, schools, and other youth-serving agencies are clear. The presence and behavior of teachers, clergy, and various youth-group leaders have an important influence on the ideals and thus the moral and character development of adolescents.

SUMMARY

The religious needs of adolescents should be given special consideration in a sound and functional program of character and moral development. Environmental factors are important in the development of the child's and the adolescent's religion. Thus, important differences will be found in the religious attitudes and values of adolescents from different homes and from different religious backgrounds. It is not possible to evaluate the relative contributions of the neighborhood, school, church, and agencies outside the home and immediate neighborhood on the moral development of children and adolescents. Each is part of their world, and thus influences their moral development. However, the personal contacts and participation usually found in group activities tend to make them a very dynamic and realistic force in the development of morals and character. It is from capable and understanding leaders of these groups that adolescents often find their ideals and learn worth-while values.

The adolescent must be taught to have respect for himself and his abilities. He must come to realize that he has a definite contribution to make to society. If there are physical defects, he must learn to overcome these —not to overcompensate or use some defense mechanism in an effort to cover them up. The mental-hygiene principles set forth in Chapter 11 should be followed if he is to develop the ability to function harmoniously in his social relations. Guidance and control should have as

[24] Sister M. Phelan, *An Experimental Study of the Ideals of Adolescent Boys and Girls*, Catholic Monograph No. 193, 1936.
[25] D. S. Hill, "Personification of Ideals of Urban Children," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1930, Vol. 1, pp. 379–393.

their function the bringing out of those qualities and assets of the indi-
vidual that will be of greatest service to the self and society.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Just how is the control of the adolescent's behavior activities related
to mental hygiene? To moral and religious growth? Illustrate.

2. Why is the cooperation of all agencies essential if juvenile crime is to
be more closely controlled? What are some of the agencies that would be
involved?

3. Give an illustration, from your own observation, of how juvenile mis-
chief has been directed into more wholesome channels through the develop-
ment of recreational activities for adolescents.

4. Show how self-realization is important in the development of a well-
adjusted individual. What are some needs of the adolescent, if he is to
develop a wholesome attitude toward himself and others?

5. What do you understand the term *spiritual values* to mean? Can you
see any relation between spiritual values and attaining a consistent and uni-
fied philosophy of life, referred to in the previous chapter? Explain.

6. What purposes does religion serve in the lives of adolescents? Which
of these were paramount in your own life during adolescence?

7. In what ways are recreation and delinquency alike? In what ways
are they different?

8. What opportunities for socialization among young people are fur-
nished by your church or some church with which you are acquainted? Do
you think they are adequate? If not, what else would you suggest?

9. Consider the six values listed in this chapter. Rank these in order of
their importance to you in your choice of the following:

   a. Your best friend
   b. Vocation
   c. Automobile, or some other possession
   d. Place where you would like to work
   e. Vacation

10. List five or six major problems of a moral nature that adolescents face
in our present-day culture. What conditions tend to aggravate the solution
of these problems?

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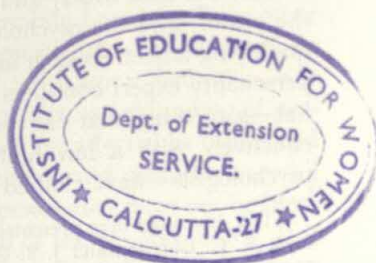
Chapter 9

THE ADOLESCENT PERSONALITY

PERSONALITY: ITS NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS

Although this chapter is entitled *The Adolescent Personality,* it should not be inferred that adolescence ushers in a *self* that is separate and distinct from that appearing during the earlier years of life. The most outstanding changes that adolescence brings with it are those associated with sexual development, and even here the experiences of earlier years are of utmost importance. The earlier chapters dealing with growth indicate that it is a continuous process and cannot be broken down into special periods, except for certain specific changes that may appear at the various stages in life. During adolescence, however, a better coordination of experiences is made possible because of the mental and educational growth over the preceding years. There is a continued correlation of the physiological self with the demands of society. Attitudes are formed and organized in harmony with these demands.

It is the province of this chapter to describe the adolescent personality (although no effort is made here to indicate that all adolescents represent a particular type), to note factors affecting the development of personality, and to point out the special needs of adolescents.

Personality defined.[1] The term *personality* is frequently used in our present-day terminology to refer to man's behavior and characteristics. It has been used widely and loosely by the layman, the personality expert, the orator, and the psychologist. The layman looks upon it in terms of qualifying adjectives such as "good," "pleasing," and "odd," whereas the personality expert considers it somewhat like a pair of gloves or a stylish hat—something that can be bought for five dollars or more and worn effectively with a few hints on how to wear it. Orators—and some psychologists—have clothed the term in a sort of mysticism and abstrac-

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[1] The discussion here presented of the nature or definition of personality is adapted from K. C. Garrison and J. S. Gray, *Educational Psychology.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955, pp. 177–178.

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tion similar to that which surrounds the terms *ego, soul,* and *spirit.* In such a case it does not yield readily to definition or even to adequate description.

There are three phases or aspects of personality that account for much of the apparent disagreement between psychologists about it. They are really points of view. What is true of one of these aspects may or may not be true of another. They are like the inside and outside of a cup, aspects of the same thing. First, there is the social aspect, or the stimulus effect a person has on other people. "John has a good personality" means that John has had a favorable effect on some other person. This aspect of personality is the sum total of all those things about a person that affect other people. Acquaintance rating scales are procedures of measuring this aspect of personality. The social aspect of a personality simply means that it affects other people.

Second, there is the reaction or response aspect of personality, or how a person acts and what he does. Some personalities are emotional in reaction whereas others are calm and "intellectual." Personality is often defined as the sum-total of one's reaction patterns. A person who reacts to a wide range of situations with jovial and felicitous behavior is said to have a happy or jovial personality. Some people are said to have aggressive personalities, others "sourpuss" personalities, others dignified personalities, others temperamental personalities—all depending on the way they react or behave in certain situations. Any personality may be studied from the response or behavioral aspect.

A third aspect of personality is the inside, or cause or "why" aspect. It is the psychological nature of the person that causes him to act unsocial, let us say, and thus affect other people unfavorably. People do not like a person (the social aspect) because he is unfriendly (the response aspect) which, in turn, is because he has negativistic attitudes (the cause aspect) developed in childhood. In other words, we may study John Doe's personality from the viewpoint of his friends, or from the viewpoint of what he does, or from the viewpoint of why he acts in whatever way he does. All three aspects are important and yet none of them alone describe the whole of personality. Neither the outside, nor the inside, nor the structure of a cup can be called the cup. The cup is all its aspects. Likewise, John Doe's personality is most certainly how he affects other people; it is unquestionably his behavior or how he acts; it is just as surely his attitudes, his feelings, his "inner state." No aspect definition, nor aspect measurement will give more than an aspect understanding of personality. How we affect other people, how we are affected by things and events in life, and our deepest thoughts, feelings, and attitudes—are all interesting aspects of our personalities. But personality must not be identified with any one of these aspects. It is all of them—and more. It is the whole man, his inherited aptitudes and capacities, his past learnings

of all kinds, as well as the integration and synthesis of these factors (aptitudes and learning) into behavior patterns peculiar to and characteristic of that individual.

Personality characteristics or factors. A better understanding of personality should result from a careful study of the characteristics of normal in contrast to abnormal personalities. On the basis of a factor analysis study of personality traits, Cattell arrived at certain personality dimensions applicable to the age range 10–16 years. These have been referred to as the "primary personality factors." These factors are:

Emotional sensitivity .... *versus*	Toughness
Nervous tension	...... Autonomic relaxation
Neurotic, fearful	...... Stability of ego strength
Will control	...... Relaxed casualness
Impatient dominance,	
cyclothymia	...... Withdrawal schizothymia
Socialized morale	...... Dislike of education
Independent dominance,	
energetic conformity	...... Quiet eccentricity
Surgency	...... Desurgency, intelligence [2]

The personality of an individual depends not only upon the manifestation of these traits, but also upon the integration of such traits. By integration is meant the general organization of traits into a larger unit of behavior, with some traits becoming subordinate to others in such an organization. There has developed a rather general recognition that personality is concerned with the individual as a unit. This has been emphasized by Woodworth; he emphasizes that a study of personality deals with behavior in its totality.[3] Many people lose sight of the integrative nature of personality in their study of the individual; this is especially in evidence in the classification of all individuals with the same educational achievement as similar in personality. The same error is made with regard to criminals, professional groups, people of the same intelligence, and so forth. It is only when two individuals have absolutely identical heredity, identical training, and identical organic conditions that one could expect various personality elements to be integrated into identical personality patterns.

The growing nature of personality. Since adolescence is a period especially marked by physical, mental, and emotional changes, one can expect corresponding changes in the personality of the adolescent subject. Mental maturity is reached during adolescence. Physical growth, which was discussed in Chapter 3, is rather rapid early in this period, but there

[2] R. B. Cattell, *et al., Handbook for the Junior Personality Quiz.* Champaign, Ill.: Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, 1953, pp. 8–10.

[3] See R. S. Woodworth, *Contemporary Schools of Psychology.* New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948, pp. 251–252.

are some rather abrupt organic changes involved. The thymus gland ceases to function, the sex glands begin to function, and thus a new endocrine balance is established. The child's egocentric nature thus takes on a social form, correlated with the changed endocrine self. The child is now held responsible for acts committed by the self; society looks upon the personality as a growing social force, and now sees not Smith's child but Mr. Smith's young daughter. The impression the growing individual makes upon others is therefore changing with the growing elements that contribute as a general configuration to personality.

Again, it is interesting to note the personality of an individual as we observe it in different situations. The writer has in mind a 14-year-old girl, whom for convenience we shall call Edna. She is very disobedient at home, especially in response to her mother's requests, and the mother thinks of her as "a little smarty." In the presence of her older sister in social situations Edna is quite submissive and timid, but with the boys and girls in the eighth grade at school Edna is quite sociable, and is liked by all. Not only do we notice different behavior patterns when Edna is in three different situations, but even when she is "performing" in any one of these situations we are likely to notice an at least partial exhibition of these other personality characteristics. Thus, personality cannot be considered apart from the situation in which the various traits are exhibited. Some situations will call forth some traits, while another situation may call forth a very different pattern of traits. The combination of traits present in a particular situation will depend upon many variables, such as maturity, sex, habit systems, health, present attitude, general social pattern, and so forth.

Concept of the physical self. Observations of adolescents confirm the view of students of medicine and psychology that physical and psychological factors are interrelated in all behavior. The concept of the self in adolescence, even in adult life, is largely influenced by physical experience, because the body has greater realism than other aspects of personality.[4] This is true not only because it is visible, but also because of early training by parents in the development of modesty and cleanliness. The body has a special significance because it is the medium of personality—not only physical, but also emotional, intellectual, and social.

One of the chief problems in which a growing person is engaged is the constant integration of personality characteristics and bodily states and changes. It was pointed out in Chapter 1 that one of the important developmental tasks of adolescents was to accept the physical self. He must continuously adjust to body changes and to their concomitants. Thus, it becomes necessary for him to reorganize his thoughts and feelings about himself in light of these changes. There are numerous social-

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[4] See C. B. Zachry and M. Lighty, "Changing Body and Changing Self," *Emotions and Conduct in Adolescence.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940, Chap. 2.

emotional problems related to organic growth. The growth process itself is sometimes disturbing in that a boy may feel like a "bull in a china shop" with his sudden increase in size. If not properly prepared for the first menses, girls are often frightened.

Relationship of developmental tasks. The concept one has of the physical self is closely related to other aspects of personality development. In an attempt to learn more about the relationship of different developmental tasks, 30 adolescents were intensively studied for the following tasks:

(1) Learning an appropriate sex role
(2) Achieving emotional independence from parents and other adults
(3) Developing conscience, morality, and a set of values
(4) Getting along with age-mates
(5) Developing intellectual skills [5]

A complete folder of case-study materials, representing the results of 32 instruments, was available for each subject. On the basis of these data eight or more research staff members rated each individual on a 10-point scale on the first four developmental tasks. Ratings on the fifth task were determined from decile rankings on academic measures. These ratings showed that the members of the group were average in their achievements on the developmental tasks. The ranges indicated that cases from one extreme on the rating scale to the other extreme were included.

Intercorrelations were obtained of ratings on each task at each age level. The longitudinal study of the relatedness of each task through age levels 10, 13, and 16 showed that good achievement on a developmental task at one age is followed by good achievement on similar tasks at later ages. A significant finding from this study is the lower correlations for ages 10 to 13 than for ages 13 to 16. The high correlations at ages 13 to 16 show quite conclusively that the level of achievement on these particular tasks is practically fixed by age 13. Thus, the period from 10 to 13 is the crucial one for changes and for the development of desirable personality and socialization patterns.

A further study of the summary of correlations, presented in Table 9–1, shows that satisfactory relations with peers is closely associated with the accomplishment of the other tasks. Next in importance is the achievement of an appropriate sex role. Greater progress was noted in the achievement of this task at the various age levels than in any other tasks, indicating a real need for guidance in this connection during the preadolescent and adolescent years.

Personality types. Man has ever been interested in classifying individuals as special types. Individuals so classified can be catalogued and

[5] A. Schoeppe and R. Havighurst, "A Validation of Development and Adjustment Hypotheses of Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1952, Vol. 43, pp. 339–353.

Table 9–1

CORRELATIONS OF FIVE DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS AT DIFFERENT AGES
(After Schoeppe and Havighurst)

	Age		
	10	*13*	*16*
Correlations consistently high from age to age			
Sex Role (outer) Task			
with Emotional Independence (outer) Task	.68	.83	.79
Sex Role (outer) Task			
with Age-Mates Task	.83	.82	.73
Emotional Independence (outer) Task			
with Age-Mates Task	.57	.64	.63
Conscience, Morals, Values Task			
with Age-Mates Task	.80	.68	.78
Intellectual Skills Task			
with Age-Mates Task	.62	.63	.69
Correlations consistently lower from age to age			
Sex Role (outer) Task			
with Intellectual Skills Task	.45	.49	.42
Emotional Independence (outer) Task			
with Conscience, Morals, Values Task	.43	.38	.51
Emotional Independence (outer) Task			
with Intellectual Skills Task	.37	.45	.49
Correlations inconsistent from age to age			
Sex Role (outer) Task			
with Conscience, Morals, Values Task	.70	.53	.53
Conscience, Morals, Values Task			
with Intellectual Skills Task	.57	.78	.78

more readily described. This simplification of individual differences in personality has furnished two-way classifications of the following groupings:

introverts— extroverts
dominant— submissive
theoretical— practical

However, careful studies show that most people represent a mixture of components and cannot be divided according to a two-way grouping. Furthermore, variations are of a continuous nature, going from one ex-

treme to the other, rather than of a discontinuous nature represented by types.

Various attempts have been made to discover the relationship of body build to temperament and other variations in personality. Kretschmer's classification furnishes a basis for dividing personality into the following types, based upon physical structure: [6]

Body Build	Personality Characteristics
Asthenic or slender build	Withdrawal tendencies
Pyknic or broad build	Volatile, outgoing, assertive tendencies

Sheldon's studies followed those of Kretschmer. One of the major purposes of his studies was to determine the pattern relationship between physique and temperament. He proposed three major types, although he recognized that most individuals are not clear body types but rather a mixture of types.[7] The three components listed by Sheldon and his collaborators are the *endomorphs*, the *mesomorphs*, and the *ectomorphs*. Those individuals characterized as endomorphs have highly developed internal organs and undeveloped external body structures. They are inclined to be fat, and are definitely not of the muscle-and-bone type. The mesomorphs show superior development of the muscles, bones, and connective tissue. The ectomorphs are fragile and delicate in nature.

Sheldon brought forth a tripolar classification parallel to his three large groups of body build types. His first group, the *viscerotonia*, is characterized, in the extreme cases, by general relaxation, sociability, love of comfort, extreme liking for food, and enjoyment of people. The second group, the *somatotonia*, is primarily a muscular type, and is characterized by vigorous bodily activity and the exertion of muscular activity and strength. The third, the *cerebrotonia*, is especially characterized by its inhibitory nature. The individual is secretive and tends to hold the self in restraint. The individual may be rated on a 7-point scale for each of the primary body dimensions. In addition to the variables listed, there are others, such as intelligence and sexuality.

A small positive relation has been reported by Sheldon and Stevens between intelligence test scores and ectomorphy, and a small negative relation between intelligence test scores and mesomorphy.[8] Such a relation, if confirmed in other studies, may result in part at least from the different interests and activities pursued by individuals of differing physique. Boys with greater strength and better coordination tend to

[6] E. Kretschmer, *Physique and Character.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1925.

[7] W. H. Sheldon, S. S. Stevens, and W. B. Tucker, *The Varieties of Human Physique.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1942.

[8] W. H. Sheldon and S. S. Stevens, *The Varieties of Temperament: A Psychology of Constitutional Differences.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1942.

pursue games involving physical and motor abilities to a greater degree than boys and girls with less strength and motor coordination.

Measurements devised for the study of personality have revealed that certain trait clusters tend to appear together. Perhaps the most functional classification of personality types is that developed by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago and presented by Havighurst and Taba.[9] Groupings of 16-year-olds were empirically arrived at. The clinical conference methods used in this study consisted of analyzing the data, observing similarities among certain subjects of their study, and grouping together similar subjects. A profile of personality and character factors that characterized each of the groups was then developed. This is shown in Table 9–2 for the five types developed in this analysis. The fact that 31 per cent of the group could not be placed in any of the five types is additional evidence for the contention that individuals do not fall into clear-cut types.

The materials of Table 9–2 are useful in observing adolescents and in noting the factors associated with certain character and personality qualities. The material of this table provides a sort of summary of the effects of peers, the family social status, community forces, and the school on the personality and character of adolescents.

SOME PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF ADOLESCENTS

The present-day adolescent is more concerned with modern problems and living personalities than was the adolescent of fifty years ago. This is borne out by a study reported by Averill in which the ideal characters of the present-day adolescent were compared with those of the adolescent of 50 years ago.[10] At that time 78 per cent of adolescents chose as their ideals historical characters; today only 33 per cent choose such characters as their ideals. Also, today's adolescents fail to identify themselves ideally with characters from literature and history, which intrigued a large percentage of adolescents fifty years ago. The present-day adolescent finds his ideals in flesh-and-blood personalities—living beings. Sports figures, individuals identified with the radio, television, and movie activities, business leaders, political figures, and other contemporary persons are the ideals of the modern adolescent. There appears a waning of the idealism with which adolescents surround religious personalities. The practical mind characterizes the modern adolescent's choice. He chooses his ideals from a wide variety of vocations, many of which were virtually nonexistent fifty years ago.

[9] The materials of Table 9-2 are reprinted by permission from *Adolescent Character and Personality* by B. J. Havighurst and H. Taba, published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949, Chap. 11.

[10] L. A. Averill, "The Impact of a Changing Culture upon Adolescent Ideals," *School and Society*, 1950, Vol. 72, pp. 49–53.

Table 9–2

PERSONALITY PROFILES OF ADOLESCENTS *

(*After Havighurst and Taba*)

Personality Types	Social Personality	Social Adjustments with Age-Mates	Personal Adjustments
Self-directive	Ambitious Conscientious Orderly Persistent Introspective	Leader Active in school affairs Awkward in social skills	Self-doubt Self-critical Some anxiety, but well controlled Concerned about moral principles Moves away from people Lack of warmth in human relations Gains security through achievement
Adaptive	Outgoing Confident Positive, favorable reaction to environment	Very popular Active in school affairs Social skills well developed Popular with opposite sex	High on all adjustment measures Self-assured No signs of anxiety Unaggressive Moves toward people
Submissive	Timid Does not initiate action Avoids conflicts	Follower Nonentity Awkward in social skills	Self-doubts Self-critical Submissive to authority Unaggressive
Defiant	Openly hostile Self-defensive Blames society for failure	Unpopular Hostile to school activities	Hostile to authority Impulsive Inadequately socialized Moves against people
Unadjusted	Discontented Complaining Not openly hostile	Unpopular Hostile or indifferent to school situations	Aggressive impulses Feelings of insecurity

* Other traits listed in the profile are character reputation, moral beliefs and principles, family environment, intellectual ability, and school achievement.

Growth trends. Two specific growth trends characterize many preadolescents. These have been listed as (1) a disorganization of the earlier (childhood) personality structure, and (2) a strong attraction to peers, who are often in a rebellious state against adult authority and control.[11] The extent to which these growth trends may be found will de-

[11] See especially A. W. Blair and W. H. Burton, *Growth and Development of the Preadolescent.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951.

pend primarily upon the guidance and treatment received during childhood. These trends are usually temporary in nature. The child who displays these trends should not necessarily be labeled as a delinquent or even as maladjusted. However, such actions may and do sometimes bring the youngster to the attention of the courts.

Another group of traits with developmental significance are those involved in expressiveness. Ratings of early- and late-maturers for "animation" and "eagerness" are presented in Figure 9–1.[12] The late-maturers are consistently above the average for the group on both of these
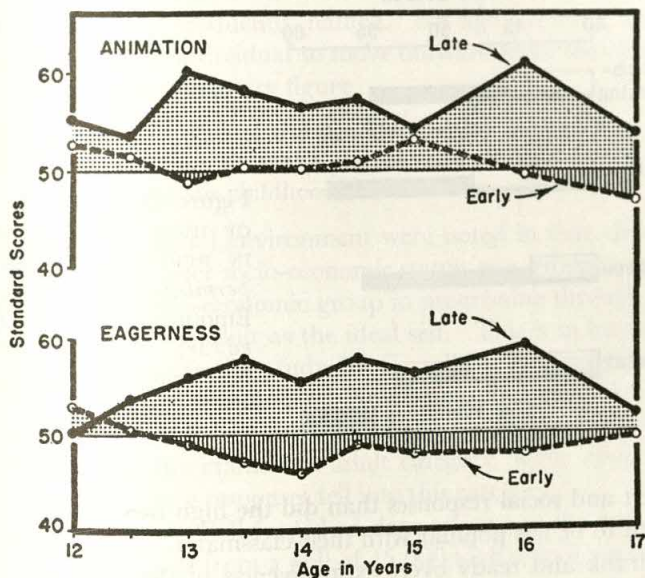
Figure 9–1. MEAN STANDARD SCORES FOR EARLY- AND LATE-MATURING GROUPS, IN EXPRESSIVE TRAITS. (*Jones and Bayley*)

traits, as well as on such traits as energy, talkativeness, and laughter. Two factors have been offered to account for this deviate position of the late-maturers. The first is a persistence of childish tendencies. Shouts, laughter, and noisy activities in general are more characteristic of children and preadolescents than of adolescents and adults. A second factor is a reaction to feelings of inferiority resulting from their immaturity. The immature 14-year-old boy may be expressing, through his excessive activity, not only his more child-like nature, but may also be using this activity to gain the attention of others and thus to compensate for his less favored physical status. It will be noted in Chapter 17 that this is sometimes an important factor in relation to juvenile delinquency.

[12] M. C. Jones and N. Bayley, "Physical Maturing among Boys as Related to Behavior," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1950, Vol. 41, pp. 129–148.

The findings of the Adolescent Growth Study at the University of California, referred to in Chapter 5, indicate that the nature of personality is related to internalized and externalized emotional responses. Those adolescents of the Adolescent Growth Study having the greatest constancy of mood displayed the most intense internal responses to emotionally toned situations. Comparisons of the high and low reactive groups on physiological tests for classmate ratings on certain traits are presented in Figure 9–2.[13] The low reactive group displayed more vig-

Scale Scores

Attention-seeking

Talkativeness

Restlessness

"Bossiness"

Low Reactives
High Reactives
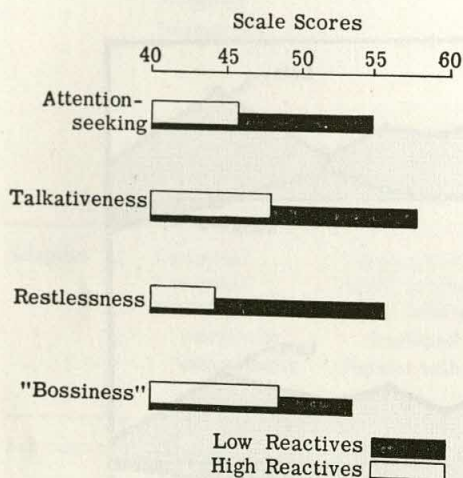
Figure 9–2. A COMPARISON OF HIGH AND LOW REACTIVES IN REPUTATION TRAITS. (By permission from Feelings and Emotions, E. L. Reymert, editor; copyright 1950 by McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.)

orous overt and social responses than did the high reactive group. They also tended to be less popular with their classmates. One might postulate that the frank and ready overt expressiveness of the low reactive group helps to maintain good personal adjustments, while the socialized inhibition of overt responses tends to lead to internal emotional tensions. Clinical findings furnish examples of this pattern of emotional organization.

The ideal self. The ideal self has been conceived of both in terms of aspirations and identifications. The concept in either case has been found useful in studying the development of character and personality. To the Freudians the origin of the ego-ideal is a result of identification with individuals that the child loves, admires, or fears. It is a process of identification through which the child takes on the attributes of such persons. The social psychologists, on the other hand, regard the ideal self as a term for the roles or aspirations that continuously affect the indi-

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[13] H. E. Jones, "The Study of Patterns of Emotional Expressions," in Reymert, E. L. (ed.), *Feelings and Emotions.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950, pp. 166–167.

vidual's life. A study by Havighurst and others dealt with the development of the ideal self during childhood and adolescence.[14]

Boys and girls in the age-range 8 to 18 years were asked to write an essay on the person whom they would like most of all to be like when they grew up. This did not have to be a real person, but they were asked to describe the character, appearance, and activities of such a person. In all, 1,147 papers were collected from nine groups of boys and girls. The responses of both boys and girls fall mainly into the four categories: parents, glamorous adults, attractive and familiar young adults, and composite imaginary characters. Parent substitutes, such as teachers and older adults, were less frequently named. An age sequence was noted, the trend being for the individual to move outward from the family circle toward the composite imaginary figure.

The final and mature stage of the ego-ideal is the composite of desirable characteristics drawn from all of the persons with whom the individual has identified himself during his childhood and adolescence.[15]

The effects of the social environment were noted in that children and adolescents from the lower socio-economic status, as a group, were behind those of the middle socio-economic group in progressing through the stage of selecting a glamorous adult as the ideal self. This is in harmony with results obtained in an earlier study by Carroll.[16] A comparison of the ideal self of a group of middle-class Negro boys and girls with a Negro lower-class group showed that three-fourths of the responses of the lower-class group fell into the glamorous adult category, while about one-half of the middle-class group responses fell into this category.

The Purdue Opinion Poll furnished data relative to the aspirations of a sample of 2,500 pupils from a poll of 15,000 high school pupils from all sections of the United States.[17] This group represents a degree of selection, since a larger percentage of pupils from the lower class than from the middle class drop out of school. However, a careful analysis of the results reveals some interesting trends and characteristics. Pupils from the middle class showed a significantly greater tendency to be willing to defer gratification of wants than did those from the lower class. This is generally reflected in their greater desire for an education, willingness to postpone marriage, and ability to save money. The materials of Table

[14] R. J. Havighurst, M. Z. Robinson, and M. Dorr, "The Development of the Ideal Self in Childhood and Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Research*, 1946–47, Vol. 40, pp. 241–257.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

[16] R. E. Carroll, "Relation of Social Environment to the Moral Ideology and the Personality Aspirations of Negro Boys and Girls," *School Review*, 1945, Vol. 53, pp. 30–48.

[17] H. H. Remmers, R. E. Horton, and S. Lysgaard, "Teen Age Personality in Our Culture," *The Purdue Opinion Poll*. Division of Educational Reference, Purdue University, No. 32.

9–3 show that boys prefer to be outstanding in high-school athletics, while girls prefer high grades. Both boys and girls expressed an interest in continuing their education, if money were available. Also, they most enjoyed friends who came from families of their own general class or level. The study revealed that sex, social-class level, and place of residence have an important bearing on the attitudes and aspirations of adolescents.

Contrasting phases of adolescent personality. Some elements characteristic of the personality of adolescents tend to make the individual un-

Table 9–3

PER CENT OF RESPONSES OF HIGH-SCHOOL PUPILS TO ITEMS ON THE PURDUE OPINION POLL DEALING WITH CHOICES AND ASPIRATIONS

	Total	Boys	Girls	Rural	Urban
If I were to be outstanding at my school, I would most prefer that my distinction would be:					
High grades	44	38	50	44	45
Athletics	28	45	12	31	25
Most popular boy or girl	28	17	38	25	30
If you won a big prize, say two thousand dollars, what would you do?					
Spend most of it right away on things I and my family want..	29	29	29	30	28
Save most of it for education or for a business	71	71	71	70	72
When I am through school and on my own:					
I would like to join organizations like a businessman's club, a good labor union, or a social club	71	68	74	67	75
I shall avoid such organizations because I don't like them.....	29	33	26	33	25
For the most part I enjoy being together with friends who come from families at least as nice and successful as my own, rather than being together with just anybody.					
Agree	62	59	65	63	62
Disagree	38	41	35	37	38

stable in nature; these elements are here referred to as "contrasting phases." The importance of the emotional elements in the development of personality has already been considered. Furthermore, it might be pointed out here that emotional habits are the important factors upon

which we judge the personality of those closest and best known to us; these elements stand out much clearer in some than in other individuals.

During the adolescent period some specific emotional characteristics are outstanding. Many drives of an instinctive or biological nature are held in restraint during adolescence because of various customs and other forces present in man's environment, but these become quite pronounced in other phases of the individual's life. G. Stanley Hall recognized the importance of emotion in adolescent life, and in one of his writings says: "Youth loves intense states of mind and is passionately fond of excitement." [18] Here we find a true and valid expression of the contrasting states of vitality and lassitude so characteristic of adolescents. The attitude of carefree individuals seeking joy and the company of others for the sake of excitement characterizes their play, social interests, and activities. The true gang and team loyalty has already been described as characteristic of this age.

Pleasure and pain are sometimes close together; tears and laughter may closely follow each other; elation and depression also are somewhat characteristic of this period of life. Egocentrism and sociability, ascendancy and submissiveness, selfishness and altruism, radicalism and conservatism, heightened ambitions and loss of interest—these tend to mark off this period of life as one of contrasts in moods, which are manifested by a single individual in slightly different situations. These contrasting moods probably make it more difficult to predict an individual's behavior during adolescence than at any other single period. Individual reactions are more transitory and less stable than they are at later stages of life; different traits will predominate under slightly different conditions; and their changes are likely to be very marked. As the individual has more and more social experiences, his manners of reaction change and his personality characteristics are increasingly modified and made more stable.

Anyone who studies the problems of young people becomes familiar with these common manifestations of behavior. Here is an individual in whom habit patterns have not fully developed. Because of his lack of maturity, he is sometimes characterized as "flighty." His work in school is not altogether steady; his activities on the playground vary from time to time; his general attitude toward the school is often easily changed. Pride in dress is followed by extreme carelessness. While these particular sudden and extreme changes are the exception, the average adolescent has them to some degree. Bronner makes the following observation:

Today's enthusiasms may become matters of boredom before long. The desire one day may be to become a missionary, and ere long this has been completely forgotten and the goal of life is to be a dancer. Many an adolescent has said, "I don't know what I want to be. One day I think I want to

[18] G. S. Hall, *Adolescence*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1904, Vol. 2, Chap. 10.

be one thing and the next day something else, only I want to be someone great." [19]

Analyzing the cause of this changefulness, one again turns to the newly developed interests and broadened outlook of these boys and girls as they reach maturity and come into contact with social reality. These changes in outlook take place more rapidly than habit systems change, develop, and become integrated into a unified personality. We therefore find individuals not only with often inconsistent attitudes, beliefs, outlooks, and emotions, but also strikingly contrasting moods and attitudes toward situations or topics not wholly different in nature. Not all of these inconsistencies and contrasting phases of life are finally eliminated, but many are substantially eliminated as the personality becomes more and more integrated into a general scheme.

Adolescent instability. The adolescent is said to be impulsive and unstable in nature. Emotional expression, as we have seen, is largely a matter of habit, and from such habits develop behavior patterns characteristic of extroversion or introversion. As attested by the pointless giggling, impulsiveness, yelling, loud talking, and other symptoms of instability, extroversion usually appears to be more universal than introversion, which is manifested in relation to new situations and intensified by newly forming habits of a social nature. Habits of introversion are especially in evidence in individuals who are reaching maturity with poorly developed social and emotional habits. With the awakened social consciousness, the new physiological nature, and the wider social contacts there is naturally good reason for disturbances.

The instability of adolescence is especially marked by contrasting personalities, heightened emotional behavior, religious enthusiasm, and juvenile behavior problems. Just how truly such conditions are a result of training is quite evident as we observe many adolescents with varying backgrounds who are socially well-adjusted, wholesome in attitude, courteous in manners, and stable in the exhibition of various habit systems. Far too many children, as they reach adolescence, are expected to assume the places of adults with only the training that would enable them to follow authority blindly. These individuals have not been given the opportunity for the development of habits of initiative and responsibility so essential in the ordinary pursuits of adult life; they are "too young" to do the things adults are doing and "too old" to act and play as children do. For many individuals this is, therefore, a period of bewilderment. If the individual desires to run and play the "kid-like" games, he is laughed at; if he offers his advice and counsel too freely to the adult group, he is reminded that he is still a child. Probably most persons soon pass through this transition and are able to establish themselves and their place in the social order. Naturally, a sort of training that will enable

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[19] A. F. Bronner, "Emotional Problems of Adolescence," *The Child's Emotions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 220.

the individual to adjust his earlier habit patterns to those of the adult group will aid him to develop desirable social habits and attitudes. If the specific elements of the adolescent personality do not develop desirably, we should then search his past—or present—experience for the causes.

This question may be raised: To what extent are adolescent worries, doubts, and fears associated with moodiness? This problem was investigated by Fleege, when he asked 2,000 Catholic high school boys the question: "Do you ever get into moods when you can't seem to cheer up to save yourself?" [20] In answer to this query, 75.1 per cent of the boys replied "Yes." This furnishes a barometer concerning the amount of moodiness experienced among high-school boys. On the basis of information presented in earlier chapters about the fears, worries, and anxieties of adolescent girls, one would expect the amount of moodiness experienced by high-school girls to be in excess of that experienced by the high-school boys.

The alleged causes for the moodiness experienced by the boys are listed in Table 9–4. An outstanding cause of moodiness during adolescence is self-consciousness about faults, weaknesses, failures, and the like. This was observed in Chapter 3 in connection with the physical and motor growth of boys; it is also reflected in Table 9–4. However, only one boy

<div align="center">Table 9–4</div>

ALLEGED CAUSES FOR FEELINGS OF SADNESS AND DEPRESSION
ACCORDING TO 2,000 HIGH-SCHOOL BOYS (*After Fleege*)

Cause	No. of Boys	Per Cent
1. Difficulties in studies and school, low marks, failure	298	14.9
2. Troubles in the home, arguments, debts, parental attitude	192	9.6
3. Disappointments, things go wrong	179	9.0
4. Sins, sex, self-abuse, guilty conscience, mistakes, wrong conduct	163	8.2
5. Deprivations, lack of social opportunities, curtailment of liberties	106	5.3
6. Sickness, death, mishap	103	5.2
7. Hurt feelings: because of a remark or because I have hurt those of others	102	5.1
8. Misunderstandings, quarrels with friends	102	5.1
9. Personality difficulties, inferiority complex, personal defects, lack of ability	80	4.0
10. Girl-friend troubles	65	3.2
11. Miscellaneous: nothing to do, worries, fears, lack of sleep, my future, etc.	117	5.8
12. No answer, or the statement "I don't know"	451	22.6

[20] U. H. Fleege, *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1945, p. 321.

out of seven indicated that he was frequently depressed. In addition to the self-conscious feeling so characteristic of adolescents, we note that disappointment, deprivations, and feelings of guilt stand out as factors closely related to the onset of sadness and depressed states.

Sex differences. Some interesting sex differences were noted in a comparison of the ideal self of a group of boys and girls ages 8 to 18 years. In the study by Havighurst and others, boys and girls were requested to tell something about the character, appearance, and activities of the person listed as their ideal self.[21] The frequency of mention of the different character and personality traits is listed in Table 9–5. The boys placed a much greater premium on material values, while the girls considered good looks, cooperativeness, and helpfulness as most desirable characteristics.

Table 9–5

COMPARISON OF CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY TRAITS MENTIONED BY BOYS AND GIRLS (*After Havighurst, et al.*)

	Boys N = 158	Girls N = 168
Material values—money, clothes, property	34	3
Good looks, good appearance, neat, clean	21	51
Good personality, stereotypes, popular	21	20
Friendly, lots of friends, courteous, polite, can take a joke	31	22
Honest, responsible, industrious, church-goer, kind	42	51
Cooperative, helpful, patient	5	18
Self-sacrificing, working for social justice, human brotherhood, altruism	4	3

A study by Balastra was concerned with the personality traits of the opposite sex admired and disliked by adolescent boys and girls.[22] A questionnaire was submitted to high-school boys and girls requesting them to list the four behavioral qualities most admired and the four most disliked in members of the opposite sex. The ten qualities most admired are presented in Table 9–6. These results bear out the general viewpoint that boys most admire personal appearance, neatness, good dress, and good looks. In the case of girls the traits of good manners, politeness, pleasing personality, consideration, and respect are most admired.

The persistence of the personality pattern. Not only do children manifest from the beginning of life differences in personality characteristics

[21] Havighurst, Robinson, and Dorr, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
[22] V. R. Balastra, "Personality Traits of the Opposite Sex Admired and Disliked by Adolescent Boys and Girls," Master of Education Thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1951.

Table 9–6

THE TEN QUALITIES MOST ADMIRED IN GIRLS BY TWELFTH-GRADE BOYS AND
THE TEN MOST ADMIRED IN BOYS BY TWELFTH-GRADE GIRLS, IN
ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF LISTING (*After Balastra*)

Traits listed by boys	*Traits listed by girls*
Good personality	Good manners
Neat appearance	Neatness
Good dress	Courtesy and politeness
Friendliness	Pleasing personality
Good conversationalist	Respect
Good morals	Sense of humor
Intellectual	Good grooming, good appearance
Good looks	Cleanliness
Sense of humor	Consideration
Clean	Honesty

that set one child apart from another, but there are also certain charac-
teristics within each child that tend to persist during the period of growth
and into adolescence and adulthood. Also, studies reveal that early
childhood influences have important bearings on one's personality during
adolescence and adulthood. Goldfarb presents Rorschach data obtained
on an experimental group and a control group of boys and girls, ranging
in age from 10 to 14 years.[23] The experimental group had entered the
institution at a mean age of 4.5 months and remained there for an aver-
age of 3 years and 3 months. They were transferred to foster homes after
spending slightly more than three years in an institution. The control
group was equated with the experimental (institutional) group in terms
of age and sex. The mothers of both groups were similar in national
background and educational status.

The findings revealed significant differences in personality between the
groups:

In contrast to the foster home children, the institutional children tend to
be (1) less mature, less controlled, less differentiated, more impoverished;
and (2) more passive and apathetic, less ambitious, and less capable of
adjustment related to conscious intention or goal.[24]

The personality of the adolescent institutionalized during early childhood
is characterized by lack of warmth in social relationships, making it dif-
ficult for them to form close friendships.

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[23] W. Goldfarb, "Effects of Early Institutional Care on Adolescent Personality:
Rorschach Data," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1944, Vol. 14, pp. 441–447.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 446.

This tendency on the part of the growing child to remain somewhat consistent in his personality characteristics as he develops has been observed by other investigators. Research conducted by Cattell and others on items included in the *Junior Personality Quiz* shows that age changes over the 10 to 16 year range are largely insignificant.[25] A slight trend was noted for sensitiveness to decline as the individual grows older. There was also a slight trend toward lower will control as they grow into adolescence, where conformity to group standards is emphasized. Studies of personality consistency have received further support from case studies conducted with more mature subjects. In a study by Roberts and Fleming 25 college women were selected from a large list of 100 cases.[26] Case studies as well as group data treated statistically indicated that the home relationships were most important in the development of personality traits, and that while there was some fluctuation of traits, in general there was more persistence than change.

The needs of the adolescent. Throughout this study the adolescent has been described as a dynamic individual growing and developing through an interaction with the conditions and forces in his environment. The dynamics of the human organism have been described in terms of certain fundamental needs. These needs are the basis of adjustments faced by the individual. Authorities are not in complete agreement relative to these basis needs, particularly those which may be termed personality or emotional needs. The organic needs are better understood and more clearly defined. These include the need for food, rest, sleep, elimination, desirable temperature conditions, air, and water. The physiological basis for the sex drive is also well known. The personality needs of adolescents may be listed as follows:

(1) The *need for affection* appears early in life and finds varied means of expression during adolescence.

(2) The *need for belongingness* is especially important for adolescents, since they are breaking away from the close ties of the home and establishing heterosexual relations.

(3) The *need for independence* begins early in life and becomes very important during adolescence, when the individual is called upon to make many choices and decisions.

(4) The *need for achievement* becomes more pronounced as the individual grows toward maturity.

(5) The *need for recognition* is especially important for adolescents, since they are so dependent upon good peer relations and peer approval.

[25] R. B. Cattell, *et al.*, *Handbook for the Junior Personality Quiz.* Champaign, Ill.: Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, 1935, p. 12.

[26] K. E. Roberts and V. Fleming, "Persistence and Change in Personality Patterns," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, Society for Research in Child Development, National Research Council, 1943, Vol. 8, No. 3.

(6) The *need for self-esteem*, to feel that his conduct meets his own standard, and that he is worthy, becomes more important with increased maturity.

(7) The *need for a unified philosophy of life* appears with increased maturity. The adolescent constantly finds a need for some sort of guide which serves as a standard and basis for making decisions.

There is evidence that these personality needs are not manifested in a similar manner among all groups of adolescents. However, to the extent that these are interrelated with the biological nature of the maturing dynamic individual they would appear in some form with all groups of adolescents. Concerning these Lewin has stated:

> The needs of the individual are, to a very high degree, determined by social factors. The needs of the growing child are changed and new needs induced as a result of the many small and large social groups to which he belongs. His needs are much affected, also, by the ideology and conduct of those groups to which he would like to belong or from which he would like to be set apart. The effects of the advice of the mother, of the demand of a fellow child, or of what the psychoanalyst calls *superego*, all are closely interwoven with socially induced needs. We have seen that the level of aspiration is related to social facts. We may state more generally that the culture in which a child grows affects practically every need and all his behavior and that the problem of acculturation is one of the foremost in child psychology.
>
> One can distinguish three types of cases where needs pertain to social relations: (1) the action of the individual may be performed for the benefit of someone else (in the manner of an altruistic act); (2) needs may be induced by the power field of another person or group (as a weaker person's obedience to a more powerful one); (3) needs may be created by belonging to a group and adhering to its goals. Actually, these three types are closely interwoven.[27]

An analysis of needs and conditions of adolescence shows that the individual, though physically reaching the stage of maturity, is compelled to delay the natural expression of certain drives now coming to play a large part in his everyday activities. Civilization has made it necessary that the training period of life be lengthened, but human biological development still proceeds at the rate of earlier times. At adolescence the individual is not established as a stable member of society. His habit systems, as was pointed out earlier, are in a formative stage; many of them are still unrelated and the process of generalization has not as yet carried over into broader social experience. His natural drives, which up to this period have found a greater freedom of outlet, are checked and modified

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[27] Reprinted by permission from Kurt Lewin, "Behavior and Development as a Function of the Total Situation," *Manual of Child Psychology*, 2nd ed. (D. L. Carmichael, ed.), published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1954, p. 959.

by the great social organization in which he finds himself. Hence, the generally confusing and conflicting situations to which he must adjust himself often lead to certain forms of instability. However, we are not to despair of adolescents, since, out of this medley of circumstances and conditions, develop the age of youth and adulthood. Thompson says of this:

The young person reared in a society which increasingly demands that he follow in an imitative manner its exemplary behaviors, expressed as tenderness, affection, and courteousness; cruelty, discontent, and hatred; emotional stability and a temper which is defensively rebellious; independence of and yet willingness to sacrifice himself for the group at large; a progressive interest in the opposite sex, regardless of the restraining taboos, maturing in marriage; and an insistence on individual financial success; these and a score of other similar behaviors make up the continuous barrage of traumatic experiences which assail the maturing individual. Out of this the individual resolves whatever problems afford him an accepted place in society and by so doing enters into adulthood with an integrated personality.[28]

SUMMARY

In all the various definitions of personality there appears, first, the notion of a *totality* of elements; then, in the second place, a general recognition of the *interrelation* of these various elements into a unified pattern. Furthermore, there is emphasis upon the *interaction* of these elements in the relationship between the individual subject and other persons. The totality may be made up of an abundance of some traits, other traits being lacking. Again, there may be a lack of harmonious interrelation of traits —conflicting values, or actually conflicting traits. Or, there may be a breakdown in the desirable interaction of the individual's personality traits and the characteristics of others. The latter is sometimes referred to as "personality clashes."

Since the period of adolescence is one in which the personality traits are developing and finding expression in many directions, it becomes a period fraught with many problems and difficulties. It might be stated as a fundamental principle that *any period in life in which there is an undue physiological, social, or emotional stress for which the individual is not prepared, is a period at which mental abnormalities may and do appear, or at which those already in existence become more socially significant.*

The adolescent is faced with a changing physical self, which he must now accept. He is also reaching that stage of maturity where he must accept his limitations and assets. The period from 10 to 13 appears to

[28] C. E. Thompson, "The Personality of the Teacher as It Affects the Child," *The Educational Forum*, 1942, Vol. 6, p. 264.

be crucial for the development of desirable personality and socialization patterns. It is during this period that a disorganization of the earlier personality structures and a stronger attraction to peers appear.

The effects of the social environment upon the aspirations, ideals, and behavior of adolescents have been emphasized in this chapter. Boys place a greater premium on material values, while girls are more social-minded. There is a tendency for the general personality pattern of childhood to persist, even though a certain amount of disorganization and reorientation appears with the onset of adolescence. The needs of adolescents are not wholly different from those of preadolescents, except perhaps for those relating to the sex drive. Certain personality needs are manifested by all adolescents, although their exact nature and potency will vary considerably from person to person.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Look up several definitions of personality, other than the ones presented in this chapter. Show how one's definition will affect his general treatment of this subject.

2. Why is it very difficult to measure personality traits? What experiences have you had with personality evaluations? What uses can be made of results from such evaluations? What cautions should be observed?

3. Evaluate the personalities of several adolescents with whom you are acquainted, using the general outline given in Table 9–2? What difficulties are encountered in making these evaluations?

4. Can you cite evidence from your own life or someone with whom you are well acquainted for the persistence of basic personality characteristics. How do you account for any significant changes that might have occurred?

5. Explain the possible effects of lack of social stimulation during early childhood upon the personality during adolescence.

6. What personality types have you encountered? Why do people try to pigeon-hole people into types?

7. Give examples of adult personalities with whom you are acquainted who seem to illustrate good social adjustments; who seem to illustrate poor social adjustments.

8. Compare sex differences in concepts of the *ideal self*.

9. Compare the aspirations of high-school pupils from low- and middle-class groups. How would you account for exceptions frequently found?

10. How would you classify your own personality as to type? Do you consider yourself as (1) a social type or (2) an emotional type; (3) a conformity type or (4) an inquiring type; (5) a self-confident type? What difficulties do you encounter in attempting such a classification?

11. Select two adolescents of approximately the same age and from the same grade in school and show how their personality differences have probably been influenced by different social-group memberships.

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PERSONAL AND SOCIAL
ADJUSTMENTS

ADOLESCENT PROBLEMS

Earlier chapters have shown how growth and development present special problems for adolescent boys and girls. A young person growing up in any culture is faced with certain developmental tasks that must be learned. These learnings are made essential because of the continuous interaction between the maturing *self* and the pressures of one's social and physical environments. Thus, at all age levels, individuals are faced with special difficulties and problems.

Results of studies on adolescent problems. Lewis studied the problems of 701 junior-high-school students by having each student list any of his own personal problems.[1] A total of 1,402 problems were reported, with 195 different types. A comparison of the number of problems reported by girls and boys is presented in Figure 10–1. This figure shows that home life and social problems were reported by more than twice as many girls as boys. Health and development and the future presented problems for many more boys than girls; 28 boys listed as a problem, "School takes too much of our money." They displayed a resentment against school drives for Red Cross, Community Chest, and Cancer Research. The policy of the homeroom groups competing for 100 per cent participation in a drive oftentimes presents an embarrassing problem to the boy or girl who has little if any extra money to spend, and who may be having a difficult time providing for his minimum needs.

In order to find out the problems confronting high-school students, Williams had a group of high-school boys and girls complete a questionnaire in which there were ten problem areas.[2] The ten major problem areas are listed in Table 10–1, along with the number and per cent of students checking each area. "School Life" problems comprised the

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[1] O. Y. Lewis, "Problems of the Adolescent," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 1949, Vol. 24, pp. 215–221.

[2] L. H. Williams, "Problems of California High School Seniors," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 1949, Vol. 24, pp. 73–78; ———, "Their Problems Came with Them," *ibid.*, pp. 422–427.
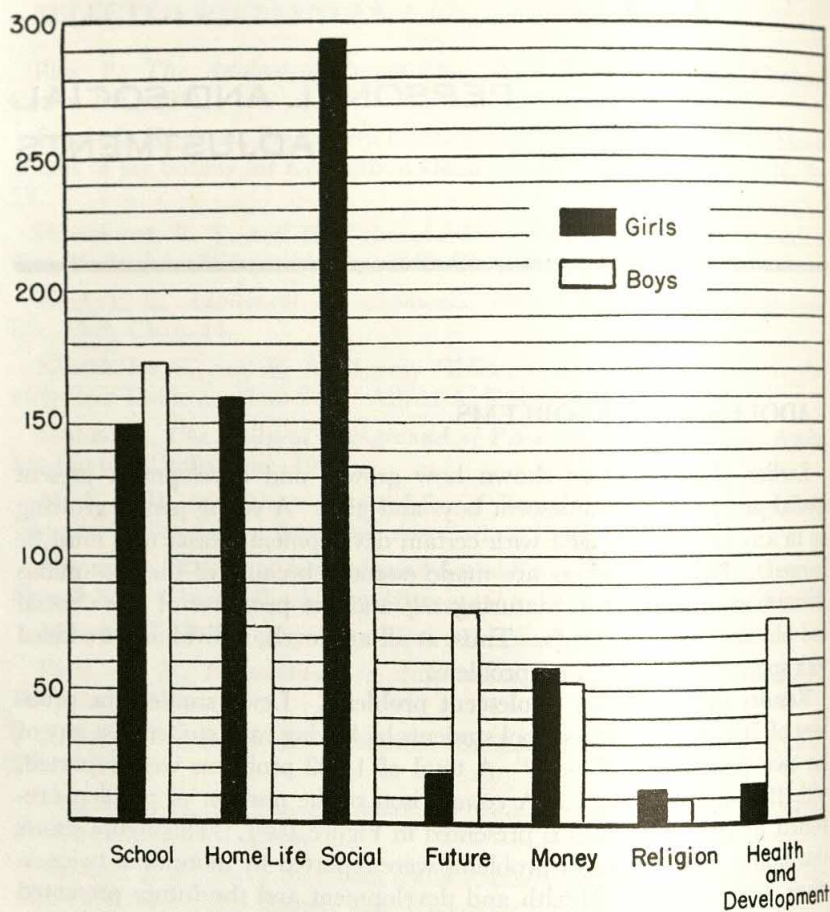
Figure 10–1. COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF PROBLEMS REPORTED BY BOYS AND GIRLS. (*After Lewis*)

largest number for both boys and girls at the sophomore and senior years. These problems appear to be more serious for senior boys than for sophomore boys, while there was little difference noted in the seriousness of these problems for girls at the two educational levels. Other interesting sex and developmental differences may be noted from a careful analysis of the results of Table 10–1.

The preponderance of "School Life" problems found in studies of adolescents may be accounted for, in part, by the setting in which these studies are conducted. Most studies are carried on in school situations, which would tend to bring school-related problems to the attention of the students. The sex differences noted in various studies, no doubt, stem largely from the nature of the American cultural pattern. There is a constant need for the modern adolescent boy to have money, especially

as he approaches his senior year in high school. Otherwise, he will not be able to participate with his peers in many everyday activities, and play the masculine role in dating. This condition sometimes aggravates the "School Life" problems of adolescent and postadolescent boys.

Table 10-1

PROBLEMS CHECKED BY SOPHOMORE AND SENIOR BOYS AND GIRLS ACCORDING TO MAJOR AREAS (*After Williams*)

	Sophomores				Seniors			
	Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
Problem Areas	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
School Life	82	20	96	24	193	38	124	25
Boy-Girl	50	12	48	12	46	9	68	14
Vocational	48	12	44	11	84	16	88	18
Personality Development	46	11	42	10	49	10	44	9
Health	38	10	41	10	15	3	34	7
Religious	33	8	40	10	3	.5	12	2
Financial	33	8	35	9	75	15	45	9
Home-Family	26	7	33	8	22	4	46	10
Recreation	23	6	24	6	19	4	28	6
Civic Interest	23	6	5	1	6	1	2	—

The use of problem check lists. A number of problem check lists have been used in studying the problems of adolescents. The *SRA Youth Inventory* was constructed under the auspices of the Purdue University Opinion Poll for Young People with the cooperation of many high schools and over 15,000 teen-agers throughout the country.[3] The 298 questions making up the inventory were developed from essays submitted by hundreds of students stating in their own words the problems that bothered them most. The needs and problems of these boys and girls were studied and classified into eight major areas. Norms for boys and girls have been developed, based on a national sample of 2,500 cases. The number of items in each category, the mean, and the standard deviation of the total scores for each area of the inventory are presented in Table 10-2.

A problem check list devised by Mooney has been widely used with high-school and college students.[4] The items making up the check list for high-school students are classified into 11 areas; each area contains 30 items. The 11 areas are:

> Health and physical development
> Finances, living conditions and employment

[3] The *SRA Youth Inventory* and the *Examiner Manual* are published by Science Research Associates. These are copyrighted by Purdue Research Foundation.
[4] R. L. Mooney, "Surveying High-School Students' Problems by Means of a Problem Check List," *Educational Research Bulletin*, March 18, 1942.

Social and recreational activities
Courtship, sex and marriage
Social-psychological relations
Morals and religion
Home and family
The future: vocational and educational
Adjustment to school work
Curriculum and teaching procedures

Table 10-2

NUMBER OF ITEMS IN EACH AREA, MEAN, AND STANDARD DEVIATION FOR THE
NATIONAL SAMPLE OF 2,500 CASES OF THE SRA YOUTH INVENTORY

Area	No. of items	Mean	Standard deviation
My school	33	7.38	4.49
After high school	37	12.05	7.89
About myself	44	9.42	6.19
Getting along with others	40	10.40	6.32
My home and family	53	5.76	6.59
Boy meets girl	32	6.64	4.98
Health	25	3.94	2.77
Things in general	34	6.36	5.06

Educational adjustments. "School Life" problems are frequently reported by adolescent boys and girls at all grade levels. These problems appear to grow in intensity as the individual advances from the seventh to the ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades. Insufficient and sometimes undesirable educational guidance results in many such problems. That they are of frequent occurrence was revealed in a study of ninth- and tenth-grade boys and girls from several high schools of Connecticut.[5] Educational problems were checked by a larger percentage of the boys and girls than any other classification of problems on the check list, and among these the items most frequently checked were, in order of frequency: "don't like to study"; "being a grade behind in school"; "afraid of failing in school work"; "so often feel restless in class"; "getting low grades in school"; "afraid to speak up in class"; "not smart enough"; "teachers expect too much work"; and "don't like school."

These results are somewhat in harmony with those obtained by Mooney in his study of the problems of high-school pupils of the Stephens-Lee High School of Asheville, North Carolina.[6] Eighty-seven per cent of

[5] K. C. Garrison, Unpublished Study, 1945. In this study the problem check list devised by Mooney was given to more than 400 boys and girls, representing a cross section of the boys and girls of Connecticut.

[6] R. L. Mooney, op. cit.

these high-school pupils indicated a marked concern for the problems in the area *Adjustment to School Work*. Several items were marked by more than 20 per cent of the group: "being a grade behind in school"; "fear of failing in school"; "worrying about grades"; "trouble in mathematics and physics"; and "not spending enough time in study." An analysis of individual cases from such a check list reveals different combinations of problems, although the percentages checking certain problems, such as "being a grade behind in school," show that there are some problems common to a large group of high-school students. These problems are not valued by adults and adolescents on the same scale with respect to their seriousness; but a problem that gives adolescents much concern is a serious one and should be given definite consideration by those concerned with their guidance, even though it doesn't seem important to the teacher, parent, or counselor.

Home adjustments. Since most studies of adolescents' problems are made by people concerned with or interested in their educational program, problems related to the home are often not discovered or are neglected. These problems, however, are likely to be discovered in the psychological clinic. The characteristic listed as "parental troubles" ranks first among a list of symptoms manifested by boys and girls referred to the Educational Clinic of City College, New York.

These may take the extreme form of a sharp emotional rejection of the child by a parent or both parents. Or it may be manifested in the uneven administration of discipline as between the two parents or by the same parent at different times. At times the trouble lies in an over-protective attitude of a parent. . . . The feature that ties all these forms together is the difficulty experienced in establishing a sound relationship between child and parent or the two parents.[7]

The results of the *SRA Youth Inventory* survey show that among teen-agers strong feelings against their parents are voiced by only a minority of the students; although 10 to 20 per cent did indicate home and family problems. The three types of problems checked were (1) those indicating a lack of understanding between parents and adolescents, (2) those involving a limitation of their freedom, and (3) problems involving money or financial conditions. In harmony with other studies already referred to, problems connected with finance seemed more serious for the boys, whereas the other problems falling in this area were in general more serious for the girls.

Financial problems. It has already been suggested that financial problems appear in connection with the home problems of adolescents. In the *SRA Youth Inventory* survey, 12 per cent of the teen-agers complained that their allowance was too small; 11 per cent said that they

[7] H. H. Abelson, *Annual Report of the City College Educational Clinic Thirtieth Year, 1942–1943*, The School of Education, College of the City of New York, p. 13.

couldn't spend the money they earn without their parents' interfering. It has also been pointed out that certain school policies and practices may aggravate the financial problems among certain students.

Throughout the Stephens-Lee High School, financial problems loomed very large. Over 90 per cent of the students marked one or more items from this area, and 13 items were marked by 10 per cent or more of the student group. The items frequently checked, and the number of times checked, are as follows:

Wanting to earn some money	288
Learning how to spend money wisely	168
Having to ask parents for money	164
Learning how to save money	158
Having no regular allowance or regular income	108
Having no family car	97
Needing a job during vacation	94
Having less money than friends	85
Too few nice clothes	75
Living too far from school	74
Needing to find a part-time job	67
Too little money for school lunches	66
Getting money for education beyond high school	65

In our present social order it is impossible for young people to live a normal social life without some material expense, much greater than that of their parents in the days of their own adolescence. Parents often fail to realize this difference in economic standards, and admonish the adolescent boy or girl thus: "When I was your age, I didn't have any money to spend." This attitude may become an important source of home conflict. Means for providing for these material expenses may come from one or more of three sources: (1) parents, kinspeople, or friends, (2) employment, or (3) illegal or illegitimate sources.

Health adjustments. The lack of sensitiveness to the problems of health is found among many adolescents. This observation, no doubt, reflects in a large measure certain attitudes that have been fairly widespread in our social order. Boys seem to sense the necessity for practicing good health habits more than do girls—a fact that is, perhaps, closely related to their greater participation in physical activities and athletic contests. Girls manifest more concern over sex guidance than do boys, and pupils of the upper grades express this as a problem more frequently than do those of the first year of high school.

A survey of health problems of adolescents reported by Remmers and Shimberg showed that 50 per cent of adolescents were concerned over health or physical build problems related to the appropriate sex physique.[8]

[8] H. H. Remmers and B. Shimberg, *Examiner Manual for the SRA Youth Inventory.* Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949.

Special abilities. ADOLESCENTS ATTAIN SATISFACTIONS THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIAL ABILITIES. (*Courtesy Baltimore Bulletin of Education*)

The data, presented in Table 10–3, show that many adolescents are somewhat concerned about losing or gaining weight; however, only 25 per cent expressed a desire to learn to select food that would do them good. Frequent colds and frequent headaches were checked by 12 per cent of the adolescents. In the study by Mooney, referred to earlier in this chapter, problems checked by 10 per cent or more of the students were, in order: "weak eyes," "not as strong and healthy as I should be," "frequent headaches," "underweight," "poor teeth," "too short," "frequent sore throat," "tiring very easily," "poor complexion," "frequent colds," and "not getting enough exercise."

Vocational adjustments. Slightly less than one-fourth of the pupils in the study by Pope were concerned about their future vocations, although there was an increased concern about this among the students of the eleventh and twelfth grades. The problems listed comprising this area were, in order of frequency: selection of a vocation, vocational preference, preparation for a vocation, necessity for part-time employment, and admittance to a vocation.

The fact that 288 (48 per cent) of the high-school students of the Stephens-Lee High School want to earn some money of their own is proof that this is a pressing problem among adolescents. This view is further supported by the number checking the items "having to ask parents for money" and "having no regular allowance." Because of changed social

conditions, many problems involving money exist in the lives and activities of adolescents that were not present a generation or more ago, and this new factor must be given careful consideration in any program that is concerned with improving the adjustments of adolescents—a point that is very well illustrated in the case of a boy of the writer's acquaintance who was interviewed and asked to complete the check list. This boy,

Table 10–3

MAJOR HEALTH PROBLEMS CHECKED BY ADOLESCENTS

(*After Remmers and Shimberg*)

Problem	Per cent
Concern about losing or gaining weight	52
Want to learn how to select foods that will do me most good	25
Want to improve figure (girls) or improve posture and body build (boys)	50
Concerned about skin	33
Teeth need attention	16
Frequent headaches	12
Frequent colds	12

referred to as J. W., marked 38 problems, a large number of which are in the area of *Finances, Living Conditions, and Employment.* These are the problems marked within this area:

> Wanting to earn some money of my own
> Having to ask parents for money
> Having no car in the family
> Needing a job in vacations
> Having less money than friends have
> Having to watch every penny I spend
> Too little money for school lunches
> Getting money for education beyond high school
> Too little money for recreation
> May have to quit school to go to work
> Needing to find a part-time job now
> Too few nice clothes

Personal-social problems. Results from various inventories indicate that perhaps as many as 10 per cent of the students in the typical high school may have fairly serious personal difficulties. Although this represents a relatively small percentage, it is sufficiently serious to give those concerned with the guidance of adolescents a problem and a challenge. Some of the personal problems checked by teen-agers in the *SRA Youth Inventory* survey are: [9]

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[9] The materials here quoted from the survey are taken from the *Examiner Manual for the SRA Youth Inventory,* Form A, 1949, p. 3.

35% say they worry about "little things."
35% can't help daydreaming.
29% must always be "on the go."
27% report that they are nervous.
26% have guilt feelings about things they have done.
25% are ill at ease at social affairs.
24% of the students report "I want to discuss my
   personal problems with someone."

A problem frequently encountered by those dealing with adolescents who are socially maladjusted is that of lack of friends. The results of a questionnaire administered to boys in 20 high schools showed that 30 per cent of the boys reported that at least on occasion they experienced difficulty in making friends and getting along with others; in the case of 7 per cent the adjustment was of a serious nature.[10] More students, in their daydreams, long for someone to be friendly to them than wish for riches or fame. Some of the most urgent problems reported in the *SRA Youth Inventory* survey in this area are suggested by the following:

54% say they want people to like them more.
50% want to make new friends.
42% wish they were more popular.

Table 10–4 gives problems found by Mooney among a significant number of high school pupils. It is apparent from these data that high-

Table 10–4

ITEMS FROM THE PERSONAL, SOCIAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS
AREAS CHECKED BY TEN PER CENT OR MORE OF THE
HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS (*After Mooney*)

Problems	Number Marking
Personal Psychological Relations:	
Forgetting things	176
Not taking some things seriously enough	174
Losing my temper	143
Afraid of making mistakes	132
Taking some things too seriously	131
Nervousness	104
Worrying	85
Sometimes wishing I had never been born	83
Cannot make up my mind about things	79
Daydreaming	73

[10] U. H. Fleege, *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1944, p. 172.

Table 10–4 (*Continued*)

Problems	Number Marking
Social and Recreational Activities:	
So often not allowed to go out at night	139
Taking care of clothes and other belongings	107
Wanting to learn how to dance	87
Wanting to learn how to entertain	80
Too little social life	68
Too little chance to go to shows	65
Too little chance to do what I want to do	65
In too few school activities	64
Courtship, Sex, and Marriage:	
Wondering if I'll ever find a suitable mate	104
Wondering if I'll ever get married	72
Not being allowed to have dates	70
Girl friend	69
Deciding whether I'm in love	68
Social-Psychological Relations:	
Wanting a more pleasing personality	113
Being disliked by certain persons	97
Disliking certain persons	84
Feelings too easily hurt	80
Lacking leadership ability	61
Morals and Religion:	
Can't forget some mistakes I've made	148
Wondering what becomes of people when they die	103
Being punished for something I didn't do	96
Trying to break off a bad habit	84
The Future: Vocational and Educational:	
Wondering what I'll be like ten years from now	312
Wondering if I'll be a success in life	192
Deciding whether or not to go to college	140
Wanting advice on what to do after high school	138
Choosing best courses to prepare for college	114
Not knowing what I really want	108
Needing information about occupations	76
Needing to know my vocational abilities	66
Choosing best courses to prepare for a job	66
Needing to plan ahead for the future	62

school students are concerned over their future, and especially has this been found to be the case of senior-high-school boys and girls.

Heterosexuality. Many problems connected with boy-girl relationships appear with the onset of adolescence. These are discussed quite fully in a subsequent chapter. During the early period of adolescence, problems pertaining to teasing, bashfulness, and wanting to ask a girl for a date, or to the unwillingness of parents to let the individual date loom large. The problems of "how to go about dating," and "knowing when I'm in love" were checked by a fairly large percentage of the ninth- and tenth-grade pupils in a Connecticut study.[11] A 14-year-old boy in the ninth grade made the following notation:

Girls are a problem of mine. I like a girl and I don't know whether or not she likes me or another boy, a friend of mine.

I would like to have a date with this girl but my mother won't let me.

At a later stage, problems related to "going steady," "wondering if I'll ever get married," and "not enough dates" are very prevalent. Among college girls, the writer found "wondering if I'll ever get married" checked more than any other problem of the Mooney problem check list, a finding in harmony with the results of the study by Mooney of senior-high-school students in Asheville. The *SRA Youth Inventory* survey revealed some of the problems and confusions that beset teen-agers. A number of these problems involved boy-girl relationships. A few of the dating problems listed by these young people are as follows: [12]

<div align="center">BOYS</div>

48% seldom have dates.
41% don't have a girl friend.
34% are bashful about asking girls for dates.
26% don't know how to ask for a date.
25% don't know how to keep girls interested in them.
23% wonder whether anything is wrong with going places "stag."

<div align="center">GIRLS</div>

39% seldom have dates.
30% don't have a boy friend.
23% feel they are not popular with boys.
33% don't know how to keep boys interested in them.
36% would like to know how to refuse a date politely.
29% wonder whether it is all right to accept "blind dates."
22% don't know how to break up an affair without causing bad feelings.
20% wonder whether they should kiss their dates the first time they go out together.

[11] Unpublished materials on file with the writer.
[12] *Examiner Manual for the SRA Youth Inventory, Form A,* 1949, p. 4.

As youngsters grow older, these problems tend to diminish in impor-
tance, while other problems related to dating, courtship, and marriage
take on an added significance. One-fourth of the students studied
wanted to know what causes so much marital trouble. Looking ahead to
the likelihood of marriage, about one-fourth wanted to know what things
should be considered in selecting a mate, and how to prepare for mar-
riage and family life.

A philosophy of life. Growth through adolescence is accompanied by
wider social contacts, increased mental ability and understanding, and a
changed physiological self. Thus, morals, religion, social problems, eco-
nomic problems, and the future come to be thought of in a different light
from that in which they were earlier viewed. The extent to which the
individual's attitudes and behavior are controlled by ideals rather than
impulses becomes a good basis for evaluating his maturity. The impor-
tance of attaining a satisfactory philosophy of life will be emphasized
further in Chapters 11 and 18. It should be pointed out here, however,
that such an attainment follows the developmental growth process, as
do other aspects of growth and development. A satisfactory solution to
problems in this area that arise during adolescence should have its begin-
ning during early childhood.

SOURCES OF ADOLESCENT
FRUSTRATION

The possibilities of frustration increase with maturity and expansion of
the needs and wants of the individual. The major developmental tasks
of adolescents were presented in Chapter 1. A variety of adjustment
problems and conflicts appear among adolescents in connection with
these developmental tasks. It has been suggested by Laycock that all
children must find outlets for their needs through one or more of the
following areas of human activity: (1) Relationships, (2) work, (3)
recreation, (4) community service, (5) misbehavior, or delinquency, and
(6) neurotic traits and illness.[13] Any condition that offers a threat to
the satisfaction of one's needs is a possible source of frustration. The
operation of some of the major sources of frustration among adolescents
will be described in greater detail at a later point in this chapter.

Deutsche has emphasized the importance of the biological development
during adolescence and the associated psychological component of the
increased drive toward independence.[14] The immature child accepts the
fact that his parents will protect him from dangers and will provide for

[13] S. R. Laycock, "Towards Mental Health for Exceptional Children," *Journal of
Exceptional Children*, 1950, Vol. 16, pp. 136–138, 151.
[14] H. Deutsche, *The Psychology of Women*, Vol. 1. New York: Grune and Strat-
ton, 1944.

his physical needs. This has been true for him since birth. The adolescent feels the urge to explore and to make use of the urges and drives that have appeared or become intensified as part of his biological structure. He is, furthermore, encouraged in this by institutional forces which furnish opportunities for him to express these urges in a socialized manner.

Such explorations plunge the adolescent into a world outside the domain and protection of the parents. He is now on his own without the constant guides and reinforcements from his parents. Concerning this Josselyn has stated:

By his urge toward independence, the adolescent exposes himself to new and conflicting situations that are beyond the sphere of his adaptive resources, while at the same time he must reject formerly acceptable parental aid in meeting even the usual experience. As a result he is periodically threatened by failure with a resultant loss of confidence in himself.[15]

Cultural demands. It was pointed out in Chapter 1 that the American culture places social demands upon adolescents that are often perplexing and a source of difficulty. This may be noted in connection with the sex code which operates differently for the sexes, although the so-called double standard does not apply today in the same manner that it applied several generations ago. The societal code requires that the girl take on a feminine sex role and at the same time places restrictions upon her that sometimes make it difficult for her to do so. This tends to make the inner acceptance of the sex role a frustrating and complex one for the adolescent girl.

Our culture allows boys to express their emotionality to a greater degree than girls, except for the act of crying.[16] Crying on the part of the adolescent boy is looked upon as an indication of weakness. The code demands greater conformity from girls, so they must express their emotions in conformance with fairly clearly defined mores. This is observed in the attitude of parents toward their "sassy" 11-year-old son, whom they regard as "all boy." However, the "sassy" 11-year-old girl is regarded as "a spoiled child." As a result, girls attack the problems of growing up in a more thoughtful and careful manner, and rely to a greater degree upon expediency. It has been suggested that girls grow up more by evolution, whereas boys do it by revolution.

The effects of the home. The social adjustments of children living in a tenement area were studied by Boder and Beach.[17] The object of their

[15] I. Josselyn, "The Ego in Adolescence," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1954, Vol. 24, p. 228.

[16] A. Schoeppe, "Sex Differences in Adolescent Socialization," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1953, Vol. 38, pp. 175–185.

[17] D. B. Boder and E. V. Beach, "Wants of Adolescents: I. A Preliminary Study," *Journal of Psychology*, 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 505–511.

study was to learn to what extent children on a given street in a large city varied in social adjustment, and to trace some of the factors that may have led to differences among them. By selection of one small street with fairly uniform housing conditions, certain of the most undesirable social and economic factors were held constant; and since all the children of the neighborhood were included in the study, some of the difficulties in attributing causal significance to certain factors were avoided. The outstanding conclusions that emerge from this consideration of some of the factors that might account for the variation in social adjustment displayed by the children living on the same street are the predominating influence of parental attitudes toward the children and the general relation between what are usually considered good parental attitudes and adequate social adjustment on the part of the children. The various types of maladjustment in parental attitudes appeared to produce rather specific types of reactions in the children. Most of the families in which the children were shy, retiring, or generally socially inadequate had mothers that were—by one means or another—in complete control of the household. Some of them achieved dominance by psychosis or neurosis, others by native ability or by providing the family with economic support. For the most part they overprotected their children, either through excessive solicitude or by undue control of their activities. The fathers were either easy-going, quiet, submissive men or were no longer living at home. On the other hand, the children who were unsupervised and neglected through the mother's laxness or were subjected to the father's violent temper escaped the tense, quarrelsome atmosphere of their homes and became the mischief-makers of the neighborhood.

A large percentage of children come from underprivileged home conditions—home conditions with substandard living conditions. That such conditions are not conducive to favorable development and learning is borne out by the large percentage of such children found among the educationally retarded, school dropouts, truants, and delinquents. Case studies of children having educational difficulties reveal that home conditions are important factors contributing to such difficulties. The anxieties built up in the home, at the club, or in some community activity become a source of frustration when such anxieties are beyond the scope of likely or possible fulfillment. Often the child from the upper-lower-class group has built up ambitions relative to education and to the future which are practically impossible of attainment. Sometimes a boy or girl from the middle-class group may have only average ability, but because of the expectations of the family and friends he may have developed an anxiety to reach a level equal to that attained by an older and more capable brother or sister. Any difficulty that interferes with the attainment of one's aspirations is a potential source of personal maladjustments.

Another source of frustration among adolescents is that of achieving

emotional independence from the home and family ties. This problem is often made difficult by the failure of parents to realize that boys and girls grow up. The results of parental domination may be observed in the case of a 13-year-old boy described by Mohr.

The parents of a boy aged 13 complained of his lack of responsibility. He was argumentative, would accept nothing readily from his parents. He argued constantly with his younger brother and with his friends. He was impatient unless his friends would do just what he wanted to do. He did rather poorly in his school work, did not concentrate, "fiddled around." He was rather slender and did poorly in athletics. He whined, acted silly when the mother had company, so that she was ashamed of him and sent him from the room; seemed generally unhappy; spent a great deal of time reading; was unpleasant about family outings; did not even like to accept when the father invited him to go to a motion picture with the father and the younger brother; always felt abused and identified with the underdog.

The picture as seen from the boy's point of view is interesting. Though 13, he had never been allowed to come into town by himself and was accompanied to the office by the mother until she was sure he had learned the way. The boy complained that there was too much arguing with the mother and when he got irritated with her the father chimed in on her side. His father offered to take him to motion pictures and insisted even when there was no picture which the boy cared to go to. He finally went because his father would be angry or the father's feelings would be hurt. His mother insisted that he come in to greet her friends when she had visitors, but she watched him all the time to see how he behaved and he knew that she did not want him to stay. When he decided he would like to have a party, the mother first insisted that he have all the children in his room and it took him two days to convince her that would be too many. Then the mother wanted certain children of her own friends invited, but he knew that they would not have a good time because they went to different schools and "the kids do not know them." Finally he got it down to just one girl that mother insisted on, though he knew that the others would not want her and he did not think that she would have a good time.[18]

Class culture. The conflict of social-class culture has come to be recognized as an important source of frustration and personality difficulties among adolescents. The social class of a child's family determines not only the neighborhood in which he lives and the neighborhood group with which he plays, but also the goals, aspirations, and social skills of the child and adolescent. Although there are frustrations among individuals from all economic groups, the frustrations of adolescents from homes of poverty have greater social significance, since they lead to aggressive acts, which in turn lead to the courts. Stealing and immorality are outlets often resorted to by adolescents from the lower economic groups in their efforts to adjust to frustrations; more socially acceptable

outlets are usually found by those in better circumstances. A study by Heinz was concerned with class status and adjustment problems of junior-high-school pupils.[19] He found that class status was most important in connection with pupil adjustment in the areas of curriculum, relations with school administration, and the social life of girls. It is at this time that "isolates" among girls appear in large numbers.

School adjustments. All too often the program of instruction in high
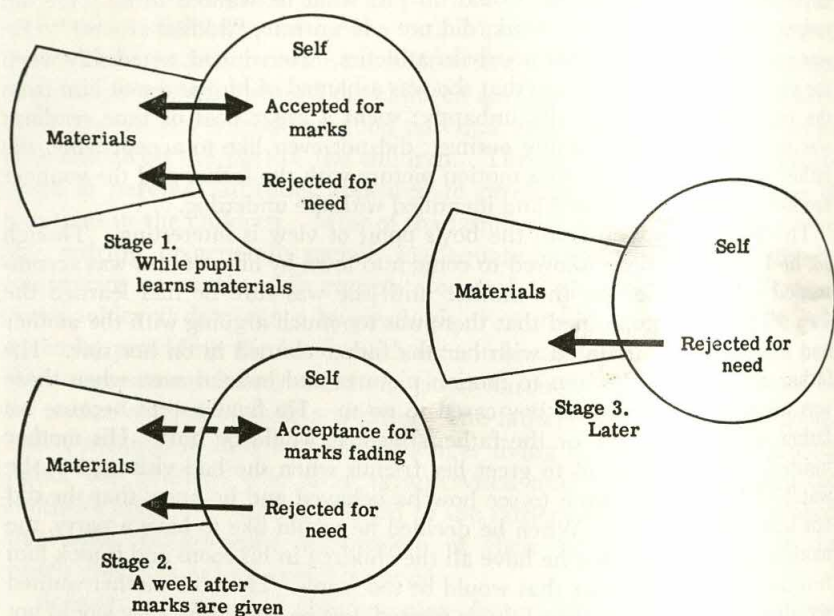
Figure 10-2. SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM SHOWING HOW YOUTH MAY ACCEPT LEARNING FOR IMMEDIATE SELF-ENHANCEMENT, BUT NOT FOR THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL LONG-TERM SELF-ENHANCEMENT.

school fails to provide for the need for achievement and self-enhancement of the individual pupil. The worst aspect of such a situation occurs when the student is forced to take certain courses distasteful to him in order to receive a passing mark and thus credit toward graduation. A common situation in school is to offer marks as an immediate goal with little consideration for the materials in terms of the pupil's needs or a long-time goal. Such a situation is shown in Figure 10-2.[20]

Materials from the California Adolescent Growth Studies, presented in Chapter 7 show that a large percentage of preadolescents, adolescents,

[19] E. Heinz, "Adjustment Problems of Class Status," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 1949, Vol. 30, pp. 290-293.

[20] D. Segel, *Frustration in Adolescent Youth.* Federal Security Agency, Bulletin No. 1, 1951.

and postadolescents dislike elements in the school situation that indicate unfair practices on the part of the teachers and snobbishness as well as overly aggressive and dominating attitudes and practices on the part of their classmates. Some features of the curriculum and school program disliked by a large percentage of boys and girls in the California study are listed in Table 10–5.[21]

Using the results of a questionnaire prepared by Elias, Montague studied the responses of different social-status groups to items bearing on adjustments in school.[22] Responses were obtained from over 4,400 high-school seniors, which was approximately one-third of the high-school

Table 10–5

ASPECTS OF THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM AND PROGRAM DISLIKED BY ADOLESCENTS

Aspect	H5L6		H8L9		H11L12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
There is too much homework ...	18	4	45	29	45	36
Assignments are too long	32	18	51	32	42	39
Many of the subjects are dull and uninteresting	55	32	63	56	63	53
No chance to pick out the subjects that one likes	48	25	44	25	20	6
Having to take subjects that one dislikes	63	31	61	57	48	42
School work is too monotonous..	28	10	46	28	28	21
Having to take subjects which will be of no use to one when grown up	52	28	68	60	55	53

seniors of the State of Washington. The results of the study are presented in Table 10–6. Statistically significant differences were noted in the responses to items indicating dissatisfaction with school. The lower social-status group, representing no doubt a small percentage of the boys and girls from the lower social-status group of the communities represented, showed greatest dissatisfaction with the school. The problems related to motivating adolescent boys and girls in such a way that school activities become more realistic in nature and present a challenge to them must be satisfactorily met if maladjustments and juvenile delinquency are to be reduced.

[21] C. M. Tryon, *U. C. Inventory I: Social and Emotional Adjustment.* Revised form for presentation of cumulative record of individual and group norms for a seven-year period. Berkeley: University of California, 1939.

[22] J. B. Montague, "Social Status and Adjustment in School," *Clearing House,* 1952, Vol. 27, pp. 19–24.

Satisfactory school achievement does not always indicate good personal and social adjustment. The results of one study indicated that the achievements of a boy and girl compensator may form similar patterns but tend to stem from different sources.[23] The source of the girl's compensation may lie in failure to achieve her sex role in relation to the group, while physical development (immaturity, lack of skill or strength) is often the source of the boy's compensation.

Table 10–6

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO SELECTED ITEMS ON THE CHECK LIST
BY SOCIAL-STATUS GROUPS (*After Montague*)

Selected Statements from the Problem Check List	Upper Social Status Per Cent	Middle Social Status Per Cent	Lower Social Status Per Cent
Dissatisfaction with school:			
1. School not interesting	5.0	7.0	12.5
2. Studies too hard	1.9	1.3	6.2
3. Don't like my courses	3.7	4.1	9.8
Difficulties in interpersonal relation in school situations:			
4. Not being popular	9.0	9.4	16.1
5. Being left out of things	13.5	11.0	21.4
6. Too few social contacts	13.2	9.1	25.0
7. Too many social activities	8.9	4.5	1.8
8. How to make friends	10.8	13.9	15.9
Difficulties in self-expression in school situations:			
9. Unable to express myself well	18.5	23.8	40.2
10. Don't like to recite	14.0	17.7	19.6
11. Having to recite before class	14.0	18.2	19.6
Self criticism:			
12. Can't seem to concentrate	26.5	27.2	35.7
13. Not enough time to study	15.0	12.5	21.4
14. Afraid I'm not passing	3.1	3.8	8.0

Mental retardation and adjustment. It has already been suggested that the child unable to do satisfactory school work is a potential problem case. This is to be expected in an environment that places a premium on

[23] A. Schoeppe and R. J. Havighurst, "A Validation of Development and Adjustment Hypotheses of Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1952, Vol. 43, pp. 339–353.

scholastic aptitude or intelligence. In a study of social acceptance of mentally retarded pupils, 561 boys and 605 girls from grades 5, 6, 7, and 8 were used as subjects.[24] Two questions were directed toward determining the degree of acceptance and isolation and two were directed toward indicating the degree of rejection. By weighing the points received on the two acceptance questions a social acceptance score was obtained for each pupil. Likewise, a rejection score was obtained by combining the weighing of the two rejection questions.

The total acceptance scores made by pupils at the different intelligence levels are presented in Table 10–7. The results show a constant decline

Table 10–7

TOTAL ACCEPTANCE SCORES MADE BY PUPILS AT THE VARIOUS
INTELLIGENCE LEVELS (*After Martin*)

Intelligence Levels	N	Per cent	Mean
110 and above	49	17	.9
100–109	48	16	.6
90–99	33	12	.4
80–89	13	5	—.4
70–79	85	29	—1.1
60–69	56	19	—1.3
50–59	6	2	—1.6

in acceptance score with a decline in intelligence, indicating that intelligence is important for the social acceptance of children in regular classes. The results presented in Table 10–8 show that intelligence is important for the child's acceptance, even when socio-economic status is controlled. Needless to say one should not generalize too widely from these results, since different prestige factors are likely to operate in different groups or situations. Among some adolescent groups, skill in sports, dramatics, music, or some other special ability may be extremely important for social acceptance, whereas among other groups they may be less important.

Academic failure is a source of frustration for many students in high school. In this connection, the kinds of reports carried home are important. This may be observed in the case of a seventh-grade student, known as Anne, who came to the writer's attention.

Anne's report card, which she carried home, was what has generally been termed quite poor. The father was very much irritated over the poor show-

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[24] Sister M. A. Martin, "Social Acceptance and Attitude toward School of Mentally Retarded Pupils in Regular Classes," Ed. D. Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1953.

Table 10–8

TOTAL ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION SCORES MADE BY PUPILS IN THE
RETARDED AND CONTROL GROUPS IN THE LOWER, MIDDLE, AND
UPPER SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS (*After Martin*)

Level	Group	N	Mean Acceptance	Mean Rejection
Lower	Retarded	86	1.1	1.5
	Control	86	.6	—.5
Middle	Retarded	26	—1.5	1.9
	Control	26	.5	—.3
Upper	Retarded	33	—1.1	1.4
	Control	33	.4	—.3

ing in mathematics and social studies, and made some strong threats. Certain week-end privileges were taken from the girl, and she was required to spend more time with her studies. The girl seemed to withdraw from her classmates and indulged in considerable daydreaming. Little improvement was noted in her grades, and the father became all the more concerned and proceeded to visit the school principal about the matter, as he had earlier threatened to do. The principal looked up her record on the cumulative records and noted that she had never made good grades. He also observed that on one intelligence test she made a score which gave her an IQ of 86 while on a later test her IQ was listed as 82. The principal reminded her father that the girl's past work was not superior, and that he was perhaps expecting too much from her. The mother appeared to sense the problem better than the father, and brought the case to the attention of a psychologist. The below-normal intelligence was verified from administering the *Stanford Revision of the Binet Tests* to the girl. Tests of reading ability revealed a low comprehension score. The mother was told that the girl was definitely not of the academic type and should not be expected to make good and superior grades in school. A second visit to the psychologist by the mother, accompanied by the father, cleared up some points of confusion created from the traditional report card sent to the parents.[25]

Adolescent problems involving religion. In some cases adolescents develop a peculiar state of hyperconscientiousness. Conscience, instead of being a friendly adviser, turns into an inquisitive persecutor and seems to devote itself to the task of producing an increasing sense of guilt, aggravated by serious doubts. One of the phases of the study by Kuhlen and Arnold dealt with problems involving religion.[26] Each student was asked

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[25] K. C. Garrison, *Growth and Development* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 424.

[26] R. G. Kuhlen and M. Arnold, "Age Differences in Religious Beliefs and Prob-

to respond to 18 problems by encircling an *N*, an *S*, or an *O*, depending upon whether the particular problem *never* bothered him, *sometimes* troubled him, or *often* troubled him. The results for the three age groups are presented in Table 10–9. There were no differences in the average number of problems checked by the three groups. Thus, these findings do not substantiate the hypothesis commonly presented that adolescence is an age with increased religious problems. However, certain age trends were noted with respect to specific problems. A study of the mean problem scores for the Catholic groups showed that Catholic boys and girls had lower scores in both "wonders" and problems than did non-Catholics.

Certain age trends may be observed from a further study of Table 10–9. More than 50 per cent of the 18-year-old group indicated that the following problems troubled them often or sometimes: dislike church service, failing to go to church, getting help on religious problems, wanting communion with God, wanting to know the meaning of religion, Heaven and Hell, sin, conflicts of science and religion, and wondering what becomes of people when they die. A rather significant change was found for those problems that are indicated by an asterisk. The most pronounced change with age was in response to the problem of disliking church services. Youth is naturally skeptical, and sometimes its doubts become very disturbing. The apparent conflict between science and religion may serve as a storm center around which this turmoil rages. In some cases the inner disturbance follows a spectacular conversion which, the youth finds, has failed to solve all his psychic, social, and religious difficulties; in other cases this confusion is produced by the conflict between sexual urges and high spiritual ideals.

The introverted youth naturally tends toward introspection, and introspection plus overmuch religious thinking often leads to psychic depression or even to melancholy, a condition that demands the closest attention of parents, teachers, and psychiatrists. Adolescent melancholy should never be neglected on the assumption that this condition will readjust itself; it often does, but its inherent threat is too great to be taken lightly.

When adolescents become introspective in a religious sense, they should be encouraged immediately to seek help from a religious adviser. Of all the forms of spying on one's self, that of a religious nature is the most dangerous. Introspection can lead a young man to imagine not only that he has some grave physical disease, but also that he is one of the most wretched sinners on the face of the earth. A youth in this dilemma should be put on a proper program of physical hygiene and mental medicine, with suitable guidance in the acquisition of ideals and a more harmonious philosophy of life.

Furthermore, the church has an important function in connection with

Table 10–9

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH PARTICULAR RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS EXIST AT
VARIOUS AGES THROUGH ADOLESCENCE AS SHOWN BY PERCENTAGE
OF DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS WHO CHECKED EACH PROBLEM
AS SOMETIMES OR OFTEN PRESENT
(After Kuhlen and Arnold)

	Problem age		
	12	15	18
Having a different religion from other people	34	25	27
Disliking church service	35	47	60*
Being forced to go to church	30	31	27
Disliking parents' religion	11	8	12
Failing to go to church	67	67	67
Changing my idea of God	27	32	31
Losing faith in religion	37	44	35
Doubting prayer will bring good	37	44	35
Getting help on religious problems	53	54	56
Choosing a religion	21	20	15
Parents objecting to church membership	23	14	11*
Wanting to know the meaning of religion	53	48	60
Wanting communion with God	59	47	57
Heaven and Hell	53	53	66*
Sin	71	62	72
Conflicts of science and religion	42	50	57*
Being teased about my religious feelings	26	22	18
Wondering what becomes of people when they die	67	56	80*
Number of cases	174	243	130

the sex life and function of adolescents. There has been a gross misinterpretation of the sex drive by many who are probably well-intentioned religious enthusiasts. The sex drive has been looked upon as sinful and a reason for shame, so that many individuals have considered themselves possessed by evil spirits or by unwholesome ideas when the drive appeared. Margaret Mead's studies of the Samoans, a group somewhere between primitive culture and the culture of our present Western civilization, show that when this drive is dealt with more frankly and with less hypocrisy, there are fewer conflicts, and also that adolescents do not have to pass through the trying time of life referred to as the "storm and stress" period. If a storm appears, it is because they have not been prepared for a natural manifestation of the sex drive. There is evidence that the youth of today is facing this in a much franker manner than ever before in our civilization. Some of these thoughts as they relate to the problems of adult love,

courtship, and marriage will be discussed in the last chapter of this study of adolescents.

REACTION TO THWARTING
OR FRUSTRATION

When an individual is faced with a barrier to the attainment of a goal, we say that he is thwarted. A mental or overt adjustment then becomes necessary. The thwarted individual either (1) continues to try to reach the goal, (2) compromises the goal, (3) distorts the original goal, or (4) withdraws entirely from the goal. These reactions take various forms, with different names being given to these response patterns. A brief description of these ways of reacting to thwarting will be presented in the following discussions.

Continued activity to reach the goal. The goal of the adolescent boy may be that of making the baseball team. If, when he fails to make the team during his first year in high school, he continues in his effort, we say that he has not faltered from his goal. The adolescent girl who continues her effort to secure the approval of some boy at school may continue by writing notes to him expressing her admiration for him. This would be another illustration of continued effort through a repetition of the original response. Needless to say, for both the adolescent boy and the adolescent girl, there will be certain variations in the responses. These variations may lead to success on some subsequent trial. We admire the boy or girl who has perseverance, although we would be critical of the adolescent who continues to make an ineffective response to a situation. Fixation that does not allow for variations or careful study and interpretation of the situation is certainly not a desirable characteristic. What are factors that make for fixity or fluidity of behavior? Two factors noted by Robinson are:[27]

1. The amount of time spent in trying to solve a problem will vary directly with the degree of the individual's assurance that he will ultimately succeed.

2. The amount of time spent in a given activity is inversely related to the number of alternative promising activities which the individual knows are open to him.

Other conditions that affect the rigidity or flexibility of behavior, when thwarted, are:

3. How important the goal is to the person. The amount of time spent will be in direct proportion to the importance the individual attaches to the goal.

[27] E. E. Robinson, "An Experimental Investigation of Two Factors which Produce Stereotyped Behavior in Problem Situations," *Journal of Experimental Psychology,* 1940, Vol. 27, pp. 394–410.

4. The amount of time spent on an activity will vary in direct proportion to the ability of the individual to find other possible responses.

5. The amount of time spent in an effort to solve a problem will be in direct proportion to the extent to which the individual feels that he must continue his efforts or else he will "lose face," either with himself or with others.

A second form of continued activity is that of altering the response. If the adolescent girl finds her continued effort to win the approval of a certain boy by writing notes fails, she may resort to some other form of behavior—for example, indifference. This is an indication that the girl has lost faith, as a result of failure, in the first method. It is not likely that she will continue this altered response, in case it fails, as long as she did the first response, since she has already begun to lose confidence in her ability to finally reach the goal. Random responses usually appear when the individual lacks insight into the situation. If the problem is not understood, or if the adolescent feels incompetent, trial-and-error behavior is likely to result.

Setting forth a substitute goal. If the adolescent boy is unable to make the baseball team he may decide to quit his efforts and strive to achieve success as a scout or in some special activity at school, other than baseball. This process of substituting another goal for the one that is blocked is sometimes referred to as *compensation*. It occurs in connection with goals that are trivial in nature as well as those of major consequence. However, it should be emphasized that the importance of a goal must be judged in terms of its relation to the person pursuing it.

Compensation may be carried on consciously and appear as a direct attack on the problem of attaining satisfaction through a substitute goal. In this case the basic need has not changed, but is satisfied through another activity. Sublimation is a substituted form of behavior, which may be classified as a form of compensation. This involves those reactions, performed perhaps unconsciously or with no particular plan about the matter, by which the individual takes advantage of opportunities about him for satisfying a need or want. The individual's desire for adventure may lead to the development of a theme on some adventurous trip, or to an interest in certain types of literature. The possibilities for sublimation will depend, largely, upon the opportunities offered by the adolescent's environment and by his experiences in meeting difficult situations. The weakness of this as a behavior mechanism stems, mainly, from the fact that it is seldom based upon insight but depends upon the nature of the environmental stimulation and adolescent's past experiences in meeting frustrations.

There are certain distinct advantages in substituting one goal for another, when such a substitution is based upon adequate information and sound principles. For the adolescent girl who is unable to make grades

essential for entrance into teaching, a substitute goal may be the only possible constructive reaction. Thus, substitution may take the form of a compromise with the original goal. The substitute behavior of the adolescent girl may be that of assisting in recreational programs for children, or even in household work, where her main task is that of looking after one or more children. Sometimes the substitute or compromise takes the form of *identification*. In this case the individual's aspirations and concepts of self are in some manner identified with certain people or institutions. The adolescent boy may not be able to make the baseball team but speaks freely of "our team," and how "we" are going to win a conference championship or title. The girl, through her clothes, may be able to identify herself with certain individuals or groups that she admires. Through this identification the ideal self is at least in part realized.

One type of substitution or compromise involves the abandonment of the satisfaction of one basic need for another. An example is the case of the adolescent girl who, unable to satisfy the desire for the approval of boys, turns to books or music in order to satisfy a desire for achievement. Such a substitution leads to a poorly balanced personality, since certain developmental tasks are accomplished while others are not. It is in connection with such problems that adolescents need guidance and help. The adolescent who continues to make substitutions by retreating to a few areas may develop self-confidence in those areas but may be seriously lacking in others.

Falsifying the goal. The most common method used to falsify the goal is *rationalization*. This may be noted in the explanation frequently used by adolescents for their failure to make good grades. In place of admitting an unwillingness to give an adequate amount of time to their studies or to some other condition responsible for low grades, the student may rationalize by saying that he wants to be an "all-round guy," not a bookworm. The boy who is unsuccessful in making the baseball team may rationalize by saying that he doesn't want to be an athlete anyway, since most athletes are "dumb." This represents a sort of *sour-grapes mechanism*. Rationalization serves as a self-justification device, and is perhaps designed to preserve the ego.

A common form of rationalization is that observed in the case of the girl who failed to be elected "May Queen." She may say, as her reason for this failure, that her father is just a clerk and she doesn't have the "pull" that the elected girl has. This placement of the blame on someone else or on some condition in one's environment is known as *projection*. The home and school should discourage projection, since its effects are, in general, undesirable and do not lead to the actual solution of the problem encountered. This may be noted in the case of the adolescent or adult who blames his troubles on others, who believes that various groups

are constantly opposed to him, who is suspicious of the actions and motives of others, and who fails to recognize his own limitations.

Evasion or withdrawal. Through evasion the individual shields himself from having to face a difficulty or from the unpleasantness associated with frustrations and conflicts. *Suppression*, a form of forgetting, is one of the convenient means of evasion. By this procedure the individual protects himself from the thoughts of an unpleasant experience associated with the thwarting of some need or want. This is ordinarily done in an unconscious manner and becomes habitual through use. The high-school student easily forgets to prepare an unpleasant assignment. There is evidence from many sources that unpleasant experiences are forgotten to a greater degree than pleasant ones.

The high-school girl may desperately desire a date, but turn down a boy's request to take her to a dance since she fears that she will not be able to dance well or will not be popular at the dance. To her, it is better to not have the date than to face the issue and perhaps fail. Our culture places much emphasis upon persistence, competition, and success. Thus, failure is a serious problem for the adolescent boy or girl. Social pressures often drive the boy or girl to continue efforts to overcome obstacles, when they should be guided to withdraw and pursue activities more realistic in nature and more in harmony with their potentialities and characteristics. However, withdrawal alone, without guidance in finding a substitute, is not the answer.

One form of evasion frequently found among preadolescents and adolescents is *daydreaming*. Many boys and girls, unsuccessful at school or in their social life, find refuge in a "dream world"—a world of fantasy. Lewin describes personalities as varying along a dimension of reality-irreality.[28] The distinction between fact and fantasy is not always clear to the small child. With increased mental maturity and education the child and the preadolescent become better able to distinguish fact from fantasy; however, he may on many occasions find his dream world more pleasant than the real world. Through fantasy he is able to shape the world and the happenings according to his own liking. Also, it is relatively easy to attain the ideal self in a world of fantasy. Mary's need for social acceptance, which has been seriously aggravated by the bad manners she has developed, may lead her into a world of fantasy whereby she finds herself very popular with her peers or the winner in some contest.

Sulkiness or "pouting" of some children is an example of the escape mechanism practiced during the early years. These are sometimes continued into and beyond the adolescent years. One of the prime dangers involved in the development of such methods of responding to thwartings is that this may become the habitual mode of reacting to frustrations. Such methods are socially undesirable and usually ineffective in meeting

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[28] K. Lewin, *Field Theory in Social Science*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950.

and solving problems on the plane of reality. *Repression* is a form of escape in which the individual withdraws from the frustration as it exists and seeks to satisfy his needs in a more childlike manner. The crying of the adolescent girl and the childish mischief or "show-off" behavior of the boy may be thought of as examples of the use of repression. The refusal of parents to let their children grow up, through overprotection given them during adolescence, is a most important factor contributing to the development of this form of behavior.

The rational approach. One of the fundamental mental hygiene principles, presented in Chapter 11, is the willingness and ability of the individual to face reality, and to be honest with the self. If one is to meet a frustrating situation successfully he must recognize it as a problem that calls for a rational rather than an emotional approach. There are times when the individual may find that withdrawal is the best procedure to follow. The student of music may find that he is seriously limited by lack of talent. Thus, he is faced with compromise or withdrawal. The decision he makes will depend upon such factors as: (1) strength of the motive or goal in music, (2) strength of other goals or motives, (3) financial and other circumstances relating to various goals, and (4) the methods which have been successfully used in the past in meeting such problems. The adolescent should be guided in *facing reality* and in accepting conditions as they are rather than as he would like them to be. This does not mean that he should abandon a goal as soon as some frustrating condition appears. On the contrary, the situation should be carefully appraised and a decision made upon the basis of a rational understanding of the self in relation to the problem.

The rational approach will demand that the individual know himself and know the situation with which he is confronted. Aggressiveness directed toward overcoming a difficulty when there is a good likelihood of success should be encouraged; displaced aggressiveness based upon emotions should be discouraged. It is the function of education to help individuals solve their problems through the use of problem-solving techniques. This means that infantile outbursts, intellectual evasions, aggression against others, and continuous daydreaming should be replaced with understandings, problem-solving techniques, self-restraint, self-evaluation, and a willingness to face reality in dealing with difficult situations. Further materials bearing on this will be presented in Chapters 11 and 17.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The increased complexity of our social order has brought about a greater demand for guidance and training, if growing boys and girls are to be able to meet satisfactorily the conditions they will face tomorrow. However, *growing up* itself is accompanied by many problems. These

relate to various aspects of the adolescent's life and are very real and significant to the individual boy or girl concerned, although they may appear trivial to the mature adult. A number of students of adolescent behavior have concerned themselves with the problems of adolescents. Studies show that home and school problems loom large in the lives of growing boys and girls. The consequences of these problems are important in connection with adequate personal and social adjustments of adolescents.

The nature of adolescent problems varies with social and living conditions. Problems among preadolescents will be related, in a large degree, to their personal needs, whereas those of older boys and girls are more often connected with social needs. The possibilities of frustration increase with maturity and the expansion of the needs and wants of adolescents. The major sources of frustration listed in this chapter are cultural demands, the home situation, the social-class status, and the school. These sources do not operate separately. It is the combined influence of these and other forces in the adolescent's environment that operate to produce a well-adjusted or poorly-adjusted personality. Throughout this study of the adolescent it has been emphasized that personality is a result of the interaction of hereditary factors and potentialities and many environmental forces.

This chapter has emphasized the importance of successful social adjustment during the adolescent years. Various symptoms of maladjustment appear when there is a failure in the socialization process. The persistence of these symptoms is of greater importance than the mere appearance of the symptoms. Behavior mechanisms, resulting in many cases from trial-and-error experiences, are manifested by the individual and are definitely indicative of an effort to adjust to frustrations or conflicts. The mechanisms described in this chapter are common forms of behavior, and no doubt in many cases necessary forms of behavior. They are used by the stable, the unstable, and the neurotic. They do not suddenly appear in an individual's life; neither do they occur in some haphazard manner. Concerning these Warters has stated:

They are learned habits acquired over a period of time through the process of social interaction. The individual learns them through imitation of others and through the guidance and instruction provided him directly or indirectly by others. He often acquires them, as he does many other habits, through the trial-and-error method. Once he discovers that a particular mechanism is a useful way to adjust to thwarting, he is likely to try it again when he again meets thwarting. Should at another time the mechanism not prove successful, he will first try altering it and then perhaps, if necessary, try changing it entirely.[29]

[29] J. Warters, *Achieving Maturity.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949, p. 209.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Compare the adjustment problems of boys and girls. How do you account for the differences?

2. Observe a child in school several times and note any symptoms indicative of maladjustments. Are these symptoms more or less universal among children? Elaborate upon the significance of any observations on this point.

3. Consider one or more delinquents that you have observed during your life. Would you regard them as of the *socialized delinquent* type or the *unsocialized aggressive* type? What are the major differences?

4. List in order of seriousness what you believe to be the major causes of *failure in socialization*. Describe some individual in whom there has been a pronounced failure in socialization. Give any causes that you believe might have contributed to this failure.

5. List the outstanding adjustment problems of adolescents in the "Home Life" area. What factors or conditions sometimes aggravate these problems?

6. Perhaps everyone has feelings of inferiority in some ways, which may or may not be based upon reality. Consider several acquaintances along with yourself for these feelings of inferiority. What seems to be the major sources of such feelings of inferiority? What sex differences might one expect to find?

7. Observe several adolescents for evidence of infantilism. Note particularly evidence of the manifestation of the following types of infantile behavior (Rate each subject on a five-point scale: 1 *rarely,* 2 *occasionally,* 3 *half of the time,* 4 *frequently,* 5 *most of the time*):

1. Showing off, or attempting to attract attention by some unusual form of behavior
2. Lack of consistency in behavior activities
3. Refusal to face reality
4. Extreme manifestations of selfishness
5. Easily given to crying
6. Easily given to outbursts of anger
7. Manifestations of jealousy
8. Childhood excuses
9. Avoidance of difficult tasks

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THE HYGIENE
OF ADOLESCENCE

ADVANCED KNOWLEDGE in the various sciences has provided an increased interest in man and an increased understanding of his behavior at his different periods of life. The accumulated knowledge of the forces that affect the growth of boys and girls has given renewed courage to those who would combat certain conditions that appear to affect adversely their physical and mental well-being. Today the term *hygiene* has taken on a very familiar meaning and is constantly found on the lips of the teacher, doctor, juvenile-court judge, social worker, and nurse; the term is also used by those who are attempting to minister to spiritual needs and values.

This chapter is concerned with health problems of adolescents. Although physical health is important during adolescence, much of the emphasis is on mental health.

MENTAL HEALTH

The significance of mental health.[1] The first half of the present century witnessed important developments in the general area of physical health. Remedies and preventive measures were discovered for dealing with contagious diseases; the dread of pneumonia, once the number one killer, has practically disappeared; infant mortality has been considerably reduced; the average span of life has been lengthened; and the ill effects of a number of deteriorative diseases reduced. During this period social workers, teachers, and others concerned with child training have been made more conscious of the mental health problems of children, but progress in the general area of mental health has not kept pace with that of physical health. The purpose of mental hygiene was recently stated as follows:

Mental hygiene is primarily concerned with health—healthful emotional

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[1] A major source of information about films relating to mental health in education is the National Association of Mental Health, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

living and the prevention of psychiatric illness rather than with the therapy of persons already ill.[2]

Although psychiatry in its earlier days emphasized responsibility and volitional control, and dealt almost exclusively with mental diseases, prevention of such diseases has gradually received more and more attention. With increased knowledge and understanding of the growth and development of the personality, especially in the area of the emotions, it was recognized that the best preventive measure against a personality disorder or maladjusted condition was a well developed personality.

Conflicts and adjustments. When the emotional conflicts of childhood are not solved in a satisfactory manner, they lead to symptoms of neuroses. Many of the difficulties experienced by adolescents and post-adolescents are simply a continuation of these persistent unsolved problems of childhood—in many cases actually accentuated by changed social conditions and physiological maturation. Another group of problems experienced during adolescence may more correctly be labeled adolescent problems, since their origin is closely related to the development and ripening of the sex drive. The appearance of an increased sex drive, which is characteristic of the onset of pubescence, may seriously affect the harmony established between the socializing forces and the dynamic self. Thus, conflicts may appear between these forces and the ideals and concepts relative to the self that have developed during the years of growth. These conflicts appear in the form of feelings of guilt, depressed states, anxieties, and the like. The adolescent resorts to various forms of behavior in an attempt to resolve these conflicts. Open rebellion against parental restrictions may appear for the first time in the individual's life. When this is not feasible, more subtle procedures involving lying and deception may be resorted to in an effort to overcome some frustrating situation or condition. Withdrawal behavior, regression, and reversion to an earlier, more secure pattern may follow an attempt at the solution of these conflicts.

Mullen analyzed the apparent frustrations of two groups of high-school youths: those who had dropped out of school under conditions of truancy, and those remaining in school who were referred to the Child Study Bureau of the city because of their disorderly behavior in the classroom.[3] The data presented in Table 11–1 indicate that adolescents who have histories of school truancy or classroom disorder also have a high incidence of other factors and conditions. They also have many physical handicaps. They come from homes presenting an excess of social and

[2] P. V. Lemkan, B. Pasamanick, and M. Cooper, "The Implications of the Psychogenetic Hypothesis for Mental Hygiene," *American Journal of Psychiatry,* 1953–54, Vol. 110, p. 437.

[3] F. A. Mullen, "Truancy and Classsroom Disorders as Symptoms of Personality Problems," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 1950, Vol. 41, pp. 97–109.

Table 11-1

PERCENTAGE INCIDENCE OF CERTAIN FACTORS AS CITED IN CASE HISTORIES
OF TWO SELECTED GROUPS OF ADOLESCENTS (*After Mullen*)

	Truants	Discipline Problems in Classroom
Educational Factors		
Repeated grade or grades	53.0	55.0
Interrupted attendance	26.7	19.9
Reading disability	9.8	20.3
More than one year over-age for grade placement	35.4	42.4
Physical Factors		
Defective teeth	43.4	35.5
Defective vision	34.9	29.4
Ear, nose, or throat condition	17.8	16.0
Poor nutrition or general health	8.6	10.0
Behavior and Personality Factors		
Poor work habits	25.1	51.9
Lack of self-confidence	19.6	13.4
Nervousness, hyperactivity	7.6	19.5
Aggressive, antisocial behavior	5.0	27.7
Attention-getting devices	3.6	19.0
Habits of lying or stealing	9.7	4.8
Withdrawn, unsocial nature	5.6	4.8
Temper tantrums	1.8	6.1
Family Factors		
Broken home	48.5	37.7
Step-parent in home, now or formerly	16.3	13.0
Crowded home	10.0	7.4
Unwise parental direction	27.9	27.7
Inadequate parent	12.7	14.7
Parent or sibling delinquent or criminal	6.2	2.6

family problems, and are often poorly adjusted with their peers. Both
types of adolescents suffer from educational retardation and grade place-
ment. An interesting aspect of this study appears when a comparison is
made between factors present among the school truants and those with
classroom disorders. In general, the school truants have more home
problems, whereas grade retardation and reading disability appear more
prevalent among the pupils with classroom disorders. The influence of
position in the family seems to be less among adolescents than among
preadolescents.

Some case studies indicate that maladjustments involve deep-seated
emotional disturbances. These disturbances turn in different directions.
Some of them tend toward *unsocialized aggressive tendencies*, observed in

bullying, fighting, defiance of authority, and the like. Some have been termed *socialized delinquency behavior*, which is characterized by group activities contrary to established rules, such as group stealing, truancy from school, acts of mischief, and generally unwholesome gang activities. Others tend toward *overinhibited tendencies* revealed in shyness, seclusiveness, daydreaming, jealousy, and the like. The direction the maladjustment takes will depend in a large measure upon social forces in one's environment—the general pattern being exemplified by those with whom the individual is in social contact. Hewitt and Jenkins conclude from a study of these types:

> In each of the three behavior-situation pattern relationships there appears to be some evidence that not only is the behavior in question "provoked" by a peculiar type of frustration, but the general pattern of behavior itself is exemplified by other persons with whom the child is in close contact. Thus the resulting type of maladjustment would appear to be a "rational" reaction of the child to his distorted environment in a double fashion.

> Inasmuch as the behavior is rational in this sense, arises from a more or less identifiable type of circumstances, and represents a fundamental warping of the child's personality in a particular direction, the therapeutic implications must necessarily differ from those involved in other forms of maladjustment. That is, the three types of behavior distinguished in this analysis would seem to demand rather strikingly different methods of treatment. Both the pattern of *unsocialized aggressive* behavior and that of *overinhibited* behavior appear to involve deep seated emotional disturbances, but in different directions and for different reasons. Social delinquency, on the other hand, appears to involve the identification of loyalties and a positive response to the numerous deviation-pressure patterns displayed in the child's environment.[4]

Unsocialized aggressive behavior. The unsocialized aggressive type of behavior is seldom found among girls, since they are under considerable pressure from their parents and peers to conform to well-established patterns. These forms of behavior appear among boys, especially those suffering from what has been termed an "inferiority complex." The aggressive behavior is usually a compensatory mechanism. The case of Jerry illustrates unsocialized aggressive behavior.

Jerry is fourteen years of age and below average in intelligence and achievement. His IQ on the *California Test of Mental Maturity* was found to be 82. Jerry is a slow reader, but appears to enjoy reading comic books and western stories. He also prefers cowboy movies and watches the western stories on TV. Jerry is small for his age group and is usually seen with younger and smaller boys whom he sometimes bullies, although he usually attains a satisfactory adjustment with them through bragging about his adventures. In one case he told the group about visiting his uncle who owned

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[4] L. E. Hewitt and R. L. Jenkins, *Fundamental Patterns of Maladjustment, The Dynamics of Their Origin.* Springfield: State of Illinois, 1946, p. 91.

a ranch down in Florida and how he rode a certain horse, which was supposed to be a very wild horse.

Boys of his own age and grade hesitate to choose him in their sports, since he is not an asset to the team. He doesn't brag around them, since they would laugh at him and ridicule him. He is considered a show-off by his teachers, and displays very little interest in girls, although, he was reported to have pulled the hair of one girl, whom he appears to admire more than the others. In general Jerry avoids all social activities, especially if they involve girls. He uses many attention-getting devices in class, the most common being his eagerness to answer questions, although he seldom knows the correct answer. He proves himself to be a nuisance in general by his endless "acting up" methods of behavior.

Jerry has around 100 Indian arrow heads in a collection he started a few years ago. This hobby he values very highly and enjoys making certain that everyone knows that his collection is the biggest and best in the school and community. He claims that it is worth several hundred dollars.

Overinhibited tendencies. The commonest response to rejection among adolescent girls is withdrawal from social situations. This response is also sometimes found among boys, although they more frequently display belligerent behavior. Withdrawal or seclusiveness take on various forms. The psychological pattern for seclusiveness, just as other forms of behavior, originates as a response to a motive or stimulus. In many instances the satisfying response or action is found in seclusiveness and timidity, forms of withdrawal behavior that will be discussed in the subsequent chapter. Shyness is an outstanding characteristic of a large number of preadolescents and adolescents.

Timidity is well illustrated in the case of a preadolescent girl described by Rivlin.[5] The method of handling the case through participation has been used by many teachers, and has been found to be very successful.

Stella, a ten-year-old pupil in the fourth grade, was referred to the school mental hygiene committee because she was "Very retiring, extremely quiet. She does not volunteer answers in class and does not play with other children." The family background was good and her work and conduct marks were excellent. Her I.Q. was 111. The teacher appointed Stella leader of playground games and made a definite attempt to induce her to speak freely in class.

In the course of the lesson the teacher asked her a question, any answer to which was tenable. During a geography lesson she was asked, "Do you think you could be happy if you had to live in Africa?" The response called for is a simple one and need cause even the most timid child little embarrassment. Whatever answer is given can be commented on favorably by the teacher. "It would be difficult for us to learn to like Africa," or "We really can't tell how we would like it," would be acceptable. Stella responded by shrugging her shoulders. The children were then asked to tell why one

[5] H. N. Rivlin, *Educating for Adjustment*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1936, p. 375.

didn't know how pleasant or unpleasant life in Africa could be. Probably for the first time in her school career the girl was treated to the sight of the entire class working on an answer she had given, a flattering situation. Stella was then asked which of these reasons she had in mind when she expressed her opinion. Since many possible answers had just been suggested by the other pupils and were still on the blackboard, it was not difficult for her to offer an appropriate answer, even though she may not have had any definite thought in mind when she first responded to the teacher's question.

This procedure was followed for several days until Stella grew accustomed to speaking in class and to having her answers taken seriously by teacher and pupils. About a week later, after an easy question had been asked, the teacher looked at the girl in an encouraging and expectant manner till the youngster sensed the teacher's belief that she had something worth offering to the others.

Socialized delinquent behavior. While withdrawing, recessive personality traits may be serious from the viewpoint of mental health, it should be realized that the possession of certain aggressive types of conduct may also seriously handicap an adult in making adjustments. Ellis and Miller point this out when they state:

Present standards of society impose requirements for certain types of behavior and exact retribution from transgressors. Offenders who steal are in serious difficulty (if caught). The person who violates these standards of social conduct certainly is handicapped in his success in making adjustments to the social group. Such traits as impudence, impertinence, and temper outbursts are frowned on in adult society, and the person who habitually exhibits them is unpopular with his associates and finds difficulty in making happy adjustments in his contacts with society.[6]

With growth into adolescence occurs the first stage of the development of such habit systems as, when carried to an extreme, will bring the individual into direct conflict with the rules and regulations imposed by the social group. With the onset of such social conflicts we have a mental-hygiene case or a case of delinquency—a case of undesirable behavior, growing directly out of earlier failures in social adjustment. Earlier failures have many and varied causes depending upon the inherent qualities of the individual, the peculiarities in the situation, and the habit systems established earlier in life. Moreover, since their growth is gradual and continuous, habit patterns tend to become integrated into larger units, thus creating a specific type of disposition or attitude. It is therefore difficult to say at just what point in the life of the adolescent the wrong elements developed and became integrated into larger units.

Physical health during adolescence. Death from disease is extremely low during adolescence. Cancer, including leukemia, is the current leading cause of death from disease during this period. Tuberculosis is relatively unimportant as a cause of death among teen-agers, the incidence

[6] D. B. Ellis and L. W. Miller, "Teachers' Attitudes and Child Behavior Problems," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1936, Vol. 27, p. 508.

rate rising and falling with living standards. Pneumonia and polio rank next as the causes of death from disease. Because of the nature of the life activities of adolescents, theirs is a period of life susceptible to body malformations and various mental maladjustments. Round shoulders and spinal curvatures, for example, may develop at this time. Furthermore, owing to the frequency of exposure to somewhat dangerous environmental situations, deforming accidents are likely.

Headaches, eye troubles, indigestion, respiratory troubles, malformation of bones, and infections are especially prevalent among adolescents. These conditions result in a large measure from conditions and activities imposed upon them through our customs and institutions. Acne is perhaps the greatest hazard to a good complexion among adolescents. It is present in some degree during pubertal development in approximately three-fourths of them, and has been found to be closely related to the increased activity of the sebaceous glands during puberty.

Table 11-2

CAUSES FOR REJECTION OF YOUNG MEN ENTERING THE ARMED
FORCES IN WORLD WAR II (*After Kleinschmidt*)

Causes	Per Cent	Causes	Per Cent
Dental defects	20.9	Venereal diseases	6.3
Eye defects	13.7	Ear defects	4.6
Cardiovascular diseases ...	10.6	Food defects	4.0
Hernia	7.1	Lung defects, including	
Mental and nervous		tuberculosis	2.9
diseases	6.3	All others	24.5

The Iowa survey of nutrition problems among school pupils revealed that poor teeth was the most conspicuous physical defect.[7] According to Kleinschmidt, the two main causes for rejections of young men entering the armed forces in World War II were dental defects and eye defects.[8] Table 11-2 shows that these, combined with cardiovascular diseases and hernia, account for more than half of the total. It is well known that these conditions do not suddenly develop as the boy reaches 17 or 18 years of age. These conditions are no doubt closely related to diet and the care of the eyes at home and at school. Many educators, observing the deplorable physical condition of children and youth, have concerned themselves with a physical fitness program designed to develop stamina, strength, endurance, and agility; hence the increased interest in competitive athletic programs. There is ample evidence, however, that such a

[7] "School Children in Iowa Lack Calcium Vitamin C," *Public Health Reports*, 1955, Vol. 70, p. 177.
[8] E. E. Kleinschmidt, "Meeting Today's Health Problems," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 1943, Vol. 26, p. 12. (Data for Table 11-2 are taken from materials presented in this article.)

program is far from adequate, and that it fails to take into account (a) individual differences, and (b) functional health needs.

Health problems of adolescents. Good health in its broadest aspect is essential to a well balanced personality, for on it depend to a large degree energy, volition, ideals, and happiness. People in poor health are often deficient in surplus energy, lacking in self-control, and pessimistically oriented toward life. Many adolescents are not health conscious or, if health conscious, are not motivated to practice good health habits. Thus, the mere introduction of formal health courses in school are likely to have little influence on many adolescents.

Until the beginning of adolescence, the child has usually had some reasonable guidance and discipline; his hours of sleep and meals, along with his appetitive habits, have been observed and provided for. But with the onset of adolescence, and with group situations playing an increasingly prominent part, there is a tendency to live in conformity with group desires and activities, which quite commonly involve smoking, drinking, irregular hours of eating and sleeping, and exposure to colds and drafts. There is an enormous increase in the daily calorie needs of the adolescent as he progresses toward maturity. Results from the 5-year statewide survey in Iowa, referred to on page 275, revealed that the children are eating well of such foods as meat, potatoes, fats, bread, and cereals, but they are not getting enough milk, fruit, and vegetables. Teen-age girls made up the group with the poorest diet. Overweight girls in particular were conspicuous for their poor diet. Materials bearing on the importance of nutrition and exercise in relation to physical growth were presented in Chapter 3.

Accidents are the greatest single threat to the life and health of adolescents. Mortality studies show that accidents account for almost one-half of the deaths of teen-agers, with motor vehicle fatalities leading the list. The accident rate is considerably greater among boys than among girls. This high accident rate among adolescents has led some communities to give considerable attention to safety programs, including automobile driver training.

Need for a functional health program. The schools could probably make no greater contribution to the welfare of the nation than to assume a reasonable amount of responsibility for the mental health and for the personality adjustments of growing boys and girls. It is through the agency of the school that enlightened influences can best operate for the development of wholesome personalities and of well adjusted individuals. The schools should more closely adhere to the old Greek maxim, "a sound mind in a sound body." It appears quite likely that, following the Renaissance and the Reformation, interest in education stressed intellectuality and gave little consideration to the physical and mental health of students. It has only been within recent years that the emphasis has be-

gun to change and that efforts have been made to develop the physical well-being of growing boys and girls.

An educational program should have as its first concern the development of the individual, a process sometimes referred to as personal development, and one which demands that the schools provide a functional health program. There is evidence on hand from many sources that very often health education either has been neglected in our schools or has not been organized and presented in a way to become effective in the lives of the pupils. The health program should include more than a periodic examination, a course in hygiene, some formal physical-education activities, and an athletic program that touches the lives of only a small percentage of high school pupils. Rather, it should function throughout all the school activities, and should have as its objectives the development of healthy individuals, desirable health attitudes and habits, and a recognition on the part of the pupils of the nature and importance of sanitation and community health problems. The general aims and responsibilities of the school health program may be summarized as follows:

1. Provide a healthy environment for pupils and teachers. This involves elements related to the school program and the emotional tone of the school as well as to good sanitary conditions.

2. Have a planned program and facilities for taking care of accident victims at school and for cases of sudden illness.

3. Offer courses in driver education so as to develop among high-school students good driving habits and a favorable attitude toward safety programs, traffic laws, and other matters relating to safety.

4. Cooperate with other agencies in teaching swimming, safety measures, and first aid.

5. Teach pupils facts relative to the causes of diseases, the ways diseases are spread, and the known methods of preventing diseases.

6. Provide periodic health examinations of pupils and teachers, and keep a cumulative record of the findings and recommendations.

7. Give special attention to those in need of medical or dental care. Where the pupils are not financially able to provide for their needs, the community should use its resources for this purpose.

8. Provide special educational programs adapted to the needs of the handicapped.

9. Cooperate with the community in health programs and in the control of contagious diseases.

10. Provide for in-service growth of teachers so that every teacher will recognize his responsibility for the maintenance of good health on his part and the promotion of good health habits and attitudes among the pupils. However, the specific responsibility for certain courses and the coordination of all school health facilities and for relating these to community health programs should be that of some special teacher.[9]

[9] For a good presentation of the need for a functional approach to this problem, see A. W. Hurd, "Post War Health Education," *Education*, 1945, Vol. 65, pp. 445–448.

Extent of mental health problems among adolescents. Throughout the earlier chapters adolescence has been described as a period of life during which there is a considerable amount of tension and strain. Some adolescents are unable to cope satisfactorily with these stresses and strains, and thus maladjustments and neuroses appear. There is no clear line between adjustment and maladjustment. Neither is there any infallible method for determining the extent of maladjustments existing among a group of adolescents.

Various estimates have been made of the number of people who are mentally or emotionally ill to the extent that this condition interferes with their normal living. Conservative estimates place this around 10 per cent of the total population.[10] More than a third of the four to five million men rejected or discharged as unfit for service in World War II, "and over 40 per cent of the discharges have been for neuropsychiatric reasons." [11] That maladjustments appear among school children and adolescents is borne out by one study conducted with third- and sixth-grade boys and girls as subjects.[12] Of the 1,499 children studied, 287 or 19.1 per cent were picked out as seriously maladjusted. The prevalence of maladjustment was higher among the sixth-grade children than among those of the third grade. Of each 100 sixth-grade boys, 29 showed poor adjustment; for each 100 sixth-grade girls only 13 were regarded as poorly adjusted. Perhaps the early training which emphasizes conformity to the social code among girls better prepares them for the rigidity of a school program.

It is generally estimated that about half of the hospital beds in the United States are occupied by patients suffering from mental and nervous disorders. Modern medicine reveals that many of the basic difficulties of those complaining of physical ills are to be found in mental and emotional conditions. Psychiatrists estimate that from 40 to 60 per cent of all physical illness is a result of or is complicated by unresolved emotional conflicts.[13] The extent of mental and emotional conditions has steadily increased, despite medical advancements and improved living standards. Various explanations have been offered for this, including better diagnosis, increased population, and increased tension resulting from the demands of civilization.

The extent of maladjustments among adolescents enrolled in schools is much greater than the ordinary teacher would ever realize. The teacher is not expected to be a psychotherapist or a psychiatrist with responsibility

[10] W. C. Menninger, *Psychiatry: Its Evolution and Present Status.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1948, p. 98.

[11] F. A. Weiss, "Physical Complaints of Neurotic Origin," *An Outline of Abnormal Psychology* (G. Murphy and A. J. Bachrach, editors). New York: The Modern Library, 1954, p. 267.

[12] A. R. Mangus and J. R. Seeley, "Mental Health Problems among School Children in an Ohio County," *Understanding the Child*, 1949, Vol. 18, pp. 74–79.

[13] *The Mental Health Programs of the Forty-eight States: A Report to the Governor's Conference.* Chicago: Council of State Governments, 1950, p. 216.

for diagnosing and treating every problem that appears in her room. She can, however, use the clinical point of view in recognizing that a child's problem behavior is symptomatic of some problem condition or unsatisfied need and not an end in itself.[14] The moody child, the aggressive child, and the nonsocial child have adopted certain modes of behavior as the most satisfactory way thus far found for meeting certain life conditions. The understanding and sympathetic teacher may be able to determine some of the needs of the individual and thus help him in meeting his problems and directing his efforts into positive and useful channels. In nearly all school situations, however, there are cases that should receive the attention of a psychiatrist or a school psychologist, if such attention is available. The failure of the teacher to detect symptoms of maladjustments may lead to such serious consequences as the rape murder of a small child, moral degeneracy, or suicide.

CONDITIONS AFFECTING
MENTAL HEALTH

That there is a close relationship between physical and mental health has been recognized for many years. There are many studies which show that bodily limitations and malnutrition adversely affect the emotional stability of the growing child. Conversely, the mental attitude and emotional characteristics of the child will affect his physical well-being.

Mental hygiene must begin during childhood. It must be remembered that the adolescent is but a product of earlier experiences and that his development is gradual and continuous. Thus, if we are to understand the mental hygiene of adolescents, it is necessary to study the influences that have thus far affected them. The problems of adolescent mental hygiene have their inception in most cases in childhood. The mother who allows the child to satisfy his needs through temper tantrums, or the mother who assumes a domineering role and forces the child to withdraw, is failing to guide him in the development of habits of initiative and self-control. Such early habits will become a part of the child's growing personality, with the result that later he will probably shriek with rage if his desires are not satisfied. Such a child, unless his behavior is modified by some trying experiences with other children, will probably develop with very poor preparation for adjustment to a social world in which responsibility and self-control are essential.

It should be remembered, however, that only probabilities can serve as guides. And, although most of the difficulties encountered during adolescence can be traced, at least in part, to early childhood experiences, it would be a fallacy to conclude that all childhood disturbances lead to

[14] See Mary C. Roland, "Help for Problem Children," *The Nation's Schools*, 1945, Vol. 36, p. 25.

adolescent difficulties. The life development of the individual is not predictable by such a simple cause-and-effect formula. Many persons with unfortunate childhood experiences pass through adolescence without undue difficulties, whereas others, whose childhood was untroubled, encounter much turmoil during the transition from childhood into and through adolescence. Blos has pointed out that:

> The storms of this period are not the result of single causes; they arise, rather, from various pressures coinciding in time. For example, a boy of fourteen whose overdeveloped body is going through a phase of rapid growth may weather his adolescence without trouble; he is more likely to develop difficulties if, at the same time, he is experiencing the added strain of a family break-up. On the other hand, the girl whose physical development progresses very satisfactorily and smoothly is in a favorable position to work out the relationship problems which have been with her for many years.[15]

The school and mental hygiene. The function of the school in the development of the child has been emphasized throughout this study of growing boys and girls and is recognized as important by organizations concerned with problems of growth. Almost all mental hygiene societies are using the schools as agencies for furthering their work; in fact, nearly all suggestions connected with mental hygiene work include the use of the school in the program. Also, health clinics—designed rather to aid the child in adjusting the phases of his personality than to study behavior problems present in connection with environmental situations—are constantly held at schools to aid in the preservation of the health and sanity of youth.

No doubt many cases in need of mental hygiene treatment will never come to the attention of a child-guidance clinic, a psychiatrist, or any other person or organization formally interested in these problems, but will have to be dealt with largely through a trial-and-error process carried on unconsciously in the home or school. The child spends the major portion of his time in the home and the school, where these problems are sure to be encountered in either a characteristic or a disguised form. Concerning this, Ryan states:

> Mental health through education will be much farther advanced if the school becomes aware of its active function in community living and works systematically with other agencies, including churches and "character-building agencies," social workers, group education workers, the health forces, and other elements seeking a more wholesome life for human beings as individuals and as members of the community. Instead of insisting upon their traditional separateness, the schools should welcome any movement to pool their resources with those of other developmental agencies in the community working in one way or another in behalf of mental health.[16]

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[15] P. Blos, "Adolescence, Its Stimulations and Patterns," *Childhood Education,* 1941, Vol. 18, p. 83.

[16] C. W. Ryan, *Mental Health through Education.* New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1938, p. 304.

A systematized or unsystematized program of mental hygiene should be considered in every school. And any program should include the following elements:

1. Teachers trained in the principles of child and adolescent psychology and of mental health.
2. A psychophysical study of every beginning pupil.
3. A reorganization of primary grades in harmony with the interests and nature of children, along with an opportunity for more systematic and careful observation.
4. A consideration of the integrative nature of the various agencies dealing with the training and development of children.
5. The development of schools and classes to care for the handicapped and deficient.
6. The focusing of the attention upon the causes underlying maladjustments, rather than upon behavior disorders as such.

That education is most hygienic which provokes and promotes the child's innate abilities and disposes him to be a good citizen. Hence educators, by developing well balanced personalities among their pupils, may influence the ultimate mental vigor and health of the nation. Until the center of attention of the school is shifted from subject matter to pupils—to human beings—little progress will be made.

Mental hygiene of the teacher. The large number of studies dealing with the successful teacher and personality adjustments of teachers attest to the importance attached to the influence of the teacher in the development of boys and girls. However, the complexity of the problem of ascertaining desirable teacher characteristics has added difficulty to determining the mental hygiene of the teacher. The report by Ryans of the efforts of the staff of the Teacher Characteristics Study throws considerable light on the characteristics of the effective teacher.[17] From "critical incidents" in teaching, some examples of behavior were found which described the activities of the effective teacher. The following descriptive terms were noted in this study:

1. Is alert, appears enthusiastic and interested in pupils and classroom activities.
2. Is cheerful, optimistic.
3. Exhibits self-control, not easily disturbed, well organized.
4. Likes fun, possesses a sense of humor.
5. Recognizes and admits own mistakes.
6. Is fair, impartial, and objective in treatment of pupils.
   . . .
8. Shows understanding and sympathy in working with pupils.

Children cannot learn effective adjustment habits from adults who do

[17] D. G. Ryans, "The Investigation of Teacher Characteristics," *Educational Record*, 1953, Vol. 34, p. 383.

not have effective adjustment habits themselves. Teachers who are irritable, who have no appreciation of human nature, who are interested wholly in subject matter, who "don't have time" to study a problem case, who themselves are ill-adjusted cannot apply principles of mental hygiene in their school work that will aid the maladjusted and prevent others from becoming maladjusted. This was shown in the study by Boynton and others.[18] The effects of a group of emotionally unstable teachers were compared with those of a group of emotionally stable teachers. The fifth- and sixth-grade teachers of Nashville were given a modified form of the *Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet* and classified into quartiles according to their scores. The pupils of the adjusted teachers were given the same test and compared with the pupils of the unadjusted teachers. The results are shown in Table 11-3. The authors conclude that "if a teacher is of a hyperemotional type, she tends to disturb her pupils emotionally, but if she is emotionally stable she tends to bring about emotional stability among her pupils.

In the case of teachers the problem is often complicated by large classes, inadequate materials for instructional use, little time or opportunity for recreation, and a conflict between the desire to help pupils and the need

Table 11-3

DIFFERENCES IN EMOTIONAL STABILITY OF PUPILS IN CLASSES OF
STABLE AND UNSTABLE TEACHERS *(After Boynton, et al.)*

	Boys' Median	Girls' Median
Unstable teachers	15.33	18.75
Stable teachers	13.75	16.63
Difference in favor of stable teachers	1.58	2.12
Index of reliability	3.59	3.59

for discipline. Louttit has presented an outline of attitude and behavior standards that should be helpful in evaluating the mental-hygiene relationships of the teacher in her classroom contacts with the pupils. These include:

1. Children must be accepted as they are—poor or rich, bright or dull, healthy or ill, clean or dirty. Whatever they may be, they are all growing human beings who must be trained, must be respected, and must be given every opportunity to find profit in the class.

2. Corollary to this is the principle of the equality of the children. Every child should be made to feel that he is an important member of the group.

[18] P. L. Boynton, *et al.*, "The Emotional Stability of Teachers and Pupils," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, 1934, Vol. 28, pp. 223–232.

If the teacher does not accept all of the children, she will show favoritism toward one and neglect another.

3. Freedom from any feelings of being threatened by the children and by colleagues is necessary. . . . When she fears loss of dignity or status from the acts of children, or when she is jealous or suspicious of her teaching colleagues, the teacher has not the assurance of a well-integrated personality.

4. The teacher must have a sense of humor—not specifically wit, but that attitude toward one's self and one's work that puts them in proper relation to the world. To take one's self too seriously is another suggestive indication of insecurity. Unfortunately an attitude lacking in humor is apt to produce behavior in others, including children, that further blocks that sense of security.

5. Tolerance even toward persons whose ideas and behavior we disapprove of is also to be desired. Stubborn adherence to personal convictions does not make for classroom tolerance or for acceptance of the child who does not conform. . . .

6. The teacher's attitude toward the job will significantly affect her influence on the children. If teaching is a stepping stone to something else, or if it represents mere economic security, the children will suffer. If the subtle influence of teacher's attitude is to have the most favorable effects on children, that attitude must be one of vital interest in the task and enthusiasm in meeting the myriad adjustment problems a group of children presents.

7. Necessary to such vitality is a constant effort in the way of professional growth. The teacher, like the minister, the physician, or any other professional person, must constantly work to keep abreast of newer developments in her field. . . .

8. The teacher is not only a public employee and a mentor of children. She is a member of the civic community and as such has responsibilities the same as any other citizen. Recognition of and participation in activities concerning these responsibilities indicate a wholesome social maturity that makes its impress on children. The teacher must keep free, however, from any feeling of being compelled to attend every meeting or concert, because her time must be conserved as well as the physician's or the businessman's.

9. Personal appearance is another of the factors that have significance in an appraisal of the teacher's personality. Well-fitting, stylish clothes (not extreme), cleanliness, neat hair and hands, all suggest the person in tune with herself and the world. Clothing that is too conservative, especially if it is old-fashioned, or styles that are too extreme suggest personality characteristics of narrowness and rigidity on the one hand and instability or insecurity on the other. . . .

10. Lastly, we must mention physical health. This is immediately related to personal appearance and has its significance in the establishment of teachers' attitudes. The actually ill teacher is certainly in no condition to meet the daily demands of a roomful of children. The neurotically ill, the constant complainer, is obviously not the kind of personality who can give children the things that they need from the teacher.[19]

[19] C. M. Louttit, "The School as a Mental-Hygiene Factor," *Mental Hygiene*, 1947, Vol. 31, pp. 58–60.

The importance of the community. It was suggested earlier in this chapter that the various places of recreation in the community have an important bearing on the mental and physical health of adolescents. In many communities and cities adolescents are able to secure cigarettes through legal or illegal sources. The question here is not whether or not the smoking of cigarettes in itself is harmful to growing boys and girls, although the preponderance of evidence thus far points to their ill effects; it is more a question of their availability to those who are not yet mature enough to exercise good judgment in their use. Also, it is often a matter of the method of securing cigarettes, or whiskey, and the manner in which they are used that contributes to their undesirability for adolescents.

When school is dismissed for a day or more, it has commonly been observed that crime and mischief increase. Although most high-school boys and girls have a limited amount of money to spend, much of it is likely to be spent in places of vice, especially on the part of boys, if such places are available in the community. Doctors, juvenile courts, and the police force can attest to the problems facing many adolescents in our cities where places of vice are widespread, liquor available to adolescents, and dope peddlers ready to prey on the inexperience and weaknesses of boys and girls. The problem of juvenile alcoholism and drug addiction is becoming increasingly serious in many urban areas, and has assumed a role of national importance.[20] For many years such activities as drinking, smoking, and sexual expressions were looked upon as forbidden as applied to the lives of early adolescents. However, widened social contacts, improved living standards, and increased educational opportunities and experiences of adolescents have tended to bring about a sort of permissive age delineation for these activities. The extent of this permissiveness varies from area to area, but the adolescent zealously guards his new freedoms and adopts readily the standards of urban adults, modifying them to fit into an adolescent peer culture. Thus he insists upon the right to begin smoking at 14 or 15, to drive the car at 15 or 16, to take a cocktail at 16 or 17, and to greater independence which may involve getting drunk at a New Year's party at 18. These figures are arbitrary in nature, and will certainly vary from group to group. In the case of drinking, adolescents will seldom be worse than their adult counterparts, although because of their lack of experience they may at times use less discretion.

Drug addiction among adolescents has become serious enough that national legislation has been adopted in an effort to cope with it. Falstein states:

Seliger has pointed out that of the drug addicts admitted in 1951 to the

[20] E. I. Falstein, "Juvenile Alcoholism: A Psychodynamic Case Study of Addiction," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1953, Vol. 23, pp. 530–551.

Federal Narcotics Farm at Lexington, Kentucky, about 20 per cent were under 21, whereas six years ago the proportion was 3 per cent.[21]

Although the removal of the forbidden aspect of these indulgences usually results in a decreased desire for them, the community cannot afford to make these easily accessible to adolescents. Actually alcoholic addiction among adolescents is quite infrequent. The importance of community agencies and recreational facilities to provide for the needs of adolescents will be discussed at length in Chapter 16. The responsibility of the community for health and welfare should begin with providing good schools and community agencies and conditions that will provide suitable and worth-while activities for boys and girls. In this connection the homes and churches should play a significant role.

HEALTHFUL PERSONAL LIVING

The development of satisfactory personal and social adjustments is closely related to the development of desirable and socially acceptable methods of satisfying basic needs. These needs, referred to in Chapter 7, are closely related to the developmental tasks outlined in Chapter 1. The adolescent who has been able to satisfactorily solve the varied problems related to growing up will have solved the problem of healthful personal living. However, there is no simple formula for healthful personal living. Each adolescent is different, with his own unique heredity, body build, mental and emotional characteristics, and life history. Symonds noted, from a study of 1,680 themes collected from 40 adolescents, that when a theme is exaggerated in stories there is an absence of this trend in the particular adolescent's overt behavior; and vice versa, pronounced personality trends are not likely to be expressed in themes.[22] It may well be concluded that when an individual works out a need in daily living it is not necessary to express this in fantasy, such as in themes.

The contradictory effort of conformity to the peer group and individuality is characteristic of this stage of life. Thus some tendencies are curbed while others are accentuated. The individual girl becomes a slave to the fashion and fads of the group to which she belongs. She feels very keenly the need for belongingness, and it is within the pattern of behavior of the group that she asserts herself and displays individual differences and individuality.

Developing a feeling of security. One can see in the adolescent drive a contrasting phase of a need for independence and security. Individuals do not at this age give up their childhood in toto, neither do they refuse to grow up. The adolescent desires to make his own decisions, to have

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[21] *Ibid.*, p. 550.
[22] P. M. Symonds, *Adolescent Fantasy.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, p. 321.

his own spending money, and to choose his own friends. However, these new responsibilities bring with them fears of making the wrong decisions, choosing the wrong friends, and failure to reach certain aspiration levels or goals. This condition makes the age of adolescence one of indecision fraught with problems and difficulties.

The adolescent needs to feel secure with his peers. There is considerable evidence that feelings of insecurity often have their roots in infancy. This need stems from the physiological drive connected with hunger and the sustenance of life itself. Whenever this need is disturbed, the infant will display various forms of disturbances bordering upon anxiety. He may develop such symptoms as eating or sleeping disturbances or general apathy. As he grows older he may become increasingly aggressive or stubborn. Security for the adolescent is enhanced through social participation and through successful achievement. It is closely related during this period to acceptability by one's peers—something very much desired and needed during adolescence.

Need for belongingness. Very closely related to the feeling of security is the *feeling of belongingness*. The adolescent needs to feel that he is an integral part of the peer group as well as a member of a family group. His parents may not look and act as other parents do, but they are his parents and he belongs to the particular family group. He "belongs" not by virtue of what he does or does not do but by virtue of the particular person he happens to be. This feeling of belongingness furnishes him with a sense of security essential to good mental health. *Affection* goes along with this belonging. The need for affection as the child begins to move away from the family circle finds its satisfaction in close friendships found outside the home. The adolescent must achieve independence and ultimately break away from the close ties of the family circle. This break with the family has been referred to as achieving independence or emancipation. As he grows older, he will become more and more aware that he is a member of the peer group and will come to look more and more to the peer group for approval and affection. This does not mean that he should turn entirely away from the home, but rather that he should expand his horizon of interests and activities and gradually emancipate himself from the close family ties that were so binding and so important during the early years. It is not well in most cases for children of great difference in chronological or physiological age to form too close a friendship. This is true during the adolescent years more than at any other time of life, since differences stand out far more at this period than later. But contacts with others with similar interests, understandings, and problems are most important in the development of well-adjusted and well-balanced personalities.

Developing a sense of personal worth. Habits of initiative and responsibility tend to give an individual self-confidence and a feeling of personal worth. Such habits are developed gradually through practicing

activities in which opportunities for the use of initiative and responsibility are present. The discovery and development of the latent abilities of the adolescent constitute a more important function than the recognition of abnormal behavior tendencies. It is on such a basis that a sense of personal worth is gained. The child who is constantly told that he is "good for nothing" will soon be just about that—good for nothing. Through satisfaction that comes from successful achievement, the child comes to feel that he is really good for something. As the child develops, he should come to recognize his abilities better, and to believe in himself and his abilities. This is what we sometimes call "self-confidence." He should be provided with situations in which he helps to plan for cooperative living—a living of sharing and participation by all the members. When his personal contributions are recognized and accepted, he eventually feels himself an accepted member of the group.

Self-confidence develops from the individual's learning through experience that he can do certain things satisfactorily. It is contingent upon his being able to do things well enough to satisfy his standards of achievement. These standards have developed largely as a result of what is expected of him. Thus, the individual should be given responsibilities in harmony with his abilities. The child who is encouraged to enter upon a curriculum not commensurate with his or her abilities is certainly not educationally adjusted. The child who is encouraged to direct his ambitions toward something out of harmony with his general aptitudes is not vocationally adjusted. Such conditions will contribute to the ill health of a child. Everyone should be given tasks that require effort and initiative, but the efforts required should yield returns in the form of success. Success in various tasks becomes a great motivating force for further effort in the same general direction. It is well known that the dull child who is not kept busy owing to his inability to understand work, and the bright child who is not kept busy owing to his ability to perform work quickly and with ease, are potential problem cases. From these sources arise many disciplinary problems. Sherman presents a splendid illustration of the prestige and better adjustment attained by a high school boy through his interest in collecting:

He was below the class average scholastically, and had failed in two subjects. He evidently was suffering from many conflicts of inferiority. He complained that the teachers paid little attention to him, that he was not popular in school, that his parents accused him of laziness because his grades were below standard. When asked if he had any trait which made him superior to others he brightened. He said that some of the boys were becoming interested in him because he had a number of antiques. For the past six months he had spent his allowance on antiques—miniatures, swords, coins, stamps. He said that he was studying their history and that he expected to become an expert in that type of work.

Through the possession of antiques this boy gained the prestige he was unable to attain in other ways. Attention from other students was a strong

incentive to further interest in antiques. The attention from his fellow students tended to decrease his feeling of inferiority in regard to his scholastic attainment.[23]

Maintaining optimum health. The effect of bodily conditions on mental and emotional health has been emphasized in recent years. Support of the physical-chemical theory of mental diseases is accumulating, although the influences of environmental forces and learning are not to be ignored. The close relationship between the activity of certain glands and mental disorders has been clearly shown. Perhaps all of us have noted that we are more irritable when we are fatigued or otherwise physically disturbed. Furthermore, the alert physician is coming to recognize more and more the importance of a wholesome mental attitude in effecting better physical conditions. The individual who is diseased is a more likely candidate for mental troubles than the healthy individual. The human body is a totality, a completely integrated pattern of behavior, and the lack of balance in the activity of one part will in all likelihood have an ill effect upon the activity of all other parts.

Since the individual is to be regarded as a unit, and since the entire personality may be colored by some faulty element in this total pattern, one should not neglect health or physical examination in a careful personality diagnosis. Behavior disorders, failure in schoolwork, or failure to adjust to fellow students are frequently to be understood only by reference to certain physical conditions—abnormalities and deficiency. Here is a boy who does not mingle with others and takes no part in the various extracurricular activities of the school. A careful physical examination reveals some internal disturbance that influences his whole personality. Here is a pupil who is failing in her classwork; her teacher is unable to understand her slothfulness and lack of interest. An examination reveals chronic fatigue due to insufficient rest and sleep. Pupils who are temperamental, slothful, untidy, or unkempt will probably be better understood once their physical condition is better known.

Understanding and accepting one's self. The problem of understanding and accepting one's self is closely related to that of facing reality. The adolescent should come to understand himself and accept himself and his role with his peers. He should recognize his limitations and potentialities. This implies a willingness to evaluate one's self free from prejudice, bias, or favorable or unfavorable attitudes. This objective attitude is characterized by an impartial, dispassionate regard for accurate, unbiased judgments; it assumes a scientific attitude toward the self. Perhaps this is expecting too much of the adolescent; however, with sound and sane guidance the growing individual can come to weigh facts as they are rather than as he would like them to be. In the end this means being honest with the self. It has been written: "To thine own

[23] M. Sherman, *Mental Hygiene and Education.* New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1934, p. 173.

self be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man." [24]

The child does not have this objective attitude by natural endowment, but has to develop it through his experiences. It is extremely important that the child be guided into a fair and unprejudiced evaluation of his own worth. One of the first steps, perhaps, in training objectivity in a child is for him to develop many wholesome interests outside of himself. He will be much happier and will avoid needless emotional conflicts if he will accept himself at his own worth.

Understanding one's sex role. The sex life of the child begins at birth. Parents have the responsibility of giving the child instruction suited to his age and his needs, as well as giving him training in proper habits. The needed information should be given gradually, in proportion to the child's curiosity and capacity for understanding it. The information given the child of 5 or 6 will be different from that given a child of 12, both in form and in certain features of content, but the one should be in harmony with the other. The child should feel perfectly free to ask his parents for information and he should feel confident that they will tell him the truth. His inquiries should be treated with candor because they are motivated by a natural unemotional curiosity. In this way the child will build up the right attitude toward sex and be prepared for puberty.

The sex role develops during the adolescent stage. It is during this time that a satisfactory relationship with the opposite sex should be attained. A healthy attitude will be maintained if the problems that arise at this time are treated positively and constructively.

Developing social consciousness. The child is born neither social nor antisocial. He is born into a society where certain cultural patterns are found in the home, at church, at school, on the streets, and elsewhere. At first he is more or less oblivious to most of the culture that surrounds him, although he reacts within his limits to certain aspects of it from the very beginning of life. His behavior is largely concerned with providing for his physical needs—eating, sleeping, exercising, and the like. Social consciousness is almost if not wholly lacking at this early period of life. The real beginnings of social consciousness are to be found in the activities of groups of children at play during the early school years. As they grow they come to realize what the group expects of them, and how they must behave with respect to the various members of the group.

Adolescence has often been described as a period of heightened social consciousness. Preadolescence is a period when heightened social consciousness is manifested in the formation of groups, gangs, and clubs. There is an extension and intensification of this during the adolescent period. If the adolescent is to secure and maintain a well-adjusted personality, he must develop out of this early egocentric nature into a social

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[24] Quoted from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

being who recognizes and appreciates the personalities of others, and who is anxious to become a part of his peer group.

Achieving a consistent and unified philosophy of life. As the individual develops into adolescence he should have made a beginning in the development of some concepts of the nature of the world in which he lives and of some purposes of life. It is here that faiths and truths related to actual living may be able to function most effectively. The adolescent needs help in the development of some consistent attitudes that will give meaning to life. There are elements in life that make it difficult to reconcile various teachings in a way that will develop a unified viewpoint. The adolescent may know enough science to block his acceptance of a traditional religious concept but may not know enough to synthesize the two. In an effort to reconcile the two, he encounters a third. These various concepts create confusion and conflicts.

A philosophy may be regarded as a set of values and concepts. It provides a standard by means of which the individual is able to arrive at a clearer understanding and to make major decisions.

It provides a basis for passing judgments and for making evaluations. By having such standards, one's ideals and actions become stabilized and are made more consistent. The materials of Chapter 7 indicated that adolescence is accompanied by an enlargement and by a unification of attitudes and beliefs. This is part of the development of a unified philosophy of life so essential for stability and growth of the adolescent boys and girls as healthy, well-adjusted personalities.

SUMMARY

Life has been described as a continuous process of change and adjustment. The newborn infant is faced with adjustment problems as he emerges from the sheltered life within the mother to an expanded social and physical environment. As he develops out of the stage of infancy, new problems arise and additional needs and wants appear. The manner in which the child learns to meet frustrations will be extremely important in connection with adjustments during adolescence.

In our culture, growth into adolescence is accompanied by certain demands upon the individual. In the first place, he is required to accept more responsibility and, thus, to achieve increased independence. Secondly, he must effect a transition from interest in gang activities to interest in members of the opposite sex. Thirdly, he must adjust to his own capacities and limitations. Fourthly, he must learn to face reality.

Adolescence has been described as a period of danger for mental and physical health. Many health hazards appear at this age, and the adolescent needs guidance in meeting them. Childhood is regarded as the golden period for mental hygiene. Attitudes essential for desirable adjustments are in the formative stage at this time. Many of these are suf-

ficiently formed to act as an aid or barrier to successful adjustments at a later stage.

The basis for the new impulses of adolescence is the development of the visceral organs of the body, and especially the sex and related glands. This development no doubt does much to give the adolescent a better and fuller understanding of his relation to others, and an admiration for those of the opposite sex. In fact, he experiences a new and heightened sensitiveness to all the phases of his personal and social environment. As was suggested in previous chapters, he now begins to heed the general approval of those about him; he begins to make a more careful inventory of his own personal qualities, and may easily develop a keener and more extensive display of achievement, in conflict with the fear of failure and thus of social disapproval or ridicule. This effort to adjust in harmony with the maturing self presents many vital problems to adolescents. Harmonious personal and social adjustment will depend largely upon (1) ability and willingness to accept the *self*, (2) feeling of well-being (ego-involvement), (3) the satisfaction of needs for security, independence, and social approval.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Look up further meanings of the term *mental hygiene*. Why is it impossible to separate mental hygiene from physical hygiene?

2. Show how the stress and strain of modern life may affect the physical and mental health of adolescents.

3. What are some of the major problems of the hygiene of adolescence? Are any of these problems peculiar to this specific period of life?

4. Consider several teachers of your acquaintance and evaluate their mental hygiene relationships in connection with their classroom contacts. What problems or difficulties most frequently appear among this group of teachers?

5. Show how the needs and principles involved in healthful personal living are interrelated.

6. What barriers does the adolescent often face in understanding and accepting himself?

7. What are some essentials for the development of a consistent and unified philosophy of life? What agencies or forces have been most helpful to you in the achievement of such a philosophy of life? What values have these had for you?

8. Just what is your interpretation of the phrase "the clinical point of view"? Why is it desirable for teachers to have this point of view?

9. Show how mental hygiene problems follow the developmental idea presented throughout this text.

10. Suggest ways by which the cultural environment of your community could be made more conducive to good mental health.

11. List some home and school pressures that may adversely affect the mental health of adolescents.

12. Read carefully the case of Stella cited in this chapter. What are some possible conditions that might lead a 10-year-old girl like Stella to develop such a degree of timidity? Evaluate the method used by the teacher to help Stella.

13. Consider some community of your acquaintance. What are the major health hazards and problems of the community? Evaluate the school health program in light of the items summarized in this book.

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Part IV

SOCIAL FORCES
AFFECTING THE
ADOLESCENT
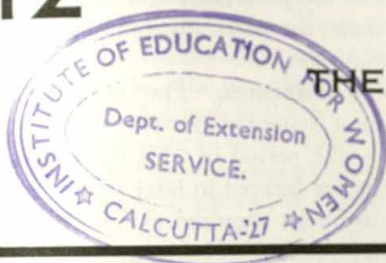
**THE ADOLESCENT
AT HOME**

ALL HAPPY FAMILIES RESEMBLE ONE ANOTHER; EVERY UNHAPPY FAMILY
IS UNHAPPY IN ITS OWN WAY. *Count Lyof Nikolayevitch Tolstoi*

HOME INFLUENCES

Throughout the vital period of adolescence, there is a phenomenal
growth that alters the physiological pattern, the anatomical pattern, and
the psychological pattern, thus transforming the child into an adult. The
nature and extent of this growth are described in earlier chapters. Si-
multaneously, as the individual approaches maturity, there arises an urge,
sometimes of relentless physical strength, sometimes characterized by in-
creased and enlarged mental vigor, and still more often of a socialized
nature relating to aspirations and ideals. This urge is seeking expression,
uninhibited by the home domination so characteristic of the period of
childhood. There is an urge to break away from the semi-passive family
relationship of childhood to a more independent way of doing and think-
ing and thus directing one's own plans and destiny toward an adult life.[1]
This detachment from family ties does not necessarily involve a physical
separation; rather, it connotes an emotional severance—in other words,
the casting off of those bonds that would hinder the individual from
achieving the things he is striving for and wants independently in adult
life. Such a process has been referred to as *emancipation from family
domination,* or *psychological weaning,* or by a third term, *achieving inde-
pendence.*

The in-between person is in a naturally conflicting situation. The un-
willingness of parents to recognize that their child is growing up and
maturing at a rapid pace, associated with the latter's growing independ-
ence at this period of life, complicates the whole problem. On the one
hand, there is the adolescent's desire to break loose from the sheltering
walls of the home and to get rid of specific restrictions; on the other,
there is his desire for the protection and security the home affords. He
cherishes adventure and looks forward to excitement; however, as prob-

[1] J. M. Murray, "The Conscience During Adolescence," *Mental Hygiene,* Vol. 22,
1938, pp. 400–408.

lems arise, he has a felt need for protection and security. The confused situation resulting from these diametrically opposed drives oftentimes reveals the adolescent in dual roles.

Importance of early home influences. The influence of the home on adolescent behavior is almost synonymous with that of habits formed during the preschool years—the period in which the home's influence is greatest. Frequently, habits are formed in later years that may not seem to be of the same lineage as habits acquired earlier; but the influence of the latter must not be underestimated. Habits are built upon habits, and the earlier habits are likely to give something of their form to the later. This tendency is well illustrated by Rosenheim's descriptive analysis of a 13-year-old boy who lacked parental affection during the early years of his life;[2] as a result, he had never learned to show affection for others, and was unable to get along with other boys and girls of his age. Remedial treatment and guidance produced some good results; in spite of this, however, the influence of the early home environment remained constant and more or less pervasive. This influence was especially noticeable in the boy's lack of social responsiveness, and thus in his failure to establish desirable social relations with others; he also lacked steadfastness to ideals and good behavior standards.

Studies of early home influences in their relationship to the personal and social adjustments of adolescents have furnished considerable evidence that satisfactory adjustments are related less to the education of the parents, the size of the family, or the socio-economic level than to the extent to which basic human needs for affection, security, status, and belongingness are satisfied. The case of a somewhat introverted 14-year-old junior-high school girl shows the influence of a desirable home situation in the development of attitudes and interests. The case D, described by Anderson, is in the ninth grade and has an IQ of 122.

This girl was identified by her classmates as being someone who prefers to do things by herself and doesn't care to have a lot of people around all the time, who is happy and interested in whatever she is doing, who is cooperative and agreeable, who volunteers to recite in class and always remains sure of herself, who never causes the teacher any trouble, who never tries to avoid responsibility, who is able to work quietly, who never loses her temper, who doesn't take chances for fear she will be wrong, who is shy and never has anything to say around strangers.

D appeared (upon interview) to be a girl of unusual poise. She talked easily and well, smiled frequently and seemed self-assured.

D's major interest is music. She prefers reading and her piano lessons to active games. She doesn't like to dance, and her best friends are admired because they are "studious," "serious," and "don't go out much." She feels that she has a good many friends but would like to have more. Her parents

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[2] F. Rosenheim, "Character Structure of a Rejected Child," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1942, Vol. 12, pp. 486–495.

approve of all her friends and encourage her to bring them home. She is allowed to go out in the evenings on special occasions.

D likes school "in a good many ways" but feels that she is usually required to do too much homework. She was elected president of her class last year and is given a good deal of responsibility this year for class activities.

D's family relationships seem to be harmonious. Although she was scolded or her privileges restricted after misbehavior when she was a small child, it has been a long time since anything like that happened, as she doesn't do things now that displease her parents. She prefers her mother to her father because her mother is "around most of the time" and is "kinder," gives her money when she requests it. D has three older sisters at home; they quite often play cards or do other things with the mother. Several years ago the whole family went to Europe. Sometimes D feels that her sisters try to "tell her what to do" a little too much but her mother usually intervenes and straightens things out since "she can see both sides." On the whole she feels that her parents do not have too many restrictions and are usually right in the standards they set forth.[3]

Some types of parental behavior. The attitudes of parents toward a child reflect not only their beliefs and understandings about children but also their satisfactions, frustrations, and feelings. Their ideas and beliefs combined with their emotional expressions produce a wide variety of parental behavior which may be observed in the interaction of parents and children. In one study the *Fels Parent Behavior Scales* were used to secure ratings of parent behavior.[4] These ratings were subjected to careful statistical treatment and clusters of related variables were obtained from a table of intercorrelations. In many cases these syndromes were combined into a single larger syndrome. The three central syndromes noted from this statistical treatment were labeled, *Democracy in the Home, Acceptance of the Child,* and *Indulgence.* Other syndromes of less importance noted were *Severity, Nagging, Intellectuality, Hustling,* and *Personal Adjustment.* Eight types, based upon combinations of these three main variables, were noted and described. These are:

Actively rejectant
Nonchalant rejectant
Casually autocratic
Casually indulgent

Acceptant indulgent
Acceptant-casually indulgent
Acceptant-indulgent-democratic
Acceptant democratic

Rejectant patterns. Rejection may appear as nonchalant or casual rejection resulting from the busy life of the parents, or as outright active

[3] J. P. Anderson, "A Study of the Relationships between Certain Aspects of Parental Behavior and Attitudes and the Behavior of Junior High School Pupils," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education,* No. 809, 1940.
[4] A. L. Baldwin, J. Kalhorn, and F. H. Breese, "Patterns of Parent Behavior," *Psychological Monographs,* 1945, Vol. 58, No. 3. The descriptions presented of these types of behavior are based on this study. (Permission of the *Psychological Monographs* and the American Psychological Association.)

rejection as was the case of the McKane home.[5] Mrs. McKane is fundamentally a selfish, egocentric woman who evaluates events and people in terms of the extent to which they contribute to her own satisfaction. She takes child bearing and rearing as a matter of course but is fundamentally irritated by children. When her child Betty was 6 months old she remarked: "I hate to sit and hold her . . . I don't care to hold babies."

For Mrs. McKane the model child is the quiet, unobtrusive one. She imposes her will upon Betty, demanding that she develop rigid standards of behavior in terms of her liking. This strictness and harshness in punishment serves to keep down immediate annoyances and conflicts from Betty. She appears to go out of her way to be frustrating and caustic to Betty. If Betty starts out the door, she says: "I suppose that you will leave the screen door open." If Betty is eating ice cream, she says: "I suppose that you will spill that down the front of your dress." Her behavior indicates clearly an active resentment and hostility toward the child.

Not only is Mrs. McKane severe and hostile toward the child, she is also inconsistent. An act that will bring forth severe punishment on one occasion may go unnoticed the next day, depending largely upon Mrs. McKane's mood. Mrs. McKane's own peace of mind sometimes drives her to protect her children against possible outside harm. This is also evidence of her selfish nature. She dominates her husband through threats of taking her children and leaving him.

After Betty reached 6 years of age Mrs. McKane's earlier inconsistent treatment seemed to become more one of continued coldness and indifference. Dislike alternated with heated conflict. From this time on the mother is rated as extremely rejecting and hostile toward the child. Betty's reaction to this has been to withdraw and stubbornly resist, in a passive manner, adult authority. At school her superficially docile nature cannot be criticized, but in a situation requiring action or a response she retreats into an almost inaudible reply, "I don't know." Her teachers fail to understand her and are unable to break through her withdrawal, her passive resistive nature.

Casual types of parent behavior. There are parents whose behavior would be classified as neither rejectant nor acceptant. Such parents may be inconsistent in that they accept the child at one time and reject him at a later period. There are also parents of the casual type who tend to be consistently mild and casual in their emotional relationship with the child. Two general types of casual behavior are listed: (1) casually autocratic, and (2) casually indulgent.

The picture of the casually autocratic pattern is different from that of the common concept of the autocratic home in that the parents are not so cold and efficiently autocratic. However, a strict autocratic home, by

[5] A. L. Baldwin, J. Kalhorn, and F. H. Breese, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–24. The case of Betty is adapted from this study.

its very nature, restrains a warm relationship between parents and children. The parents' authority is considered superior to that of the child at all times and in all areas. However, the casual autocratic parent does not insist upon strict conformity at all times. In comparison with the democratic home, these homes are more chaotic, maladjusted, restrictive, inactive, obtuse, and hostile. These restrictive influences tend to constrict the intellectual growth of the children and thus inhibit the development of such characteristics as originality, initiative, curiosity, and resourcefulness.

There is no strong persistent motivation that determines the behavior of the casually indulgent. Such parents are indulgent with the children of the household because they usually find it the easiest way. Such a pattern is described by Baldwin and others in the case of the Roberts household.[6]

Mrs. Roberts has no explicit philosophy of child care to guide her in her treatment of Evelyn, beyond a statement made to one visitor that her mother had always restricted her and that she intended to be a friend to her children. The Roberts family makes no attempt to protect Evelyn from all the difficulties of her environment, nor does it go out of the way to gratify all of her wishes and desires but merely indulges her at its own convenience. Their relationship with each other is wholesome and psychologically healthy; in relation to Evelyn they are inclined to let matters run their course. If Evelyn ignores the request of her mother to put away her clothes nothing further is said or done. They will permit Evelyn to do things that they do not approve of, provided they feel that Evelyn is getting enjoyment from the act. Outside the home Evelyn is somewhat timid and at the same time outstandingly aggressive. These are her methods of establishing contact with children. This preschool behavior has continued into the grade school, and makes her relationship with other children precarious. It will seriously complicate her school adjustments and will be felt more keenly in her social adjustments as she progresses into the preadolescent and adolescent years, when peer approval becomes increasingly important.

Acceptant patterns. Acceptant homes have been classified into three types: (1) those which fit the indulgent syndrome but do not fit the democratic, called *indulgent* homes; (2) those which fit the democratic syndrome but not the indulgent, called *democratic* homes; and (3) those which fit both the indulgent and democratic syndromes, called *democratic-indulgent*. The general picture of the democratic home is one of good adjustment without undue attention to specific members of the family. The policy is one of freedom in which the parents respect the individuality of each other and of the children of the family. Emotionally the democratic parents tend to be objective, but above the average in

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

affection and rapport. While rapport is generally good in the indulgent home, child-centeredness is ever present. The democratic-indulgent home combines the features of these two groups. It appears to strike a mean between a cold objective attitude and indulgence. It should be emphasized, however, that these are not clearly divisible types. All combinations and degrees of these features are to be found among acceptant homes.

The Jameson home, described by Baldwin and others, falls in the acceptant-democratic group, but is referred to as a scientific-democratic home, since the parents deal with problems around the home in a cold scientific manner and at the same time apply the philosophy of human relations involving the different members of the family in planning and policy making.[7] The workings of democracy are carefully adapted to the children's ages and capacities. Dale, at the age of 5, was voicing his opinion about the menu, his play life, and other matters relating to his daily schedule of activities. His choices were not subjected to subtle adult coercion, although it was openly explained to him that there were certain decisions that must be made by adults. The policy of directness was part of the technique of dealing frankly and honestly with particular problems. The "family council" method has been adopted to handle Dale's school-age adjustments in a democratic manner. Mrs. Jameson appears scientifically incapable of expressing warmth and affection toward Dale. Even when he was scratched by a cat at the age of 3 years, he received no special attention or sympathy from his mother. Companionability on the intellectual level characterizes the parent-child relations, rather than caresses and a feeling of warmth.

Mrs. Jameson has been very anxious for Dale to excel other children of the neighborhood; therefore her treatment of him has been partially motivated by this desire. He is furnished with every opportunity for experimentation, exploration, and the use of insight. As a small child he was urged to look for incongruities, to make criticisms, and to ask questions about things he did not understand. In his speech and language development he is quite precocious. The richness of his imagination and the originality of his play made him stand head and shoulders above the other children of his grade school group. Caught in the fervor of war activities, he was at an early age able to identify all the U.S. plane models.

Even more striking than his precocity has been his violent, uninhibited aggressiveness toward society. He seems to fear no one. He seeks no quarter and gives none. He will kick, strike, and bite his teachers, his relatives, and even innocent bystanders with great ferocity. This need for defiance and aggressiveness is born probably of his insecurity and lack of emotional warmth with his mother and fostered by the completely permissive atmosphere of the Jameson home. His entrance into school

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[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 46–48.

and contacts with schoolmates has brought about an improvement in his behavior. The desire for social approval which becomes even greater as he grows into adolescence may bring about a modification of his behavior toward a more realistic balance of conformity and freedom.

Family authority patterns. The authoritative pattern found in the home refers to the controlling power relative to the activities of the family.[8] This control may be exercised in a number of ways; although, since there are only two parents, there can be only three general divisions of parental control. Authority may be in the hands of the mother, the father, or may be divided in some manner between the two. In the investigation by Ingersoll, based on an intensive study of 37 homes, the major types listed in Table 12–1 were observed. A brief description of these types should be useful in arriving at a clearer understanding of parental roles and authority patterns.[9]

In the mother-controlled family the husband is passive, being somewhat indifferent to his wife and leaving the problems of child rearing to her. He appears to prefer men's companionship to that of his wife and children. On the other hand, the wife has a tendency to disparage marriage in general and men in particular. Sometimes the affectional attachments in the home are split, the father favoring some children while the mother favors others.

Table 12–1
TYPES OF AUTHORITY PATTERNS (*After Ingersoll*)

Mother-controlled—autocratic pattern of authority
Mother-led—democratic pattern of authority
Balanced control:
    Equalitarian—democratic pattern of authority
    Equalitarian—indulgent pattern of authority
    Equalitarian—laissez-faire pattern of authority
    Equalitarian—conflicting pattern of authority
Father-controlled—autocratic pattern of authority
Father-controlled—pseudo-autocratic pattern of authority
Father-led—democratic pattern of authority

In the mother-led family decisions regarding family policy are jointly made with the mother assuming the lead. There is warmth and affection in the family, with the children usually showing the greatest attachment to the mother, who is generally regarded as the stronger personality. The parents prepare the children jointly for increased participation in planning and policy making relative to matters of the home.

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[8] H. L. Ingersoll, "A Study of Transmission of Authority Patterns in the Family," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1946, Vol. 38, pp. 225–302.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 287–293. The descriptions here presented are adapted from this source.

In an equalitarian control pattern, the parents have worked out a unified system of authority based on a common philosophy of family life. This philosophy is most frequently found among college-educated parents, although it may be found in varying degrees among all groups. Authority over the various spheres of home and family life in the equalitarian family, for the most part, are jointly shared, except in certain areas where one partner is felt to be more capable than the other. The equalitarian-democratic pattern of authority guides their children from early dependency to a place of responsibility and individuality in the family group. The children are encouraged to become self-reliant and independent of parents as they approach adulthood, and grow in independence and ability to make decisions regarding themselves. The equalitarian pattern of authority may take on other forms such as indulgence toward children, neglect of children, or inconsistent behavior.

In the father-led family the pattern of authority is democratic in nature. Family policy is apparently unified with the husband's leadership being more frequently followed. The wife manages the home and rearing of children to conform to joint policy and in line with the husband's expectations. There is an affectional relation in the family with the wife apparently more emotionally secure than the husband. There are many variations in the father-led pattern of authority, with the father-controlled being toward the extreme, and being of an autocratic nature. The father-dominated home in its extremity is characterized by a severe type of husband-father control. The husband expects to be master of the household. He sets the family policy and makes the major plans and decisions. Conflicts between husband and wife are often unresolved, since the husband insists on having his way. As a parent, this husband is autocratic, erratic, and unpredictable.

The laissez-faire families are characterized by a father who delegates the major tasks of rearing the children to the mother. The mother, on the other hand, sets up fairly definite standards for child behavior but neither she nor the father enforces their rules and regulations. The children do about as they please and as a result show little respect or consideration for their parents. Familism in these homes is at a minimum and affection is usually casual. Everyone goes his own way. Neither husband nor wife goes out of his way to adjust to the other's needs, but evidently take each other's differences for granted.

Influence of the family pattern. It was pointed out in Chapter 9 that the family pattern influences the personality development and structure of the growing child and adolescent. Data bearing on the relationships of parental authority patterns and personality adjustments were gathered from 4,310 high-school seniors of the State of Washington.[10] A ques-

[10] P. H. Landis and C. L. Stone, *The Relationship of Parental Authority Patterns to Teenage Adjustments*. State College of Washington, Rural Sociology Series on Youth, Bulletin No. 538, 1952.

tionnaire including a check list of 250 problems was used for gathering the data included in this study. The problems were grouped into seven areas of adjustment and comparisons were made between the number of problems checked by boys and girls from democratic, intermediate, and authoritarian pattern homes. The problem areas included family, personal, social, boy-girl relations, school, vocational, and morals and religion. In all seven areas, the young people from the authoritarian homes checked the most problems, although the differences were greater in some areas than in others.

The two problems that showed the greatest difference were "quarreling in the family," and "getting along with my parents." The "desire to leave home" was more pressing among both boys and girls from authori-

Table 12–2

PERCENTAGE OF TEEN-AGERS LIVING IN DEMOCRATIC, INTERMEDIATE, AND
AUTHORITARIAN FAMILIES CHECKING FAMILY PROBLEMS LISTED
(*After Landis and Stone*)

Problem	Sex	Family Administrative Pattern		
		Democratic	Intermediate	Authoritarian
Quarreling in the family	Boys	9.9	11.8	27.8
	Girls	12.7	16.2	37.0
Getting to use the car	Boys	22.3	25.0	34.8
	Girls	11.7	14.3	11.4
Getting along with my parents	Boys	5.7	10.6	17.2
	Girls	8.4	10.8	24.2
Getting Mother to understand my problems	Boys	4.2	5.7	10.6
	Girls	6.5	12.1	26.3
Getting Dad to understand my problems	Boys	10.4	10.9	17.7
	Girls	12.5	16.0	20.6
I have to work to buy things	Boys	12.0	21.6	27.0
	Girls	3.2	11.3	18.8
Having no regular allowance	Boys	5.7	8.2	16.9
	Girls	8.6	12.6	21.2
Don't have much spending money	Boys	6.8	7.9	11.4
	Girls	4.7	7.1	15.0
Wish I had my own room	Boys	6.2	6.0	11.4
	Girls	11.4	12.2	15.6
Treated like a child at home	Boys	4.8	6.1	11.6
	Girls	5.0	7.2	14.4
Folks ridicule my ideas	Boys	3.1	4.5	9.3
	Girls	2.2	3.1	14.3
Can't bring friends to my home	Boys	2.3	3.5	8.3
	Girls	3.1	4.9	13.3

tarian homes than from democratic and intermediate homes. The sex differences, shown in Table 12–2, are interesting. These problems were significantly greater among girls from authoritarian homes, especially from the city, than among any other group. This no doubt stems from the greater protection the authoritarian home in the city attempts to give the girl. An indication of the restriction on the social life of boys and girls from rural areas is shown by the per cent checking the problem "not much chance to do what others do." This is shown in Table 12–3. Farm boys and girls from democratic homes did not mention this as often as did city boys and girls from authoritarian homes.

The results of this study, supported by findings from related studies, suggest that adolescents in democratic homes have fewer adjustment problems than those in authoritarian homes. They enjoy a closer relationship with their parents and experience fewer frustrations. Furthermore, boys and girls from democratic families have a happier condition for social growth and development through guidance in social participation rather than restriction and prohibition. Perhaps the greatest superiority of the democratic home over the autocratic is that it substitutes cooperation for commands and thus enhances the developing ego and growth toward independence of the adolescent.

Table 12–3

PERCENTAGE OF TEEN-AGERS CHECKING PROBLEM: "NOT MUCH CHANCE TO DO WHAT OTHERS DO" (SOCIALLY) (*After Landis and Stone*)

Family Administrative Pattern	Farm	Town	City	Total
(BOYS)				
Democratic	5.2	3.6	3.1	3.8
Intermediate	5.4	5.5	3.4	4.5
Authoritarian	14.2	7.4	5.5	8.6
(GIRLS)				
Democratic	3.2	5.2	2.3	3.3
Intermediate	7.6	3.9	4.2	4.9
Authoritarian	12.9	9.9	6.9	9.2

HOME CONFLICTS

Parental attitudes. It has already been suggested that there are wide differences in the manner in which parents deal with their sons and daughters. Some parents tend to "baby" their children whereas others dominate them with an "iron hand." There is a tendency among some parents to insist on frequent contacts of their young adolescent son or daughter with the opposite sex. This has found expression in home

parties, camps, recreational areas, and coeducational schools and classes. This has at times led to a premature effort on the part of the preadolescent to imitate the older adolescents at dating, going to dances, staying out late at night, and the like—social activities for which they are neither prepared by maturation nor past experience. This does not mean, however, that adolescents should be constantly shielded from contacts with members of the opposite sex. In this connection parents should be better acquainted with the nature of the sex drive that accompanies the biological changes of adolescence. They should also realize that growth is, in general, of a gradual and continuous nature, with each stage preparing the individual for the next stage.

A nationwide survey of 10,000 high-school youngsters has provided information on what adolescents think about the understanding of their problems by their parents.[11] A question asked of the high-school youngsters was: "Do you or do you not think that most parents these days understand the problem of their teen age sons and daughters?" This question was answered as follows:

> Do ....35 per cent
> Do Not ....56 per cent
> Undecided ..... 9 per cent

Thus, only one-third of the high-school students believed that most parents understand the problems of the teen-agers; over half of them felt that there was a lack of such understanding. Perhaps every generation feels that it is misunderstood. It is significant that this attitude exists as a barrier to desirable parent-adolescent relationships.

A further analysis of the results showed that a larger percentage of high-school juniors than students at any other grade level feel that parents do not understand their problems. No significant sex differences were noted—there being 58 per cent of the boys and 55 per cent of the girls replying "Do Not." Also, no significant differences were found between the responses of students coming from homes of higher income and those coming from homes of average or below-average income.

This lack of understanding is perhaps based in part upon differences in attitude toward adolescent behavior on the part of the parents and adolescents. In one study bearing on this, parents and adolescents were asked to check one of three possible responses to parent-child relationships. The results, presented in Table 12–4,[12] show that the children and parents failed to agree in more than half of the cases. A study by Stott showed that older parents were inclined to voice a need for greater control of

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[11] The survey was conducted by the Purdue University Opinion Poll during the year 1948.

[12] C. C. Hackett, "Use of an Opinion Polling Technique in a Study of Parent-Child Relationship," Purdue University, *Studies in Higher Education*, No. 75, 1950.

adolescents than did younger parents.[13] Mothers and fathers scored, on the average, about the same. The town mothers had the most favorable and the town fathers the least favorable attitudes of any of the subgroups studied. The attitudes of the fathers toward self-reliance in children was not found to be significant, except perhaps in its relation to the adolescent's appreciation of home life. It was concluded that "a home situation, then, in which both parents agree that high-school children should be granted considerable freedom from parental domination is favorable to the development of self-reliance (independence of judgment in regard to personal problems and difficulties)."

Table 12–4

PERCENTAGE OF COMPLETE AGREEMENT BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN ON CERTAIN "OPINION" ITEMS (*After Hackett*)

| | *Actual Conflict* | |
| | Mothers and | Fathers and |
Content of Item	Children	Children
Decide occupation	57	47
Know where children are	55	49
Solve own problems	54	47
Choose clothes	51	39
All right to pet	42	43
Give reasons only	45	51
Talk over problems	40	30
Discuss dates	56	52
Made to stay home	46	39
Whip or slap	53	52
Protect from mistakes	48	45
Drive the car	32	29
Scold or "lecture"	46	43
Talk about sex	61	58
Choose friends	47	53
All right to go steady	37	46
Allowed to smoke	29	47

Conflicts with parents. The reasons for disagreements arising between parents and adolescents give a further understanding of adolescent yearnings and problems related to home restraint. According to the data of

[13] L. H. Stott, "Parental Attitudes of Farm, Town, and City Parents in Relation to Certain Personality Adjustments in Their Children," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1940, Vol. 11, pp. 325–339.

Table 12–5 the most frequent source of difficulty for both boys and girls was the issue of going out or staying out late at night.[14] This is a problem of adjustment or conflict between two different standards: the parents' desires on the one hand, and the attitude of friends on the other. The sex differences presented in this study reveal that boys' problems exceeded those of girls in such things as the use of the automobile, spending money, and grades at school. For the girls, problems related to home duties, clubs or societies, manner of dress, and nature of parties presented a greater source of disagreement than did the problems of the boys.

Table 12–5

SOURCES OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN 348 BOYS AND 382 GIRLS
AND THEIR PARENTS (*After Folsom*)

Source of Disagreement	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
Use of automobile	35.6	29.6
The boys or girls you choose as friends	25.0	27.0
Your spending money	37.4	28.8
Number of times you go out on school nights during the week	45.1	47.6
Grades at school	40.2	31.2
The hour you get in at night	45.4	42.7
Home duties (tending furnace, cooking, etc.)	19.0	26.4
Clubs or societies you belong to	5.5	10.5
Church and Sunday School attendance	19.0	18.6
Sunday observance, aside from just going to church and Sunday School	15.2	13.9
The way you dress	14.4	24.6
Going to unchaperoned parties	15.8	27.5
Any other source of disagreement	9.5	8.4
"Do not disagree"	2.0	2.1

It should not be concluded that all parents are domineering and possessive, nor that all children go through a struggle in achieving independence. In most homes parents come to realize, because of one reason or another, that their children are growing up and that they must be dealt with differently as they reach a more advanced level of development. The growth process on the part of the individual child, coupled with wider contacts and increased knowledge, brings with it demands that

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[14] Reprinted by permission from *The Family*, by J. K. Folsom, published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

usually find expression and attain results leading toward the establishment of greater independence. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that there must be a limit to the degree of independence that anyone attains. Many adults are so completely self-sufficient that they never seek suggestions from others regarding anything, and as a result of their extreme independence they often pay dearly for mistakes that could have been avoided. If the parent becomes a counselor to the child, one who offers help rather than criticism in time of need and trouble, the child will come to recognize the importance of seeking help and advice in a rational manner. Although the boy or girl should be encouraged in this, it should be realized that while the parent gives suggestions and guidance, the growing adolescent must be the one actually to solve the problem and adjust the difficulty.

One of the most interesting and far-reaching studies dealing with adolescent conflicts is that conducted by Block. She found that the conflicts adolescents have with their parents (in her study, mothers) were in many cases the basis for most of the disturbances in their lives. Over a period of five years, 528 junior- and senior-high-school boys and girls were interviewed. By means of a questionnaire, an index of the conflicts that high-school students are facing was obtained. A list of 50 problems indicated by the students was then studied. The problems most frequently encountered and the percentage of boys and girls reporting them are presented in Tables 12–6 and 12–7.[15]

The results from the study by Block pointed to the fact that more conflicts were due to differences in thinking regarding personal appearances, habits, and manners than any other thing. Differences of opinion over vocational, social, recreational, and educational choices also caused some contention. The 8 items most frequently checked by the adolescent boys also appeared among the first 20 checked by girls, indicating that many problems were common to boys and girls. There were, however, some problems frequently encountered by girls that were not encountered by boys, and vice versa. A careful study of the items listed in Tables 12–6 and 12–7 will show the nature of such problems. Girls in the seventh grade had the largest percentage of conflicts, while boys in the eighth grade had the largest percentage. When parents are cognizant of the sources of such conditions, they are in a better position to substitute guidance and understanding for conflict and contention.

Younger adolescents, especially, have difficulty in seeing any reason for many of the protective conventions of society. To insist upon obedience merely for the sake of obedience to some authority will have no value in the development of moral courage, but will, on the other hand, invite conflict and deception. As Butterfield points out:

[15] V. L. Block, "Conflicts of Adolescents with Their Mothers," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1937, Vol. 32, pp. 192–206.

Table 12–6

THE TWENTY ITEMS MOST FREQUENTLY CHECKED BY ADOLESCENT BOYS
THAT WERE SERIOUSLY DISTURBING FACTORS IN THEIR RELATION-
SHIPS WITH THEIR MOTHERS (*After Block*)

Won't let me use the car	85.7%
Insists that I eat foods which I dislike but which are good for me	82.4
Scolds me if my school marks are not as high as other people's	82.4
Insists that I tell her exactly what I spend my money for	80.0
Pesters me about my table manners	74.8
Pesters me about my personal manners and habits	68.5
Holds my sister or brother up as a model for me	66.9
Objects to my going automobile riding at night with boys	65.7
Won't let me follow a vocation in which I am interested	64.5
Complains about my hands or neck or fingernails being dirty	55.7
Won't give me a regular allowance	54.1
Teases me about my girl friends	51.3
Brags about me to other people	50.1
Embarrasses me by telling my friends what a good son I am	49.8
Objects to my going automobile riding during the day with boys	49.0
Makes a huge fuss over friends of mine whom she likes	34.3
Talks baby talk to me	33.4
Won't let me take subjects I want in school	32.9
Insists that I be a goody-goody	32.2

When adolescents are reaching out to establish and enlarge their prestige with boy and girl friends they are likely to resent anything which restricts their efforts to win favor with such persons. The friendships of youth are precious and when apparently senseless social customs threaten to limit their enjoyment, youth readily adopts a defiant attitude.[16]

Conflicts regarding the proper night hours appear to be among the most common sources of friction between parents and adolescents. The Lynds [17] report that 45 per cent of 348 boys in the upper grades of the

[16] O. M. Butterfield, *Love Problems of Adolescence.* New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1939, p. 33.
[17] R. Lynd and H. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937.

Table 12–7

THE TWENTY ITEMS MOST FREQUENTLY CHECKED BY ADOLESCENT GIRLS
THAT WERE SERIOUSLY DISTURBING FACTORS IN THEIR RELATIONSHIPS
WITH THEIR MOTHERS (*After Block*)

Objects to my going automobile riding at night with boys	87.4%
Scolds me if my school marks are not as high as other people's	85.9
Insists that I eat foods which I dislike but which are good for me	83.8
Insists that I take my sister or brother wherever I go	82.3
Insists that I tell her exactly what I spend my money for	81.2
Spends most of her time at bridge parties, etc., and is rarely ever at home	78.0
Holds my sister or brother up as a model to me	75.8
Won't let me use the car	70.8
Pesters me about my personal manners and habits	70.0
Insists that I go with friends of her choice	69.7
Nags about any little thing	66.4
Objects to my going automobile riding during the day with boys	66.4
Teases me about my boy friends	65.7
Fusses because I use lipstick	64.6
Pesters me about my table manners	63.9
Worries about my physical health	58.8
Objects to my going to dances	58.8
Insists that I be a goody-goody	57.8
Won't let me take subjects I want in school	56.1
Refuses to let me buy the clothes I like	55.6

high school and 43 per cent of 382 girls who replied to their questionnaire admitted they were having difficulties with their parents about the question of late hours. The causes usually have as their bases the differences in standards between the parents and the social group in which their children are moving. Faced with this difficulty parents all too often resort to scolding and complaining; they either fail to give plausible reasons why they want their children to come in earlier, or neglect to set up incentives for obedience and to provide a workable plan whereby the children may be able to satisfy their needs for social life and still come in at a more reasonable hour at night. Most young people will be pleased to cooper-

ate when they realize that a plan proposed is a fair one and for their own best interests. The National Tuberculosis Association, for example, has distributed an excellent pamphlet explaining the importance of obtaining the amount of sleep necessary to good health. The use of constructive and noncritical materials of that nature will yield far better results than will parental authority, and will go a long way toward developing greater independence and self-control among the adolescent boys and girls.

Home adjustments. An item analysis of "Home Adjustment" on the Bell Inventory brought out the following significant differences between boys and girls:

The high school boys had experienced a desire to run away from home more often than the high school girls. The high school girls were more irritated than were the boys by the following home conditions: their parents' personal habits, favoritism among parents, feeling of fear toward their parents, conflicting love and hate for parents, parents with violent tempers, and parents criticizing their appearance.[18]

The study of Stott dealt with rural boys and girls (adolescents) from high schools in Nebraska.[19] By means of personality scales and a home-life questionnaire he gathered data on the effects of certain factors in home life on personality adjustments.

The differences in home-life conditions between well-adjusted and poorly-adjusted boys and girls (in terms of test scores on an adjustment test) are presented in Figure 12–1. According to the home items rated positively, the characteristics of successful farm family life measured by the personal adjustment of boys were, in order of their significance: (1) an attitude of welcome on the part of parents toward the boy's friends in the home, (2) no recent punishment, (3) a minimum of nervousness manifested in mother, (4) frequently having enjoyable times together in the home as a family group, engaging in such activities as playing games, telling stories or singing, and playing instruments, (5) relatively little illness of mother. The items characteristic of successful family life as viewed by girls' adjustments were: (1) no recent punishment, (2) a confidential relationship with the father, (3) an attitude of welcome in parents toward the girl's friends in the home, and (4) a minimum of participation of the mother in work outside the home.

Parental conflicts are not new, but when vast social and economic changes are being wrought, the conflicts between the older and younger generations will be much greater. It was pointed out earlier that the

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[18] H. M. Bell, *The Theory and Practice of Personal Counseling.* Stanford, Calif.: The Stanford University Press, 1939.

[19] L. H. Stott, "The Relation of Certain Factors in Farm Family Life to Personality Development in Adolescents," *Agriculture Experiment Station Research Bulletin,* No. 106, 1938, pp. 40–41. The critical ratios listed in Figure 12–1 represent the difference between the two scores divided by the standard error of that difference. Critical ratios of less than 2.00 are regarded as statistically insignificant.
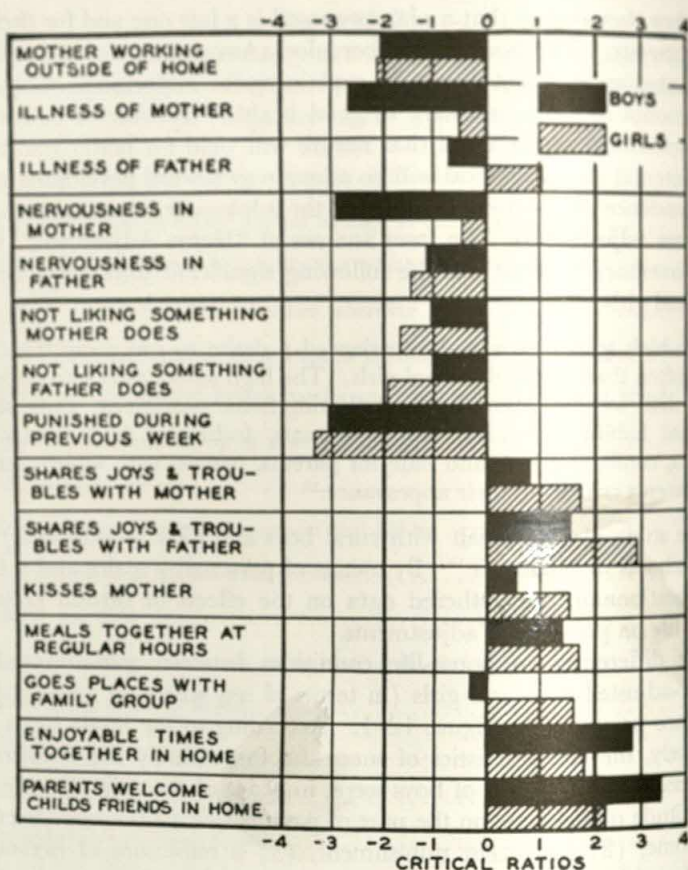
Figure 12–1. DIFFERENCES IN HOME-LIFE CONDITIONS OF WELL-ADJUSTED AND POORLY-ADJUSTED RURAL BOYS AND GIRLS. (*Stott*)

causes of home maladjustments are many and varied. When these have been studied and efforts directed to eradicate them through a well-planned cooperative program, much has been accomplished.

The task of emancipation is far more difficult than that implied by the statement: "The child should increasingly become more independent as he grows toward maturity." The task of equipping and guiding the child and adolescent is made complicated by the following factors:

1. The sacrifice on the part of parents in relinquishing authority.
2. The failure of parents to guide the child and adolescent in developing habits of responsibility.
3. The existence of small families whereby much attention and attachment is centered on each child.

4. The prolongation of economic dependence on the home.
5. The rigid attitudes and habits of parental control.
6. Conflicting loyalties on the part of the adolescent.[20]

EMANCIPATION: GROWTH
TOWARD MATURITY

Evaluating adolescent emancipation. The question we are confronted with in this topic involves an evaluation of the degree or extent to which emancipation has been accomplished in a given adolescent. Dimock has made several interesting studies on the subject of achieving independence and has furnished a measure or technique for estimating the degree of emancipation.[21] He first compiled a list of several hundred items of conduct and activities that were characteristic of dependence and independence. After the completion of the list, it was submitted to about one hundred judges—psychologists, educators, sociologists, and parents. These judges evaluated each item and the 120 most important ones were included in the final test. A sample of this E. F. P. Scale by which the degree of independence can be estimated is presented in Table 12–8.

Table 12–8

ILLUSTRATIVE ITEMS OF THE EMANCIPATION SCALE (*After Dimock*)

Boy's E. F. P. Scale

Item	What I Do	What I Want to Do	What My Parents Want Me to Do
Decide things for myself	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?
Do what my father or mother decides on every question ...	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?
Depend on my parents to buy all my things for me	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?
Spend my allowance as I choose	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?
Pick out and buy my own clothes	Yes No ?	Yes No ?	Yes No ?

From the scale, which is self-explanatory, Dimock turned next to a study of the factors that condition emancipation. Chronological age was found relatively unimportant with a correlation of .14 between emanci-

[20] See C. E. Meyers, "Emancipation of the Adolescent from Parental Control," *The Nervous Child*, 1946, Vol. 5, pp. 251–262.

[21] H. S. Dimock, *Rediscovering the Adolescent*. New York: Association Press, 1937, p. 145.

pation scores and age. Physical characteristics such as height and weight, on the other hand, were quite significant.

Emancipation is evidenced from an analysis of movie attendance of children. As the child grows older there is a decline of movie attendance with members of the family but an increased attendance with friends and others, as is shown in Figure 7–1, page 161. The greater independence of the boys at all age levels is evident here.

If Dimock's E. F. P. Scale were employed in helping to determine John Jones's degree of emancipation and we found that he is still psychologically unweaned, what would be some characteristics of his behavior? First, John would constantly be seeking the advice and help of others simply because he cannot act or think independently. Mother has always been near to shield the youngster in her own inimitable way from burdensome tasks and difficult decisions. Help in school and supervised study are both necessary for John even to keep up with his classmates. His teachers wonder if he is capable of following printed instruction without having someone there to explain each step. Again, if John is forced to leave home for a visit, he suffers nostalgia to the extent that he loses his appetite and is unable to sleep. Perhaps this lad profoundly desires to become independent but is ignorant about the means of achieving this state. As a shield for his attachment to his parents he indulges in dramatic overcompensations such as getting drunk or using profanity. These radical behavior patterns are his outlets to show his independence. But looking into the future, we see the instability and unhappiness of an unweaned individual. He is not able to get along with the employer because he expects extra sympathy and "giving in" to his whims. Many a marriage has been wrecked owing to this same condition. The case may be that of an only child who constantly seeks the advice of an overanxious mother. It is not necessarily the mother who spoils the child. A case called to the attention of the writer illustrates this quite adequately.

Jane, an orphan child brought up outside the orphanage, was cared for by an older sister. The older sister accepted full responsibility for Jane's clothes, education, and late love affairs. This was so complete that, even after marriage, Jane still consulted with her about things. Owing to varying circumstances, Jane finally came to make her home in an adjoining town near the older sister. She called her older sister almost daily over long-distance. Jane tried to see her at least each week. As a result of various social problems arising, she eventually found herself under the complete control of the older sister and finally wrecked her own home due to this complete *infantilism* accentuated by the ever-present dominance of the sister.

Principles of establishing independence. Learning to let go means, for the adolescent, the art of *relinquishment*. He is confronted with the task of throwing off childhood habits of almost blind obedience, dependence, and desire for protection. His emancipation from almost complete

supervision to independence cannot and should not take place in too short a period. Rather, this should be a gradual process, begun during childhood by the parents and developed through carefully planned education for *initiative* and *responsibility*. With the adolescent caught between new urges and old habits, one cannot help but realize the deep need for sympathetic understanding and wise handling on the part of the parents.

What, then, are some desirable procedures to follow in the development of a growing child into a socially adequate and responsible youth? This is not a simple question; neither is there a single key that will answer it. That habits of independence should begin in childhood has already been suggested. With further development, responsibilities and privileges should be increased. The growing child will need more spending money and this can well be increased with advancing age. Again, the adolescent should be given greater freedom in the selection of his friends. The parents can function very effectively here through early training in ideals; for the present situation they can provide encouragement and an adequate setting for desirable friends whom the child has chosen. The adolescent wants greater freedom, for example, in buying his clothes or in doing his shopping for Christmas. The family budget will in itself tend to put a limit on the amount of spending money the adolescent may have. However, too close supervision on how the money is spent tends to create tensions and frustrations which largely defeat the purpose of a weekly allowance as opposed to money when needed. Robert Frost expressed this idea thus:

> Never ask of money spent
> Where the spender thinks it went.
> Nobody was ever meant
> To remember or invent
> What he did with every cent.[22]

The present-day adolescent has a need for spending money to a much greater degree than was the case for adolescents a generation or more ago. A study reported by Esther Prevey showed that boys were provided with valuable experiences and training in the handling of money by their parents more often than girls were given such training.[23] This difference appeared in the various parental practices studied, but was most pronounced in connection with experiences in earning money and in being a party in the discussions of the family financial status, expenses, and plans involving money. Follow-up studies of later money habits of

[22] From *Complete Poems of Robert Frost.* Copyright, 1930, 1949, by Henry Holt and Company. Copyright, 1936, 1948, by Robert Frost. By permission of the publishers.

[23] E. E. Prevey, "A Quantitative Study of Family Practices in the Use of Money," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 1945, Vol. 36, pp. 411–428.

Complementary roles. THROUGH COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES AND PROJECTS ADOLESCENT BOYS AND GIRLS LEARN ROLES THAT COMPLEMENT EACH OTHER. (*Courtesy Portland, Oregon, Public Schools*)

the subjects studied revealed a positive relationship between parental practices in training children in the use of money and the ability to handle their financial activities successfully in early adulthood.

Not only are parents prone to thrust their ideals and manners of life upon their children literally in the form of a blueprint, but they may lay out certain vocational plans and try to make their children conform to them. Sometimes such plans are conceived of in terms of the parents' own weaknesses, their rationalizations, or still some other element in their make-up that is without a logical basis. The vocational plans of the adolescent should be made by the adolescent himself, with the aid, of course, of suggestions and information that may be obtained from the wisdom and understanding of those with whom he is in contact. Parents may—and in many cases do—have their own notions about what studies should be pursued in school, and many almost force their child (a developing adolescent) to study particular school subjects without his understanding the reasons for such demands. It is in matters of such choices that parents can best serve as advisers; their advice becomes valid to the extent that emotions and feelings are

controlled and reason and understanding, based upon fairness and truth, are used. Consider the following case:

Morris, a boy of fifteen, managed to play truant from school for two full months before being discovered. His feat involved considerable lying, interception of mail, forging a report card, and general deception. Previously Morris had been an unusually satisfactory son and pupil. An only child, he was reared in a household consisting of parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts. He was an affectionate, obedient child, thoughtful of the adults, and especially close to his parents, who were deeply attached to each other and to him. He had friends, was reasonably well liked by other boys throughout his childhood, but was more sober-minded than most of his companions, and of his own choice spent much of his free time reading or in recreational activity with his adult relatives. His parents had thought that they understood him thoroughly and had his full confidence. Actually, a small issue had, before the truancy, unconsciously become the symbol of the increasing dilemma of this boy and his parents.

At about fourteen Morris had begun to be interested in the music of name bands, and soon afterward wanted to learn to play the trumpet. Though his parents recognized that he had musical talent and though there was money for instrument and lessons, they feared that Morris would want to form or join a band and that such a band would be the center of a whole section of his life that they could not share with him. Accordingly, they refused permission, rationalizing their refusal by claiming that he needed all his spare time for study. Later they weakened that argument to some extent by encouraging him to take a part-time job in the neighborhood drugstore.

When Morris was just fifteen, he was thrown into a mild depression by the sudden death of a favorite uncle who had represented support of those individual interests that he was unable to affirm in the face of his parents' opposition. Nothing seemed worth doing, and when in the fall a school companion promised an excuse and suggested that they cut school to hear a famous band, he agreed. When, later, the excuse was not forthcoming, Morris continued to play truant, listening to records and attending theaters, all the while in such great conflict over what he was doing that it was eventually a relief to have his deception detected.[24]

In the choice of sweethearts and finally of a mate, parents often find themselves in disagreement with their children. Though well-meaning and eager for the boy or girl to choose wisely, the parent cannot make the choice for the youth. Again, the role of the parent should be that of a counselor; his counsel will be effective insofar as he has been willing to serve as an impartial and ever-helpful adviser in the various difficulties and problems that the adolescent faces. Adolescents will welcome suggestions and help, even in matters relating to the choice of a mate, when such help is given in a spirit of sincerity and fairness, motivated by a

[24] N. R. Ingraham, "Health Problems of the Adolescent Period," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* November 1944, p. 131.

desire to aid them in finding the greatest harmony and happiness as a result of the choice made.

There is, therefore, a need for a carefully planned program integrated by the schools, churches, and homes in guiding the developing adolescent boys and girls. Many parents are unaware that conflicts exist, and when they are aware of them, they do not in most cases understand the sources of such conflicts. Home situations that take their toll in the form of parental nervousness, family discord, and childhood unhappiness can best be dispelled by studying the underlying sources of such troubles. This was the aim of the study by Block. As a result of this study a program was formulated and its effectiveness proved. Some important characteristics of this program as presented by Block are as follows:

A comparative study of the interviews with children and their mothers demonstrated that many situations producing apparently similar problems were very different in their causal elements. A careful investigation of the total clinical picture of 69.3 per cent of the children in the seventh grade complaining about their mothers nagging them about what they wear and how they dress showed that the basic cause of the nagging was different for different children. Since no two problems are identical, the home and school must realize that the methods of treating one child exhibiting a definite behavior pattern may be opposite from the method applied to another child exhibiting the same behavior pattern. Each child must be studied by his parents and teachers as an entity in relation to his peculiar physical, mental and emotional make-up and his environmental influences.

An analysis of the interviews revealed the need and desire on the part of parents for a better understanding of the problems of adolescents and for cooperative effort to help boys and girls solve these problems. Parent discussion groups, parent-teacher meetings, personal interviews between parents and advisers, interviews with parents, children and advisers helped to bring the school and home into a very close and cooperative relationship. Teachers were able to obtain clearer understandings of pupils and adjust their methods to the needs of each child. Administrators and supervisors were better able to distribute children intelligently to curricula and extra-curricula offerings that were interesting and challenging to them and to adjust the curriculum in the light of the felt needs of the group. Many children were better able to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the high school; others who had exhibited undesirable tendencies were recognized earlier and were so guided that their attitudes in many cases were modified into socially acceptable behavior. Parents and teachers worked together in defining, interpreting, and planning experiences for children which would be most conducive to well-balanced, satisfying, and challenging experiences for the child. As a result, children were less disintegrated by varying philosophies of treatment as is so often the case when the home, school, and community fail to define mutually a philosophy.[25]

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[25] V. L. Block, *op. cit.*, pp. 204–205.

SUMMARY

According to the concepts of growth presented throughout the discussions of adolescence, the adolescent is a product of all that has gone on before; no one ever outgrows his childhood. He develops physically, mentally, and emotionally, but he never escapes the influence of his earlier years. This is very fortunate, since these early years become preparatory periods for adult living. They are fundamental as a stabilizing force in molding the individual into an adaptable member of the society in which he is to live. Sometimes the process of training is undesirable or deficient and the child carries infantile traits into adulthood. "The immature adult is seen to be selfish, wilful, petulant, impulsive, and in other ways objectionable to society." [26]

Important differences may be observed in the manner in which parents deal with their children and adolescents. There is, however, a trend toward more democratic practices in the home. This does not mean that no controls are present, but rather that controls are conducted through a family council or through interaction of all members of the family. Where democratic controls are practiced, better personal and social adjustments among adolescents appear.

The causes of conflict between the child and the parents are many, but the failure of parents to realize that the child is growing up stands out as a common observation. The tendency of parents to thrust their exact pattern of conduct and ways of behaving on the child is also generally present. The child may become selfish and wilful under the protection of wealth. The daughter grows up without any sense of responsibility under the dominance of a very strict father. The only child may be pampered and spoiled by an adoring aunt or grandmother. The social pattern in the home will do much to affect the child's social and emotional development. A domineering and ill-tempered father keeps the child ill at ease and repressed. Vacillating and inconsistent authority and punishment will present a condition of bewilderment for the growing child. These childhood patterns become fixed and tend to persist into adult life. Bluemel gives the following illustrations of the operation of such childhood emotional patterns:

Little Hettie frequently quarreled with her sister, and because she was the younger and smaller of the two children, she could do little to help herself in the situation except indulge in cutting remarks. This became an accomplishment, but unfortunately she carried the patterns of response into adult life, and she now frequently offends people with her snippy and flippant comments. Her acquaintances regard her as snobbish and superficial, and she has made no lasting friendships.

[26] C. S. Bluemel, *The Troubled Mind.* Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1938, p. 468.

When Jeffrey was a child, he and his mother had many encounters at mealtimes. As he was underweight his mother insisted that he eat everything that was set before him. In this situation her attitude was one of stubborn insistence maintained with complete silence. The boy responded with the same stubborn attitude and thus an hour or two would pass in which each would contend against the other's will. The boy has carried much of this taciturn resistance into adult life.

Benny has always been the spoiled child of his widowed mother, and it has been her desire to smooth his way in life and indulge his every wish. When he encountered trouble as a boy he could always run to his mother, knowing that she would take his part and protect him in his difficulties. If she could meet the situation in no other way, she would buy him candy or a new toy, or give him extra spending money and thus divert him from his troubles. Benny still regards his mother as a refuge now that he has reached manhood. He brings his marital troubles to his mother, and she takes him into her home. He brings his financial problems to her, and she pays his bills. Now that his debts have become too large for her to meet, she urges that he take bankruptcy and thus continue his evasion of responsibility.[27]

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Just what do you understand the term *emancipation,* as used in this chapter, to mean? What is its significance in relation to adjustment problems?

2. Present a descriptive case of personality maladjustment due to unfortunate or undesirable family conditions.

3. Show how difficulties between brothers and sisters arise. Illustrate this by some case with which you may be familiar.

4. How do you account for the results from the Purdue University Poll presented on page 305?

5. Consider some adolescents that are happy and apparently well adjusted. What are some of the special characteristics of their home life?

6. It has often been stated that the most important single factor making for satisfactory adjustments among adolescents is the *attitude of the parents.* What do you regard as desirable attitudes? Be specific.

7. Formulate a chart showing symptoms of rejection displayed by the rejected child, and symptoms displayed by the rejecting parents.

8. What were the major home conflicts you experienced as an adolescent? What influences, if any, do you consider that these have had on your present social adjustments and independence?

9. List 10 items that would furnish a basis for the estimation of one's degree of emancipation or achieving independence. Using these items as a basis for measuring the degree of independence achieved, study the degree of emancipation of two or more adolescent boys or girls of your acquaintance.

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[27] Ibid., p. 468.

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THE ADOLESCENT
AND HIS PEERS

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IN THE PREVIOUS chapter it was pointed out that with the advent of the adolescent period boys and girls tend to break away from the home and seek the company of peers. One of the outstanding needs of adolescents is peer approval. The importance of peer relations, the nature of adolescent friendships, problems of dating and sex, and related problems involving peer activities during adolescence will be discussed throughout this chapter.

ADOLESCENT PEER RELATIONSHIPS

Importance of peer relations. We have a tendency to explain a child's behavior on the basis of the family and organized institutions that he has been associated with—thus minimizing the importance of the experiences of boys and girls with each other in their day-by-day activities. The importance of peer relations during adolescence when many personal and social problems appear was emphasized by Caroline Tryon, when she stated:

If we were to examine the major developmental tasks which confront boys and girls in late childhood, during pubescence, and in later adolescence, it would become apparent that many of these can only reach a satisfactory solution by boys and girls through the medium of their peer groups. It is in this group that *by doing* they learn about the social processes of our culture. They clarify their sex roles by acting and being responded to, they learn competition, cooperation, social skills, values, and purposes by sharing the common life.[1]

It was pointed out in Chapter 9 that satisfactory relations with peers are closely related to satisfactory accomplishment of other developmental tasks. The social relations of boys and girls during childhood and preadolescence are extremely important for the attainment of good peer

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[1] C. M. Tryon, "The Adolescent Peer Culture," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1944, Chapter 12.

relations during adolescence; whereas good peer relations are most important for good personal and social adjustments during adolescence and adulthood.

Adolescent peer culture. Studies in psychology and sociology show that in our society a sort of sub-culture operates among boys and girls. The culture operating in these adolescent groups is similar to that found in adult societies, but with the emotions, desire to conform, and need for social approval and belongingness clearly manifested. These groups have their own standards, values, purposes, and methods of protecting themselves from too much adult interference. These are revealed in their jargon, style of dress, and certain forms of behavior. A study of the jargon of adolescents in Seattle, as reported by Marjorie Jones of the *Seattle Times*, furnishes a vivid illustration of the operation of adolescent culture.

To be "real George" you must include in your working vocabulary such jive talk as:

Rinky: An "icky" or unpleasant person who is overdressed, wears too much make-up or is not conducting him or herself according to accepted behavior.

Lovely-Lovely: A "doll" or "queen" who is especially beautiful or she should be called simply "exceedingly so."

Mule, pig, crow, or *dog:* All mean the same—the opposite of lovely-lovely.

Pig-Pot: A pot of money given to a fraternity brother who gets the worst of a blind-date exchange.

Socked: Past tense for being stuck on such a date.

Spook: A stranger; somebody from another town.

Dis: One who dissipates by using alcohol or cigarettes.

Hanging tough: Used in answer to the question, "How are things?" when things are not going well.

Let's hit that: Be sure to attend.

Man, I really eat that: Like it a lot.

Dig: This is the most overused word, meaning "pay attention to," or "I like that," or "I dislike that."

This jargon tends to set the group apart from adults and serves as a means of excluding adults from adolescent groups. Many fads appear among adolescents depicting somewhat the spirit of the culture and of the times. Some of these are given for Iowa teen-agers in an article dealing with the "Profile of Youth."

One crowd of girls trades single shoes at school in the morning as a friendship gesture; a gang of fellows wear peaked white railroad engineers' hats for everything from gymn class to dance dates; one basketball team sports athletic socks with bright red tops. Both fellows and girls wear ribbed white number socks, with class numerals stamped on turned-down cuffs.[2]

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[2] "Iowa Teen-agers Step Out," *Ladies' Home Journal,* August, 1949, p. 43 (copyright 1949 by The Curtis Publishing Company).

Learning by doing. LEARNING AND GROWTH TAKE PLACE BEST THROUGH WHOLESOME AND SATISFYING ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS. (*Courtesy* McCall's Magazine)

Adolescents justify certain activities involving group standards and ideals by reminding their parents that "All the other kids do this." Adolescents exclude adults from their group indirectly by the use of slang and reminders such as "Oh, this is just for us kids." The group

remains somewhat constant for a number of years during the growing life of the adolescent. New members are continuously being admitted from the younger group, while older ones drop out for one reason or another.

Attaining a satisfactory role. The attainment of a satisfactory role among peers is a task faced by the child as he develops. This becomes even more important as he passes from childhood into adolescence. The insecure child and the rejected child find social development a most unpleasant undertaking, and may try out various adjustment techniques in an effort to solve their problems. The failure to attain a satisfactory role presents a critical problem to the adolescent. Studies have revealed several important findings relative to a child's relation to his peers:

1. The child desires the approval of his peers.
2. The relative importance of peer approval increases as the individual grows into adolescence.
3. Preadolescents and adolescents like to imitate their peers or those slightly older than they are.
4. Good peer relations during preadolescence are perhaps the best assurance available for good peer relations during adolescence and postadolescence.
5. Early adolescence is accompanied by the formation of cliques. These cliques play an important part in satisfying certain felt needs of adolescents.

There is probably no period in the average individual's life when he does not have the desire to be popular among his peers. This desire is perhaps keener during the teen years than at any other time of life. The results of a survey by the Purdue University Public Opinion Poll, taken of more than 10,000 high-school students across the nation, show the nature and extent of teen-agers' desire for popularity. Girls were somewhat more concerned than boys with being popular. This difference is no doubt closely related to social conventions that place greater restrictions on the initiative of girls in making friends. Sue may admire Jim and want him to date her, but as a rule she must await Jim's move. However, it is well known that girls learn a technique for securing dates and attention from boys, without appearing to make the first move. The results for boys and girls were as follows: [3]

Almost 50 per cent of the boys and 60 per cent of the girls checked the item *I want people to like me more.*

The item *I wish I were more popular* was checked by 30 per cent of the boys and 47 per cent of the girls.

The desire to make new friends was checked by 45 per cent of the boys and 56 per cent of the girls.

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[3] These results of the Purdue University Opinion Poll are adapted from *The Atlanta Journal* for July 4, 1949.

Many of the young people felt the need for help in making better social adjustments. High-school students writing to the panel requested information about how to overcome shyness, how to carry on a pleasant conversation, how to handle social relations of an embarrassing nature, and the like. On the basis of the results, girls apparently felt more secure than boys in their conversational ability. They were, however, more concerned about gaining self-confidence than were the boys. Specific social skills that help individuals to get along better did not seem to be a significant problem for most of the boys and girls. Sixteen per cent wanted help in introducing people properly. Nineteen per cent felt that they should learn to be more tactful. Twenty per cent wanted information on how to act on formal occasions. Only eight per cent felt that they should be less aggressive in their social behavior.

Adolescent friendships. Availability of social contacts and mutual satisfaction of needs were found by Reader and English to be the most important variables in adolescent female friendships.[4] Girls with similar interests and tastes would thus appear more likely to be able to satisfy these mutual needs. This is in harmony with results obtained from the California growth studies of adolescents.[5] Responses were obtained to the question "What kind of people do you like to be with best?" At all levels studied the majority of boys and girls checked the response that they preferred to be with their own age groups, although the results presented in Table 13–1 show that many adolescent girls (girls in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades) indicate a desire to be with people a few years older. This no doubt stems from the greater physiological maturity of a large percentage of girls at these grade levels (in comparison with the boys at the same levels).

A study of the friendship fluctuations of rural adolescent boys and girls was conducted by Thompson and Horrocks.[6] In this study 421 boys and 484 girls living in rural areas were studied over a two-week period. They found an increase in the stability of friendships from age 10 to 17. No significant difference in friendship fluctuations was observed between boys and girls. This increased stability of friendship during the adolescent years does not provide support for the hypothesis early advanced by Hall and others that adolescence is a period characterized as one of "storm and stress," and instability.

A second study of friendship fluctuations, conducted by these same

[4] N. Reader and H. B. English, "Personality Factors in Adolescent Friendships," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* 1947, Vol. 11, pp. 212–220.

[5] C. M. Tryon, *U. C. Inventory I: Social and Emotional Adjustment.* Revised form for presentation of cumulative record of an individual with group norms for a seven-year period, 1939. Forms are presented for both boys and girls.

[6] G. G. Thompson and J. E. Horrocks, "A Study of the Friendship Fluctuations of Rural Boys and Girls," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1946, Vol. 69, pp. 189–198.

investigators, compared urban and rural adolescent girls.[7] The 969 subjects used in this study were obtained from two cities in New York state and from one city in Pennsylvania. The individuals selected were
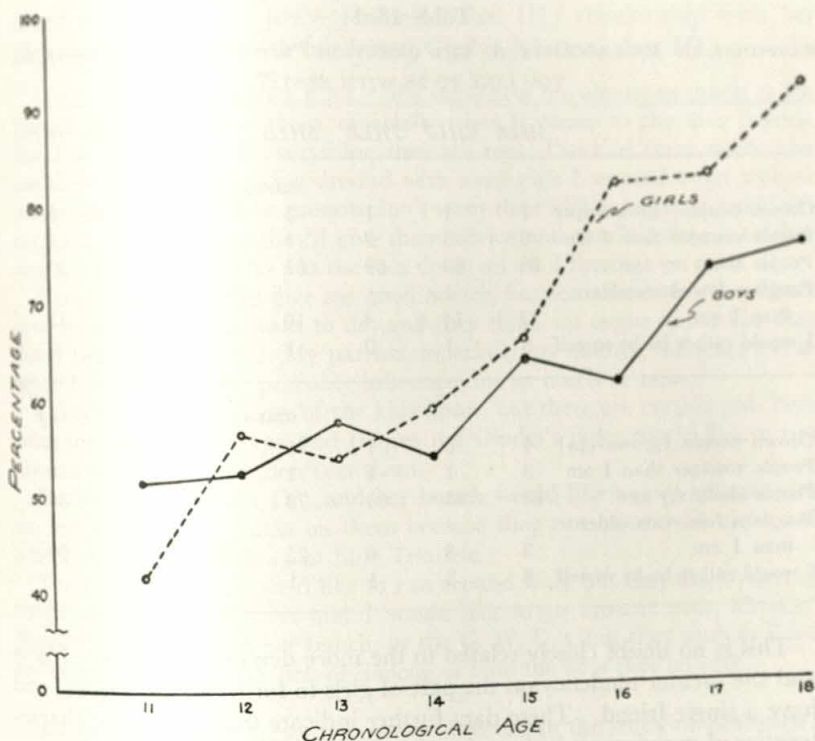
Figure 13-1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND PER-CENTAGE OF BOYS AND GIRLS CHOOSING THE SAME PERSON AS THEIR BEST FRIEND ON TWO OCCASIONS SEPARATED BY A TWO-WEEK INTERVAL. (*After Horrocks and Thompson*)

from 6 to 12. An attempt was made to select girls from families of approximately average socio-economic status; a similar attempt was made in the case of the rural adolescents in the study made at an earlier date. A comparison of the rural and urban boys in their fluctuations indicates a slightly greater stability in friendships among urban than among rural adolescents, although the difference is not statistically signifi-

[7] J. E. Horrocks and G. G. Thompson, "A Study of the Friendship Fluctuations of Urban Boys and Girls," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1947, Vol. 70, pp. 53–63.

cant. Figure 13–1 shows the relationship between age and the percentage of boys and girls choosing the same person as their best friends. For both boys and girls there is a decided tendency toward an increased stability of friendship, with the girls showing the greater increase.

Table 13–1

RESPONSE OF ADOLESCENTS TO THE QUESTION "WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE DO YOU LIKE TO BE WITH BEST?"

	5HL6	6HL7	7HL8	8HL9	9HL10	10HL11	11HL12
				BOYS			
Grown people (grown-ups)	1	1	1	3	0	0	0
People younger than I am	0	3	7	1	1	1	1
People about my age	86	80	89	87	89	85	95
People a few years older than I am	7	14	4	10	10	17	17
I would rather be by myself	6	1	0	1	1	0	0
				GIRLS			
Grown people (grown-ups)	4	6	1	1	1	0	0
People younger than I am	3	1	1	1	0	0	0
People about my age	82	85	94	78	69	62	56
People a few years older than I am	3	8	6	25	36	42	50
I would rather be by myself	8	3	1	1	1	0	1

This is no doubt closely related to the more democratic nature of boys and the greater tendency on the part of girls to form small "cliques" and have a single friend. These data further indicate that one of the characteristics of growing up is that of maintaining more stable friendships.

Adolescent cliques. Gangs and cliques characterize the adolescent age. When the 14-year-old adolescent daughter is asked where she has been, she may reply: "Oh, I have just been down the street with the gang." In this case she refers to her small group, a sort of self-sufficient unit. The study of friendship formation among Elmtown's youth furnishes worth-while information on this problem.[8] This study was designed to test the hypothesis that the social behavior of adolescents is related to the place their families occupy in the social structure of the community. This midwestern community consisting of some 10,000 inhabitants was found to be stratified into five classes. The group studied consisted of 369 boys and girls between the ages of 13 and 19 inclusive. This provided a good cross section of the teen-age group. These cliques, made up of one's peers, have an important influence on the activities of their members. Hollingshead states:

[8] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949.

Social pressure in the adolescent groups operates far more effectively, and with greater subtlety to channelize friendships within limits permitted by the social system of both the adult and the adolescent social worlds than the hopes, fears, and admonitions of anxious parents.[9]

The dual operation of the parents and peers in the clique is well illustrated in the case of Joyce Jenson's (class III) relationship with her clique and especially with her friend Gladys Johnson, class III.

We influence each other a lot. She influences me almost as much as my parents do. I listen to them, especially when it comes to choosing friends, but I don't agree with everything they tell me. I've had them really give me the dickens about going around with some girls I wanted to go with or maybe Gladys did. Most parents don't want their kids running around with certain other kids, and they'll give them advice and they'll follow it or they won't, but when my folks put the foot down on me I listen.

I know that the folks give me good advice, but sometimes they just don't understand what kids want to do, and they think we ought to act like they acted twenty years ago. My parents, especially my mother, influence me in what I do, but Gladys probably influences me as much or more.

I don't want to run any of the kids down, but there are certain girls here who are just not my type and they're not Gladys's type; they'd like to run around with us, but we don't let them.

Pauline Tryon (class IV) and her bunch would like to run around with us, but we turn our backs on them because they run around all night, cut school, and hang out down at Blue Triangle.

There are some kids we'd like to run around with, but they don't want us to go with them. Gladys and I would like to go around with "Cookie" Barnett (class II) and her bunch, or the G. W. G.'s, but they snub us if we try to get in on their parties, or dances, or date the boys they go with.

An analysis of the 1,258 clique ties observed in the study of Elmtown's youth revealed that approximately three out of five are between boys or girls of the same class position, two out of five are between adolescents who belong to adjacent classes, and one out of 25 involves individuals who belong to classes twice removed from one another. The detailed study of close ties disclosed that from 49 to 70 per cent of all clique ties are with class equals. It also reveals that when a class I boy or girl crosses a class line, and about one-third do, a member of class II is likely to be involved. Likewise, when a class II boy or girl crosses the class line, he moves into class I or class III. Thus, we note that the polar classes are largely isolated one from another insofar as intimate, personal, face-to-face relations are concerned.

Isolates. Among boys and girls at this age level are those who are termed "isolates." These boys and girls for one reason or another have

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[9] Reprinted by permission from *Elmtown's Youth* by A. B. Hollingshead, published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949, p. 208. The case of Joyce Jenson is also reprinted from the Elmtown study.

no close ties with other members of the group. In a study by Wisenbaker 66 ninth-grade girls were asked to list their first four choices of friends.[10] Some results of this study are presented in the sociogram of Figure 13-2. These results are typical of what one would expect to find among a group of high-school girls. Several closely knit cliques were observed. The sociogram shows that several girls were chosen by no one or by just one person. A study of isolates shows that no single pattern characterizes them. The isolates of Wisenbaker's study failed to participate in class
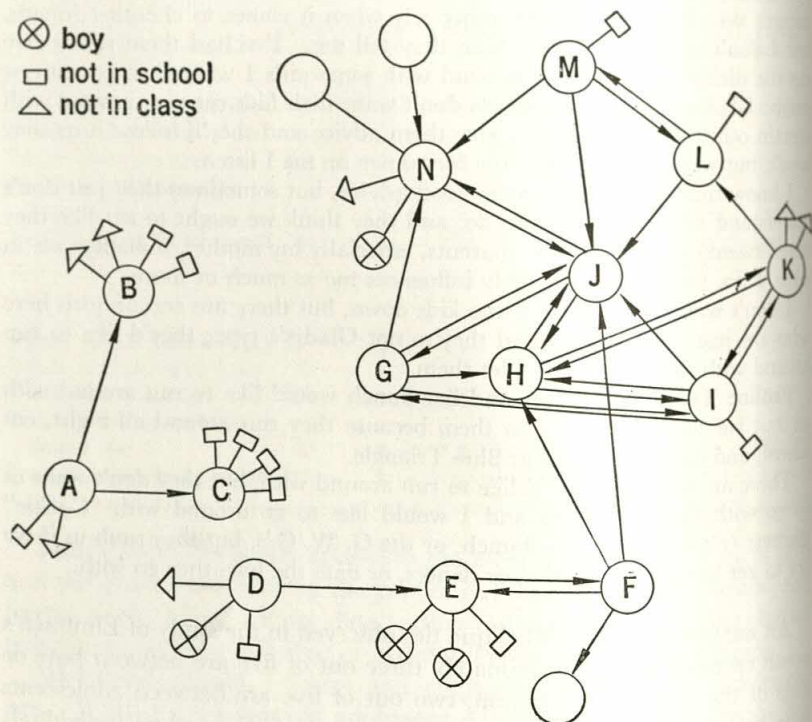
Figure 13–2

projects of various kinds and displayed a lack of confidence and experience in activities involving social skills. The non-isolates were found to be more stable emotionally, to have fewer absences from school, to have a greater variety of interests, to be more interested in being with people and sharing experiences, to participate in class and extraclass activities to a greater degree, and to come from homes with higher cultural standards.

Traits associated with acceptability. Closely related to the formation

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[10] M. A. Wisenbaker, "A Study of the Factors Related to Social Isolation among High School Girls with Implications that Social Adjustment May be Improved," Master's Thesis, University of Georgia, 1952, p. 32.

of friendships is the problem of being popular with the group. The desire for popularity is very strong among most adolescent boys and girls. Also, the factors that contribute to social acceptability change with age. This is another manifestation of social growth. A study by Kuhlen and Lee was designed to obtain measures of social acceptability at the sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-grade levels.[11] Data were gathered from 700 children from schools in central New York. The difference between the percentages of the most acceptable group and the percentage of the least acceptable group who evidenced a trait determined the rank of the trait. These ranks are presented in Table 13–2. The similarity in relative importance of various traits at grades VI, IX, and XII is obvious from the list presented in this table. A major change for both boys and girls is the reduction in importance of good looks and the increase in the importance of more sociable traits.

Table 13–2

TRAITS HAVING THE HIGHEST ASSOCIATION WITH ACCEPTABILITY
(*After Kuhlen and Lee*)

(BOYS)

Sixth grade	Ninth grade	Twelfth grade
Cheerful	Popular	Friendly
Enthusiastic	Enthusiastic	Initiates games
Friendly	Friendly	Enthusiastic
Popular	Takes chance	Cheerful
Good looking	Cheerful	Popular

(GIRLS)

Friendly	Popular	Popular
Enthusiastic	Cheerful	Friendly
Good looking	Friendly	Enthusiastic
Popular	Enthusiastic	Sociable
Initiates games	Initiates games	Enjoys jokes

The importance of class status for the social development of the individual was emphasized in an earlier chapter. It has been observed that beliefs, attitudes, moral practices, and values vary with class status. The traditional high school operates so as to instill middle-class ways of behaving and values in the students. The established church in the community also tends to uphold middle-class standards, with the general result that

[11] R. G. Kuhlen and B. J. Lee, "Personality Characteristics and Social Acceptability in Adolescence," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1943, Vol. 34, pp. 321–340.

they often fail to reach into the lives of lower-class children. Pope noted some interesting differences in peer culture prestige values of 12-year-olds from contrasting socio-economic backgrounds.[12] Some of these are presented in Table 13–3. It will be noted that fighting, physical domination, and "loudness" are more acceptable among 12-year-olds from the low socio-economic group than from the high group.

Table 13–3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES IN PRESTIGE VALUES (*After Pope*)

Behavior more acceptable to boys from lower class:
Fighting
Physical domination of group
Daring and leadership
Restless behavior

Behavior more acceptable to boys from higher class:
Going out with girls
Ability to take a joke
Classroom conformity
Quieter type of enthusiasm

Behavior more acceptable to girls from lower class:
Fighting tomboy
Direct aggression (fighting)
Peers who go out with boys regarded as tomboys

Behavior more acceptable to girls from higher class:
Going out with boys
Ability to take a joke
Tidy and quiet
Well behaved in class
Having older friends
Peers who go out with boys regarded as effeminate, popular

Desire for social approval. Sex, notions of self, and the like play a prominent part in the individual's growth and development. It is through these that the group is able to establish and maintain uniformity in manners, styles, and interests. The force of public opinion tends to cause the adolescent to accept readily the standards and customs of the social group; because of public opinion the individual endeavors to further his position in life, and takes pride in his success. The desire for social approval becomes integrated early with the major biological forms of motivation of sex and hunger, the natural tendencies of the individual becoming so modified as to gain it. The very fact that this desire is operating in the life of the individual is evidence that he is becoming a full-fledged member of the social group.

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[12] B. Pope, "Socio-economic Contrasts in Children's Peer Culture Prestige Values," *Genetic Psychology Monographs,* 1953, Vol. 48, pp. 157–220.

"In the higher forms of social integration, the dominance often goes out of the hands of a single man and is crystallized into law, customs, traditions, and social sanctions. . . . In most social organizations there is a limit to the powers of the dominant person, idea, custom, or force." [13] Now if we begin to study these limitations, we shall probably find homogeneity to be the main force. As the child reaches maturity and becomes more and more a social rather than an individual creature, the force of the role and opinion of the group grows stronger, and is especially prominent in the development of social consciousness. But if the adolescents of the group are homogeneous, the customs, rules, and so forth will play a still more important role than they would otherwise. Homogeneity itself depends upon communicability, similarity of interests and beliefs, and—especially—similarity of general racial features. When this homogeneity exists, control and social integration are more easily effected—a fact that should be carefully observed by those in charge of our educational practice and by those dealing with clubs and group programs designed for adolescents.

Again, the desire for social approval might be thought of in connection with more complex adjustments in the life of the adolescent. Let us consider the "sweet girl graduate" from high school just prior to her graduation, and assume that she desires a certain graduation dress and other novelties that will blend with each other and with her general make-up. The images of these articles as they would appear on her constantly run through her mind. She imagines her friends' approval of this attractive outfit; she imagines herself winning Jack's attention, which she desires greatly. But the economic conditions of her family are such that she cannot purchase the clothes, and she therefore must either do without the costume or find some means as yet unknown to purchase them. Thus one will find adolescents and postadolescents often willing to resort to questionable devices in order to win the approval of their friends. Here we find the girl resorting to various devices in order to appear sexually attractive to the boy she admires. The beautiful wearing apparel will help her to become more attractive, and she recognizes that Jack is quite fond of such a type of costume; she may therefore deprive herself of the movies, other amusements, and even food in order that she may be able to buy what she considers necessities. Again, even petty crimes or misrepresentations may be resorted to in order to win social approval. The average high-school girl's ego complex is well developed around certain erotic tendencies, and these become more powerful as they involve the approval or disapproval of the male sex.

The adolescent age is an acutely self-conscious one, and for this reason there is need for increased tolerance of the adolescent's demands, ideas,

[13] M. A. May, "The Adult in the Community," *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (C. Murchison, ed.). Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1929, p. 782.

and desires as they relate to his personal appearance. If the other girls go in for nail polish or if they wear peculiar-appearing hairdo's—far less becoming in a mother's view than an attractive bob—still, that mother would be wise to permit her daughter these forms of adornment. In so doing, she gives her greater self-confidence in the society of her peers. This is not to say that the mother should not express her preference for the coiffure more attractive by her own standards; however, parents and teachers should realize that there is a difference between having standards and imposing them. Furthermore, they would do well to examine their standards in terms of a sound philosophy of life.

HETEROSEXUAL INTERESTS
AND ACTIVITIES

Heterosexuality. By heterosexuality is meant the focus of interest upon members of the opposite sex. The study by Kuhlen and Lee reveals an increase of heterosexual relationships with an increase in age.[14] Their findings, based upon the choice of companions for a number of social activities and situations made by pupils at several grade levels, are set forth in Table 13–4. Of the sixth graders, less than one-third choose

Table 13–4

CHANGES IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AT ADOLESCENCE AS SHOWN BY THE
PERCENTAGE OF BOYS AND GIRLS AT DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS WHO
CHOOSE MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX, AND ARE CHOSEN BY
MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX, AS COMPANIONS FOR
VARIOUS ACTIVITIES (*After Kuhlen and Lee*)

	Grade		
	VI	*IX*	*XII*
Percentage of boys choosing girls	45.0	72.5	75.0
Percentage of girls choosing boys	39.2	59.7	63.0
Percentage of boys chosen by girls	31.2	49.1	65.8
Percentage of girls chosen by boys	30.8	52.4	59.7

companions of the opposite sex, but of the twelfth graders, almost two-thirds do so. There is also a significant trend for both boys and girls to choose as companions members of the opposite sex as they advance from the sixth to the twelfth grade—the greatest change occurring between the sixth and ninth grades.

A wide range of reaction patterns relative to the opposite sex exists in adolescents, and it is very difficult to generalize concerning the reactions

14 *Op. cit.,* p. 326.

of the group as a whole. However, since the sexual urge is present in every individual and probably begins to function influentially, if indirectly, quite early in life, it is evident that the differences between the reactions of various adolescents result from the direction that this urge has been given, rather than from its mere existence.

Heterosexuality itself can be properly established only by social contacts with members of the opposite sex, and in these contacts two environmental conditions are essential: first, members of the opposite sex must be of sufficient numbers, of appropriate age, and of attractive personal qualities; second, an intelligently encouraging attitude is necessary on the part of parents and others concerned with the individual's guidance and welfare. If these essentials are absent, the child may emerge from adolescence with warped and shameful attitudes toward sex matters that may encumber him permanently.

It has been observed that, in some species of animals, characteristic patterns of behavior appear *de novo* when pubertal changes in the primary and secondary sexual characters and accessory organs of sex are most in evidence. Among the primates in particular, a limited amount of sexual play is said to appear prior to the pubertal changes. In either case it can be said that the sexual drive is greatly augmented as the time

Dating. For many adolescents the early stages of dating are characterized by timidity and social awkwardness. (© *Look Magazine*)

of somatic puberty approaches, and that it continues to grow in strength for some time thereafter by virtue of factors of maturation and of sexual contacts and experiences. Since the sexual drive is at heightened strength as a result of the development processes at work, the manifestation of increased sexual activities and sexual play by adolescents is to be expected. The savage youth was prepared to gain his living by the time the sex drive ripened. In contrast, it has already been revealed that in a civilized community most adolescents are in school when this happens, and that economic security and independence are still a dream. It is therefore not possible for the 14- or 15-year-old boy or girl to enter into economic pursuits in order to support a family; moreover, customs as well as laws do not permit him to do so; and yet, there has been no significant change in the period of the onset of the sex drive.

The beginning stage of dating. One of the developmental tasks set forth for adolescents is that of attaining satisfactory relations with members of the opposite sex. When the adolescent has his or her first date the parents then begin to realize that their son or daughter is actually "growing up." The testimony of many boys and girls reveals that the majority have their first formal date on occasions such as picnics, parties, movies, and at church activities. Often the first date is complicated by the advice from parents or the teasing of peers. Young people may be disappointed as a result of this condition and refrain from further dating. The first date is often a cooperative endeavor involving members of cliques of the opposite sex. Parents and teachers should realize that this is an important step in the transition from childhood to adolescent life. Some common characteristics of these first dates are shyness, fear of doing the wrong thing, fear of saying something the other person will resent, and overcautiousness.

The more adventurous youngsters begin to date when they are 12 years of age. This is usually done on picnics and family get-togethers, and often the parents are present. It is usually around the fourteenth year when a more definite dating pattern becomes clear. Dating practices continue after this time so that by the time the individual is 16 years of age it is an accepted procedure. It is fairly clear that between the fourteenth and sixteenth years the associational pattern of a large percentage of adolescents change from almost exclusive interaction with members of their own sex to a mixed associational pattern similar to that found among adults. According to the reports of adolescents of the Elmtown study 43 per cent of the boys and 58 per cent of the girls experienced the thrill of their "first date" before they entered high school.

Dating during adolescence. The extent of dating by high-school students will depend upon the customs, living conditions, social backgrounds, and special interests of the particular age-group concerned. Seniors date more than freshmen, and report chaperonage less frequently. This, no

doubt, reflects their greater social and physical maturity, and the increased willingness of their parents to allow them, as they grow older, to associate freely with members of the opposite sex. Punke reports a study of youth from nine states, ranging from North Carolina and Pennsylvania in the east to California and Washington in the west.[15] Materials relating to frequency of dating are presented in Table 13–5. According to these

Table 13–5

FREQUENCY OF DATING OF HIGH-SCHOOL PUPILS, AND SINGLE VERSUS DOUBLE DATING, ACCORDING TO GRADE AND SEX OF PUPIL

(*After Punke*)

GRADE AND SEX OF PUPIL		FREQUENCY IN NUMBER OF DATES PER MONTH					SINGLE VS. DOUBLE DATING	
		Number Reporting	Percentage Distribution, according to Number of Dates per Month				Number Reporting	Percentage of Double Dates
			None	*1–4*	*5–10*	*over 10*		
Freshman:	Boys	1276	53.8	20.6	16.0	9.6	623	45.4
	Girls	1490	53.0	21.3	17.0	8.7	814	81.0
Senior:	Boys	1408	21.6	29.5	28.9	20.0	1094	55.6
	Girls	1454	13.6	19.4	33.1	33.9	1412	80.6

data, no significant sex differences appear among the freshmen; this, even though girls mature earlier than boys, is a circumstance that suggests greater parental restriction of girls' social life. Senior girls, however, according to these data, do more dating than senior boys; for this there are several possible explanations, but it is quite likely that many of the former are dating older boys who have already finished high school, a supposition in harmony with findings relative to the earlier marriage of girls than of boys.

In Punke's study the students were asked to indicate, in order, the three types of activities in which they most frequently engaged, and the three types they preferred. The answers to these questions were tabulated for Georgia and California. There was very little difference between the activities listed as most commonly engaged in and those preferred. The three items that led both of these lists were: dancing, attending movies, and riding in automobiles. Punke concludes further:

[15] H. H. Punke, "Dating Practices of High-School Youth," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals,* January 1944, Vol. 28, No. 119.
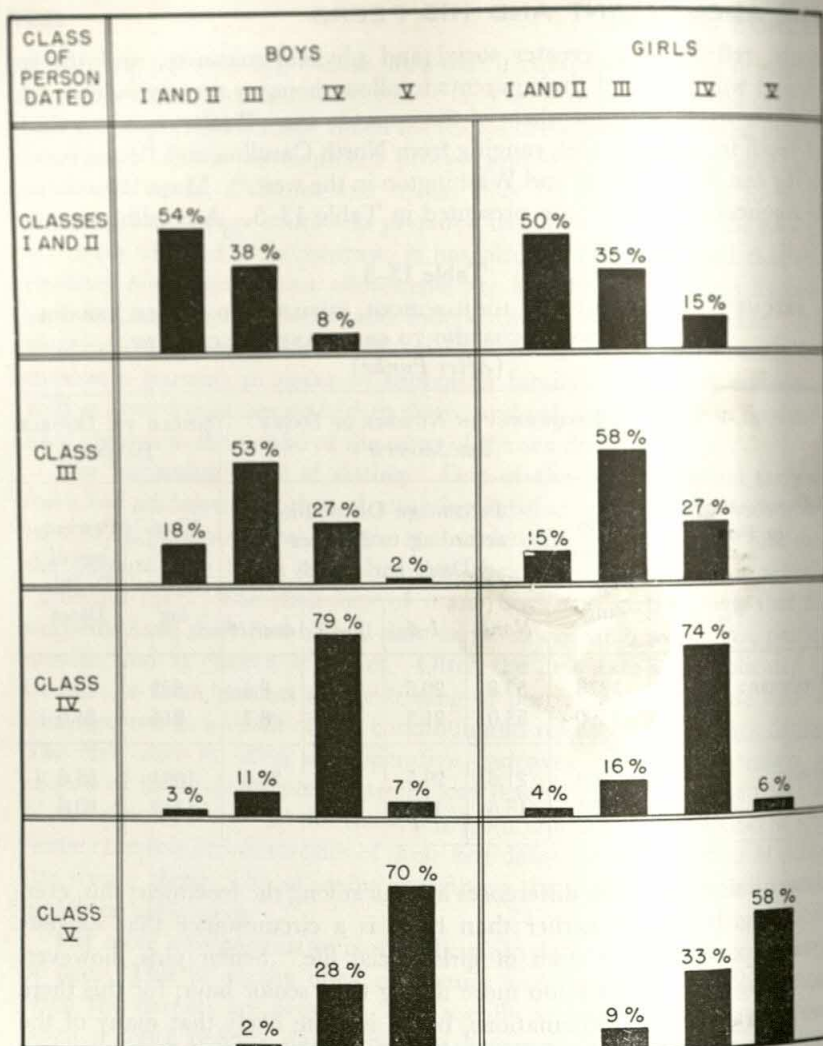
Figure 13–3. INTRA- AND INTERCLASS DATING PATTERNS OF BOYS AND GIRLS OF ELMTOWN. (*After Hollingshead*)

In California both freshmen and seniors of both sexes ranked movies highest among things done, whereas in Georgia boys of both grades placed carriding first among things done, and girls gave first place to movies. For both grades and sexes in California, dancing was intermediate between car-riding and movies so far as activities engaged in were concerned, whereas in Georgia, both sexes combined, the freshmen placed dancing first among those three activities and seniors placed it last. In both states and for both grade levels, boys reported that they engaged in some type of athletic activity when on dates more typically than did girls—*i.e.*, tennis, swimming, bowling,

skating, hiking. It is interesting that members of both sexes, for both grades and both states, reported that when on dates they *engaged* in athletic activity much more commonly than they observed athletic events. In Georgia youth engaged in religious activity when on dates to a substantially greater extent than was true in California, and in Georgia seniors of both sexes engaged in such activities more extensively than did freshmen.[16]

The intra- and interclass dating patterns closely parallel the clique patterns.[17] No dates were observed among Elmtown's youth between members of class II and members of class V. In this case the social distance between the classes is too great. On the other hand 61 per cent of the dates belong to the same class; 35 per cent to an adjacent class; and 4 per cent to a class separated by one intervening class. The association of class with class is clearly illustrated in Figure 13-3. This chart shows that the boy is more willing than the girl to date someone in a lower class structure than himself, or has more opportunity to do so since he is the one that takes the initiative in the dating. Many factors may be introduced to show why the boy dates in a class position below his more often than a girl does. The fact remains that when an Elmtown boy dates outside his class position the chances are two to one that he dates a girl in a class below his; when the girl dates a member of a different social class, the chances are two to one that she dates in a class above her own.

A nationwide sample of 2,500 high-school students was studied to determine the attitudes of teen-agers toward dating practices.[18] The students were first asked to rate a list of 25 items from the standpoint of their importance in making or accepting a date. The seven that were rated highest are, in order of rank, as follows:

> Is physically and mentally fit
> Is dependable, can be trusted
> Takes pride in personal appearance and manners
> Is clean in speech and manners
> Has pleasant disposition and sense of humor
> Is considerate of me and others
> Acts own age, is not childish

Although there was a close agreement by boys and girls in the ratings given the various items, there were some differences noted in the expected direction. Males regarded cooking ability as important, while the females stressed the importance of financial support. In addition males gave greater stress to physical appearance, while the females gave greater stress to moderation regarding intimacy, parental approval, and consideration

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[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

[17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 231-232. Figure 13-3 is reprinted by permission from *Elmtown's Youth* by A. B. Hollingshead, published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949.

[18] H. T. Christensen, "Dating Behavior as Evaluated by High-school Students," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1951-52, Vol. 57, pp. 580-586. University of Chicago Press (Copyright 1951-52 by the University of Chicago).

toward others. There were some interesting differences in the patterns
of objectionable behavior listed. Males were in general characterized as
being less inhibited and more careless, thoughtless, disrespectful, sex-
driven, and louder than their dating partners. On the other hand,
females were characterized as being less natural and more touchy, money-
minded, unresponsive, childish, and flighty than their dating partners.

Both boys and girls rather commonly experienced feelings of inade-
quacy in the dating situation. Thus, a large percentage from each sex
were anxious for the other sex to assume more initiative in making dates.
The data presented in Table 13–6 show that the majority of boys and
girls do not share the viewpoint sometimes proposed that girls should pay
about half the expenses of dates; although more boys than girls favor
"dutch-dating." It is interesting to note that a larger percentage of girls
than boys accept the double standard of morality. This is in harmony
with other aspects of this and other studies that females are more critical
of their own sex than males are of theirs. The answers to the questions
concerning necking and petting during dates show variations according
to sex and degree of intimacy. A smaller proportion of the girls than boys
approved kissing on the first date. This was clearly brought out in a

Table 13–6

COMPARISON OF ANSWERS OF HIGH-SCHOOL BOYS AND GIRLS TO CERTAIN
QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO DATING (*After Christensen*)

Do you believe that—	Yes *Per cent* Boys	Girls	No *Per cent* Boys	Girls	Undecided or Unanswered *Per cent* Boys	Girls
It would be a good thing if girls could be as free as boys in asking for dates?	48	27	33	54	19	19
It would be a good thing if girls would pay half the expense of dates?	29	21	53	55	18	24
It is all right for a couple to kiss on the first date?	51	33	26	44	23	23
The first kiss should be delayed until after marriage?	3	3	87	93	10	4
Intimate petting should be de-layed until after marriage?	31	66	39	16	30	18
Sexual immorality is any more wrong for girls than for boys?	27	36	42	32	31	32

comparison of results obtained by Sister Knoebber [19] from Catholic high-school girls with those obtained by Fleege [20] from Catholic high-school boys. More than one-fifth of the girls replied "Yes," to the question about whether they thought petting and necking were sinful, while only 5 per cent of the boys replied "Yes" to this question. In general, the greater the intimacy, the less it is approved for dating by either sex.

THE SEX LIFE OF ADOLESCENTS

A mistaken assumption often made is that the problem of the expression of the sexual drive appears as a newly structured problem with the advent of puberty. The child is guided and forced by parents, teachers, and social custom to establish certain controls, thereby limiting the expression of various bodily or sensual pleasures associated with the sexual drive. These controls, both direct and indirect, are directed toward a control of varied infantile and childhood forms of behavior related to the sexual drive, as distinguished from the more complex nature of the drive as it appears during adolescence. Thus adolescence is a period during which this drive is normally directed toward varied forms of heterosexual behavior whose biological purpose is reproduction.

Studies of trends in sexual behavior, notably those conducted by Kinsey and his associates, attest to the strength and importance of the sex drive among men and women.[21] The development, control, and direction of the sex drive during the adolescent years presents problems that are challenging to all the social forces concerned with the training and guidance of adolescents.

Self-assertion before the opposite sex. Self-assertion in the form of self-display before members of the opposite sex has been observed among sexually maturing male animals as well as among adolescent boys. During the mating season there seems to be an overstock of energy that is stored up in animals and is released in the various courting acts that are initiated in response to specific stimulations. In certain species, notably among birds of prey, both male and female show this exuberance, and it is quite common to find it expressed through wonderful flying performances, circlings around each other, and calls peculiar to the kind. The male's showing-off before the female is particularly spectacular. Doubtless a feeling of pleasantness arises from these performances, owing to the growth and maturation of physical structures and reflex co-ordinations and the general release of bodily tensions.

[19] Sister M. Knoebber, *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Girl.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1936, p. 110.

[20] U. H. Fleege, *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1944, p. 294.

[21] A. C. Kinsey, *et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948; ———, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1953.

Darwin gives a most striking picture of display by male peacocks and pheasants—their gorgeous crests and tails are given the optimum display before the female.[22] Darwin further writes that the Angus pheasant appears to observe carefully the female's responses to his show; this could be explained adequately not as a result of some instinct of pride but rather as pride that has developed from experience and from the structures of the organism that are now coming to fruition. This courting among various animal types involves activities somewhat subsidiary to sexual ends, and playful exercise is a consequence of superfluous energy that becomes in part directed toward members of the same species and of the opposite sex.

In the human race this assertive tendency can also be seen. Witness the young adolescent, with his daring spirit, overexertion, and constant display of strength and skill. His situation is similar to that of Darwin's pheasant. And the same can be said of the female of the human species: her feminine manners, her shyness, and her persistent efforts to outwit her rivals are all manifestations of this same tendency. In order to reach normal adult stature the adolescent must pass, during these years that comprise the adolescent period, from a stage characterized by infantile and childhood expressions of the sex drive built primarily around the self to that of heterosexuality involving sex consciousness in relation to members of the opposite sex.

Students of physiology and child psychology have shown that the secondary sexual characteristics of both male and female are dependent, in the final analysis, upon certain internal secretions, particularly those of the sex glands. General internal changes prevalent during sexual excitation have an emotional tone and cause a general restlessness that involves the whole of the organism's behavior. Marston offers evidence that during this state there is, in addition, a general lowering of the blood pressure. The sacral division of the autonomic nervous system is, it will appear, operating more than normally, and this unusual operation tends to direct excessive quantities of blood and glandular secretions into channels which —although they are often not so recognized—are directly related to the sex emotion. These changes are a result of profound visceral and glandular changes and, as we have noted, tend to affect all behavior of the organism.

Not all members of the sexes are attractive to the opposite sex, nor does the same person make an equal appeal to all. Beauty, good manners, "feminine qualities," health, education, and "personality" are but a few characteristics listed by boys as desirable in girls. Feminine good looks are usually listed as most essential to sex attraction, but their evaluation will differ from decade to decade. During the latter part of the nine-

[22] C. Darwin, *Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1873.

teenth century curves were deemed the ideal of beauty; but within a period of 25 or 30 years thereafter, curves seriously lost vogue. To draw conclusions, one need only to examine the styles of the past, whether of a century or several centuries, and compare them with each other and with those of today. Girls of former times had, indeed, their sex appeal; they were adored, surely. But if a girl were to appear today with their manners and dress, she would at best be viewed as a curiosity.

The generalization that might be made from these facts is that the current vogue in costumes, manners, language, interests, cosmetics, hairdressing, and so forth makes for sex appeal among those contemporarily on the scene, but that if this vogue is revived later, its followers may be considered ridiculous. The modern mother who insists that her daughter imitate her in dress, manners, interests, and so on either fails to recognize this truth or refuses to live according to its principle. When the facts are rightly understood, we may rightly appraise the value of clothes, appearance, manners, and other subjects of controversy.

The response of the adolescent boy or girl to what is strange or forbidden must not be overlooked, for both curiosity and self-assertion are important in the motivation of conduct. Familiarity with an individual will tend to lessen the sex appeal of that individual. Thus, if the "new girl" in the community has a somewhat different sex appeal, she will have an advantage over the others. Fickleness is indeed characteristic of sexual phenomena, especially in adolescence; and, it may be observed, changes of style serve to augment it by renewing elements of "strangeness." On the other hand, the spirit of self-assertion, which has already been noted as related to sexual life and which we shall consider further at a later point in this study, leads to love-making in the face of great obstacles. Thus *forbiddance* and *self-assertion* are often present in behavior as a combination that should not be ignored—especially by parents. Because of this combination, troubles often develop between parents and children in connection with courtship and marriage.

Adolescent crushes. Adolescent crushes are very common and should not be looked upon with too much fear and anxiety on the part of parents and teachers. Some of these, however, involve intimate and prolonged relations between members of the same sex and should be given special consideration. Perhaps the most undesirable feature of these continued crushes is that they deprive the individuals concerned of the opportunity for normal, healthy development of broad social contacts with members of both sexes, which are very important during this period of life. These crushes are more frequently found among girls than among boys, and sometimes appear among individuals of different age levels, as was the case of Alice.

Alice was a very attractive, intelligent young girl, 16 years of age, who was causing her parents a great deal of concern because she had developed a very

resentful attitude toward authority, was extremely antagonistic toward all suggestions, and seemed hypercritical toward life in general. This young person had lived rather a secluded life and had made but few contacts with young people, either boys or girls. Then very suddenly she had developed an intense admiration for a girl who was somewhat older than herself and who came from a somewhat lower social and cultural level. The older girl was flattered by Alice's attentions, invitations, letters, and gifts, and clung quite as closely to Alice as did Alice to her.

All attempts on the part of Alice's parents to meet this problem, first by teasing and ridicule, later by threats, punishments, and deprivations, served no useful purpose. They did nothing more than make this young person feel that the object of her devotion was being maligned and persecuted. It was never suspected by the family that the girl herself had a good many conflicts over this relation, that she was eager to broaden her contacts, and that she was extremely desirous of having friends among boys as well as girls. On account of the circumstances under which she had been brought up and a certain inherent shyness and diffidence, a special effort had to be made on the part of her parents to help her meet the young people among whom such friendships could develop. This they were perfectly willing to do when they understood the emotional nature of the problem.[23]

As indicated in the case of Alice, attempts to break up the crush were met with antagonism and rebellion. There is an intense loyalty on the part of the parties concerned toward each other. Criticisms from family and friends are met with resentment. In the end, these intense crushes are self-eliminating. A wider range of contacts and experiences on the part of one or both members is one of the most effective ways of meeting these problems.

Petting. Problems relating to dating, going "steady," and petting are not new, except for the fact that they are more in evidence than formerly. Also, petting is more widely practiced and accepted among so-called "nice" people as an aspect of dating. It is no longer reserved for the family parlor, or even for some secluded spot. In the automobile, at the beach, in the school corridors, at the movies, and in other public places wherever adolescents appear, petting may be observed. The fact that adolescents feel free to carry on a reasonable amount of petting in public, and often in the presence of their parents, is an indication of the less cramped and inhibited feelings on the part of modern adolescents about the whole subject of sex and changed attitudes about the roles of the sexes. This has no doubt resulted in a healthier comradeship among boys and girls. It seems likely that petting is being utilized more and more as a sublimation.

The problem of petting has increased the necessity for sex guidance and the need for a favorable attitude of boys and girls toward sex as an im-

[23] *Guiding the Adolescent.* Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Publication 225, 1946, p. 73.

portant aspect of human life and existence. Thus, parents, teachers, and others are more and more removing the cloud of secrecy which has so often surrounded the subject of sex.

The problem of sex is but one aspect of the life of the adolescent, but it is an aspect that should be dealt with honestly and frankly. Parents should recognize that adolescents are not living in a Victorian age. The goals of guidance should be that of the development of normal and wholesome attitudes of boys and girls toward sex, so that in the end they will find the optimum of satisfaction in their home and marriage relations.

There is evidence, from comparing figures of the sex lives of college women reported by Davis in 1929 with those reported about a decade later by Bromley and Britten, that a changed attitude and practice toward sex mores is operating in our society.[24] Terman's study in 1938 of factors making for marital happiness lends still further support to this contention.[25] In his study the sex histories of the older and younger age-groups of 792 married people were studied. The experience of sex relations before marriage in the older group was 49.4 per cent for the males and 13.5 per cent for the females; for the younger group the percentages were increased to 86.4 for the males and 68.3 for the females. These studies, supplemented by other studies as well as by their own data from 613 subjects, led Porterfield and Salley to support the validity of an hypothesis they set forth, which was:

First, the older universals of the sex mores are being replaced by numerous alternatives in the current sexual folkways, and as a result, the control of sexual behavior is much relaxed. Second, in the light of this change, it is becoming increasingly difficult to define sex delinquency in any special sense, and perhaps meaningless to try to do so.[26]

Adolescents, like many adults, are in a state of confusion relative to sex codes. In literature, on television and radio, at the movies, in the classroom, at home, and at church they are bombarded with codes that are at variance with each other. Furthermore, members of a single group of boys and girls may have different codes. Thus, in our democratic spirit, each adolescent has to unravel from these a code that is acceptable to himself and not too much at variance with that of his peers. Jane is faced with many problems relative to petting. Where can she secure information to help her solve these problems? To whom can she turn for sound guidance and understanding? How can she maintain standards and retain friends of the opposite sex?

According to the Kinsey reports there is no single "American sex pat-

[24] D. B. Bromley and F. Britten, *Youth and Sex.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1938.
[25] L. M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 323.
[26] A. L. Porterfield and E. Salley, "Current Folkways of Sexual Behavior," *The American Journal of Sociology,* 1946, Vol. 52, p. 209.

tern." Thus, there is no generally accepted code that furnishes Jane with an answer to these problems. The sex attitudes and patterns of the average child are formed through contacts and associations with his playmates and friends, with the home playing an indirect rather than a direct role at most stages. The importance of the home in shaping attitudes toward sex during the preschool period has been emphasized by many psychologists. Concerning the formation and stability of sexual patterns at this time Kinsey has stated:

. . . individuals in our American society rarely adopt totally new patterns of sexual behavior after their middle teens. It would appear that changes that do occur are departures made by preadolescent and adolescent children from the patterns of their parents. We have at least progressed in our understanding of social forces when we have recognized these very early years as fundamental in the development of both individual and community patterns of sexual behavior.[27]

However, Jane needs guidance in the development of secondary sexual behavior that will satisfy her needs and tend to reduce sexual tension in ways that are socially acceptable and satisfying to her.

Some misconceptions about sex. Many misconceptions about sexual development and the sex drive appear among different groups. Some of these have been discussed in previous chapters. In the early years of life the sex impulse appears to act rather vaguely and indirectly, although one must not conclude that it is absent or dormant prior to the onset of puberty. The relationship between conduct during the earlier years of life and later sex life is not clear, but there is evidence that sex is somewhat related to the love behavior of the young child. With the development of the sex glands, and the maturation of the individual both physically and socially in a social world, many factors may operate to cause behavior resulting from the release of certain drives to deviate from a normal or socially acceptable course. Some of these factors are: repression, ignorance, sex phobias, disgust, curiosity, or some other conditions emotionally toned. It is during the stage of the operation of such factors that trial-and-error behavior occurs. The subject will try many methods of adjusting himself sexually, and some of his efforts may result in perversions—habits that are undesirable either because they will bring ultimate personal dissatisfaction or because they interfere with normal social relations.

There have been a number of investigations bearing on the frequency of masturbation and other sexual aberrations. The frequency of such aberrations varies so much from group to group that it would be unsafe to generalize widely from these studies. One of the most widespread misconceptions among preadolescents and adolescents about sexual activ-

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[27] A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeray, and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948.

Personal and social adjustment. WHOLESOME ACTIVITIES INVOLVING MEMBERS OF BOTH SEXES ARE ESSENTIAL FOR GOOD PERSONAL AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF TODAY'S ADOLESCENTS. (*Courtesy Division of General Extension, University of Georgia*)

ities is that masturbation is likely to have serious physical and mental aftereffects. There is little if any evidence that masturbation among adolescents is actually harmful, although this does not mean that it is to be encouraged. Actually masturbation is quite common; therefore, if it were very harmful the ill effects would be more observable. The study by Ramsey revealed that masturbation among boys sometimes began during the preschool period and by the age of 12, 73 per cent admitted engaging in it, and by the age of 15, 98 per cent had had such an experience.[28]

The studies of girls do not reveal such a high percentage engaging in masturbation, although the figures are sufficiently high to be alarming, were the practice so serious in nature.

Homosexuality. Homosexuality, sometimes referred to as homoerotism, refers to a personality whose sexual interests are inclined toward members of his own sex rather than the opposite sex. Although differ-

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[28] G. V. Ramsey, "The Sex Information of Younger Boys," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1943, Vol. 13, pp. 347–352.

ences in physical make-up and balance between male and female hormones exist between adolescents of the same sex, there are also certain environmental factors that contribute toward homosexuality.

Cline reports that among the Arabs of Siwah the boy may pass his youth as the homosexual partner of an older friend of the family.[29] At maturity, in addition to normal marriage, the boy becomes a homosexual partner to a younger boy. In Western civilization environmental pressures sometimes operate to make adolescents deviate sexually. However, due to hormone differences not all adolescents of the same sex would be affected to the same degree by such pressures. Some boys may be made very effeminate in their behavior by mothers who persist in treating them as they would their daughters. The overprotected girl shielded in a strict girls' school has only the opportunity to associate with girls and to satisfy her sexual needs through these associations. These experiences may lead the adolescent boy or girl to desire homosexual stimulation and gratification. The data by Ramsey showed that approximately one-fourth of the adolescent boys studied admitted engaging in homosexual play.[30] With many of them this was merely a matter of experimentation. Most of them will return to heterosexual behavior once the opportunity is afforded them to do so. This is indicated by the fact that the incidence of homosexual behavior among adults is relatively low. One study conducted with college students reported that only one-tenth of the group had vague fears of homosexuality or actually engaged in it.[31] The extent of homosexuality found in a group of adolescents and postadolescents will depend upon a number of factors, such as cultural norms, early sex experiences, opportunities to socialize with members of both sexes, general recreational opportunities, and the nature of the guidance given to them.

Need for guidance. A number of students of adolescent psychology have emphasized the need for guidance of boys and girls in understanding and dealing with sex problems. It was pointed out in Chapter 7 that a large percentage of boys and girls obtain their first information about sex from sources other than the home, teachers, ministers and priests, and the like. These findings have led church leaders, educators, and social workers to become concerned, with the result that some churches, schools, and other agencies have developed programs designed to meet this problem.

The importance of recreation in the lives of boys and girls is more important today than at any time in the past. The social activities that permeate much of the club work and the extraschool life of adolescents

[29] W. Cline, *Notes on the People of Siwah and El Garah in the Libyan Desert.* Menosha: General Series in Anthropology, 1936, No. 4.

[30] G. V. Ramsey, "The Sexual Development of Boys," *American Journal of Psychology,* 1945, Vol. 56, p. 230.

[31] C. C. Fry, *Mental Health in College.* New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1942.

are important avenues for the development of desirable boy-girl relationships. Through social affairs, boys and girls are given the opportunity of working together. Thus, opportunities develop for a division of responsibilities on the basis of sex. Girls make cookies and decorate tables in home economics classes, while the boys aid by making things in the shop. Many communities are alert to the interests and needs of adolescents. Recreation centers are being opened in which a reasonable amount of supervision is provided. Materials bearing on these will be presented in Chapter 15.

Units of study in natural science give worth-while information about the birth and care of living things. In the same way, the social sciences provide an understanding of man's institutions, customs, and ways of living. Through ordinary classroom activities and school programs, materials may be presented and problems projected, provided the teachers do not take a "taboo" attitude toward a discussion of any problems that may have a direct bearing on sex education. In addition there is much information and literature that bring the students into closer contact with some of the problems directly related to social relationships between boys and girls. Many family problems are well illustrated in such books as Undset's *Kristin Lavransdatter,* Maugham's *Of Human Bondage,* and Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga.*

It is in misinformation and in inadequate information that the sources of many sex problems lie. When such a condition has existed and the child is further shielded from contacts of a wholesome nature with members of the opposite sex as he grows into adolescence, he acquires distorted ideas and attitudes toward sex. Many of the present-day sex problems among growing boys would be solved at an early period if conditions and customs provided for early mating as a means of sexual release. However, this is contrary to the customs, morals, philosophy, and institutions of our civilization.

The problems that have been presented throughout this study are important not only in relation to the present social and sex adjustments of adolescent boys and girls, but also in connection with their adjustments in family life in the years ahead. Guidance and training of youth toward a well-adjusted and happy family life has been too often left to chance. This is, no doubt, an important factor affecting the extent of maladjustments in home and family living. Concerning the importance of early childhood experiences and training for family life, Cochrane has stated:

It is not too much to say that the ability to establish meaningful relationships and to find satisfaction in family life through marriage is largely conditioned by childhood experiences and by the acceptance of masculinity or femininity and sex differences by the individual.[32]

[32] H. S. Cochrane, "Emotional Aspects of Social Adjustment for the Child," *Mental Hygiene,* 1948, Vol. 32, pp. 586–595.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The period of adolescence has been described throughout this chapter as one during which adolescents develop a keen desire for peer approval. This is a period of selection of chums and friends, and friendships have been shown to become more stable at this time. The formation of cliques also characterizes this age, and these reflect the operation of sub-culture social-economic classes.

It has been suggested in previous chapters that adolescents are faced with many important developmental tasks. They do not feel that their parents always understand their needs and problems. Likewise, they do not feel that most teachers understand their problems or are sympathetic with them in their effort to solve them. There is considerable evidence that teachers do not usually understand many of the problems faced by adolescents. The fact that the teacher has already met or bypassed these problems in his development oftentimes makes such problems appear as a mere trifle in the life of an individual. Problems of social approval, making friends, being popular, being accepted, and the like are real to most growing boys and girls. Since they feel that their parents either do not understand and appreciate them or are often critical of them in relation to their activities, and since they are unable to secure the needed help and guidance from their teachers, they seek help and sympathy from their peers.

The ripening of the sex impulses at this stage is accompanied by a changed attitude toward members of the opposite sex. No longer does a boy look upon a girl his own age as someone to be avoided; he now sees her as a personality whose admiration he desires. The development of this changed attitude is a natural concomitant of the ripening sex drive.

Adolescents have, as one of the major problems of their development, identification of themselves fully with the role—masculine or feminine—characteristic of their sex, an identification that began during infancy, when parents and friends made simple distinctions between boys and girls. It is necessary for the individual to learn to play his sex role, if he expects to be acceptable to members of the opposite sex. The infant is born without any awareness of sex or knowledge of its functions. Early in life, however, he learns that boys are treated differently from girls; he becomes familiar with the sex characteristics of his own body, and identifies himself with those characteristics; he accepts the attitudes of others concerning what is masculine and what is feminine; and if his sexual life and social contacts are normal, he eventually adjusts to his own and to the opposite sex in a satisfactory manner. The establishment of desirable heterosexual relations is an important part of social maturity.

Those working with adolescents should not judge them by their voice, body build, or special mannerisms, but both boys and girls should be

guided in the achievement of their sex role. They should be encouraged to make themselves attractive to members of the opposite sex, to participate in heterosexual activities, and to realize that deviants from heterosexual interests are regarded by society as abnormal.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. What is the general significance of the findings presented in this chapter dealing with the stability of adolescent friendships? How would you account for the sex differences presented?

2. Do your observations and experiences corroborate the findings presented in this chapter relative to the dating practices and activities within special class groups? What bearing does this have on the stability and continuity of class structure?

3. How would you account for the high degree of loyalty manifested by adolescents to their peers?

4. What are some of the barriers that adolescents often set up to exclude adults from their activities?

5. What do you consider the major values to be derived by adolescents from good peer relations? To what extent do such values enter into the lives of adults? How would you account for any differences to be noted here?

6. What is meant by the operation of *sub-culture?* Show how this operates among adolescent boys and girls?

7. What do studies indicate about the cause, nature, and dangers of "crushes"? Are these more common among adolescent boys or adolescent girls? How would you account for this?

8. What are some of the reasons why the "petting problem" may be more acute today than was the case 50 years ago? Cite evidence for changed attitudes toward matters related to sex.

9. Study someone of your acquaintance who is indifferent or antagonistic toward the opposite sex. What reasons do you think are back of his (or her) outward behavior?

10. What are the major causes of homosexuality in our society? Discuss the seriousness of homosexuality among adolescents. Among adults.

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THE ADOLESCENT
IN THE COMMUNITY

THE GROWING CHILD lives and learns in his total environment. His behavior patterns and personality development cannot be understood apart from the cultural background in which he lives and learns. Figure 14–1 provides a perspective of the broadening of the child's social horizon with growth and development into and through adolescence.[1] The family group furnishes the major portion of environmental stimulation during the early years. During the preadolescent years the play groups and gangs furnish considerable stimulation. With further growth the social horizon broadens so as to include many secondary groups, with the larger cultural pattern of the community exerting an ever-increasing influence. The importance of this larger social setting was discussed in earlier chapters dealing with juvenile delinquency, mental health, personal and social adjustments, and moral guidance. Vocational adjustment, educational adjustment, and citizenship training will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

This chapter deals with the following general topics: (1) the structure of a community and its influence upon the lives of adolescents, (2) social and recreational activities of adolescents, and (3) community programs for adolescents.

THE COMMUNITY: ITS STRUCTURE,
ORGANIZATION, AND INFLUENCE
UPON ADOLESCENTS

Changing community organizations. The social structure of the American communities has undergone pronounced changes as a result of technology. For two centuries America was predominantly rural, with scattered towns which served as trading centers. As late as 1890, 72 per cent of the population was classified by the U. S. Bureau of Census as rural. However, the 1950 census showed that the urban population out-

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[1] F. J. Brown, *The Sociology of Childhood*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.

numbered the rural nonfarm and rural farm in all sections of the country except the Southeast and Southwest. This shift in population is noted in the growth of New York City, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Houston, and many other cities.

The two World Wars accentuated certain population movements already under way during the first decade of this century. The result of this has been to increase the population of the metropolitan areas, to decrease the total farm population, and to develop more heterogeneous communities within and near the cities. The pronounced urbanization of our population becomes very apparent when we note that according to the 1950 census 55.7 per cent of the entire population of 150,697,000 lived in 168 metropolitan areas. Furthermore over half (52.6 per cent) of these urban dwellers resided in 14 metropolitan areas. This urban movement has taken place at a rapid pace, transforming the life, cultural interests, and values of a large percentage of our population. Many moral and social conflicts have developed as a result. Many earlier moral values have been brought into question. New problems have arisen, which either did not appear or were not significant in the lives of the preceding generation.

The effects of social stratification. Within almost every community one will find diversity of occupations, religions, and organizations. These have been developed to fill the needs required of a more complex way of life. Also, local differences characterize American communities. These differences appear in the occupations of the people, cultural activities, religious life, economic standards, and educational levels. The social structure of the community affects adolescents in many ways, depending largely upon where their families fit into this structure. It was pointed out earlier that social class has an important bearing on the dating, social life, aspirations, and behavior of adolescent boys and girls.

Three variables were used by Reissman for measuring class position— occupation, income, and education.[2] He found that regardless of the variable used there was a greater degree of participation and involvement in the community by the higher-class group. That is, individuals from this group read more widely, attended church more regularly, belonged to more organizations, and held office more frequently in these organizations. The lower class, on the other hand, were less active in community affairs, and showed a startling lack of ideals and knowledge of the affairs and social mechanisms of the community.

It was pointed out in earlier chapters that the effects of social class on adolescents are reflected in their attitudes, behavior, aspirations, and social acceptance by their peers. In subsequent chapters it will be pointed

[2] L. Reissman, "Class, Leisure, and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review,* 1954, Vol. 19, pp. 76–84.

out that these effects are also noted in their educational problems and choices and in their vocational aspirations.

The role of the community. The importance of community forces and conditions in the development of teen-age boys and girls is hard to evaluate. There is much evidence that, with the decline in size and function of the family unit, forces within the community have assumed a more important role; consequently, at some point, the growing individual
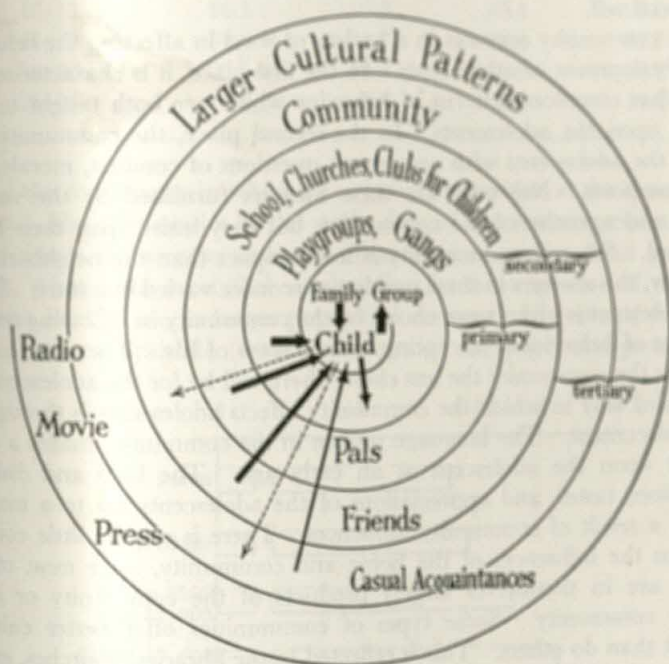
Figure 14-1. THE WIDENING OF THE CHILD'S EXPERIENCE AND THE RESULT-ING INTERACTION. THE THICKNESS OF THE ARROWS REPRESENTS THE PROBABLE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE CHILD AND THE VARIOUS INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS. (*After Brown*)

comes face to face with problems that are not solved on the basis of authority or of sentiment, as are problems arising at home. The importance of the home and community in the development of character was well stated many years ago by John Dewey when he wrote:

In its deepest and richest sense a community must always remain a matter of face-to-face intercourse. This is why the family and neighborhood, with all their deficiencies, have always been the chief agencies of nurture, the means by which the dispositions are stably formed and ideas acquired which lay hold of the roots of character. The Great Community, in the sense of

free and full intercommunication, is conceivable. But it can never possess all the qualities which mark a local community.[3]

Favorable personal and social development will not take place in a vacuum. Neither will these result from too limited experiences. The adolescent must be given an opportunity to make social contacts outside the home and immediate neighborhood, to accept responsibility, and to display a reasonable amount of initiative in order to develop the personal and social self.

The community operates in a variety of ways in affecting the behavior and development of adolescents. In the first place, it is characterized by somewhat common patterns of behavior which are both taught to and forced upon the adolescents. In the second place, the community furnishes the adolescents with answers to questions of conduct, morals, and life's purposes. Not only are these answers furnished by the various forces and agencies of the community, but they insist upon their being accepted. Since the community is less compact than the neighborhood, however, the answers to these problems are more varied in nature. Thus, the adolescent is given some choice by the community in following certain patterns of behavior or accepting certain ways of life. The more homogeneous the community the less choice there will be for the adolescent.

A third way in which the community affects adolescents is through its cultural content. The language spoken in the community makes a deep impact upon the adolescent at an early age. The likes and dislikes, prejudices, tastes, and appreciations of the adolescents are to a marked degree a result of community influences. There is usually little conflict between the influences of the home and community, since most of the homes are in themselves largely products of the community or some similar community. Some types of communities offer better cultural content than do others. This is reflected in the libraries, churches, entertainment facilities, and schools. In general, rural people do not place as high a value upon education as do urban people. This is shown in Table 14–1, giving the percentage of youth from farm, rural nonfarm, and urban areas attending school.[4]

Average scores obtained from administering intelligence tests to school-age groups show that urban students are superior to rural. The mean scores on the Ohio test of 3,652 former college students classified according to size of community are shown in Figure 14–2.[5] These results show that there is a consistent tendency for the mean scores to increase with the

[3] J. Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems.* New York: Henry Holt, 1927, pp. 211–212.

[4] The materials for Table 14–1 are taken from *Current Population Reports, Series P–20,* No. 32, and *Series PC–7,* No. 1.

[5] C. T. Philblad and C. L. Gregory, "Selective Aspects of Migration among Missouri High School Graduates," *American Sociological Review,* 1954, Vol. 19, pp. 314–324.

Table 14-1

PER CENT OF YOUTH FROM RURAL FARM, RURAL NONFARM, AND URBAN
AREAS ATTENDING SCHOOL, BY AGE-GROUPS, 1950

Age-Group	United States Total	Rural Farm	Rural Nonfarm	Urban
10–13	96.1	95.2	95.4	96.8
14–17	84.4	78.7	82.4	87.5
18–20	28.7	19.2	19.8	34.2
21–24	11.5	8.7	6.5	14.1

size of the community in which former students resided at the time of the report. Also, the results of the study showed a consistent tendency for mean scores to increase with the distance of migration from point of origin. What is the most likely explanation for this migration of youth of superior intelligence to larger population centers? In general, youth of high scholastic aptitude (intelligence tests of the paper-and-pencil type
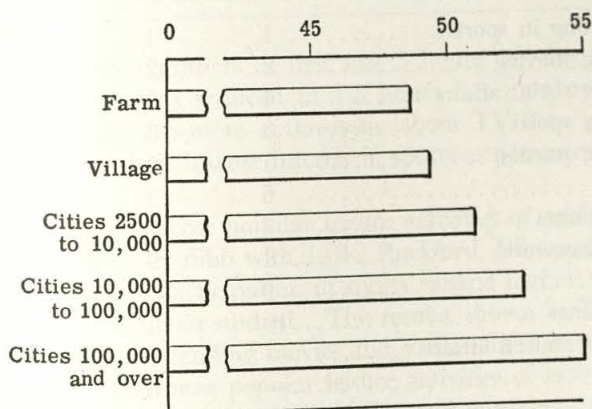
Figure 14–2. MEAN OHIO TEST SCORES OF FORMER STU-
DENTS CLASSIFIED BY COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE IN 1952.
(*Philblad and Gregory*)

may be conceived of as scholastic-aptitude tests) will be attracted to the professions, business, and related fields. Opportunities in these fields are usually greatest in the larger towns and cities. Thus, it seems plausible that youths with high scholastic apitude will be attracted to the larger population centers. The educational and sociological implications of this will be given some consideration in the subsequent chapters.

LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES OF ADOLESCENTS

Technological developments have virtually eliminated the needs for adolescent labor in industry. The use of the machine has, furthermore, reduced the demands for adolescent labor around the home and on the farm. Some major effects of technology on the lives of adolescents are: (1) increased and lengthened period of education; (2) increased amount of leisure time; (3) a greater need for spending money; and (4) postponement of the age of employment and thus financial independence. Today as never before adolescents are confronted with the problem of what to do with their leisure time, although they are often heard to say, "I haven't time for that." Education for leisure time has become one of the important aims of the modern school.

Table 14–2

MOST POPULAR LEISURE ACTIVITIES AS RANKED BY ADOLESCENT
BOYS, ACCORDING TO AGE (*After Bibb*)

Activity	Age of boys reporting			
	14	15	16	17
Participating in sports	1	1	1	1
Attending movies	2	2	3	2
Attending social affairs	4	5	—	8
Attending sports	3	3	4	4
Attending parties	5	10	10	7
Talking	6	3	2	3
Playing games	7	7	5	—
Doing homework	8	9	9	6
Walking	9	—	7	—
Fixing things	10	4	6	—
Attending church affairs	—	8	—	9
Riding	—	6	8	10

Most popular leisure-time pursuits. The ways boys and girls spend their leisure time is an indication of the nature and direction of their interests. A survey of ninth- and tenth-grade students of the Evanston Township High School (Illinois) showed that the average time spent televiewing was 2.75 hours per day.[6] Several other surveys have yielded similar results. There is evidence that the attraction of TV diminishes some after the newness tends to wear off. Witty refers to an unpublished study made at Glencoe, Illinois, which showed that the average

[6] P. Witty, "Television and the High School Student," *Education,* 1951, Vol. 72, pp. 242–251.

Table 14–3

Activity	Age of girls reporting			
	14	15	16	17
Talking	1	1	1	1
Attending movies	2	2	2	2
Participating in sports	3	6	5	7
Attending school affairs	4	3	3	3
Listening to phonograph	5	—	8	—
Attending church affairs	6	10	7	—
Doing homework	7	5	9	5
Attending parties	8	4	4	6
Going for walks	9	—	—	—
Dancing	10	8	6	10
Riding	—	9	10	—
Walking	—	7	—	8
Playing games	—	—	—	4

time spent by seventh graders at first was 3 hours per day. After 18 months this average was reduced to 1.8 hours. A number of studies show that most boys are more enthusiastic about TV than girls. This perhaps stems from their intense interest in sports as presented over television.

The problem of the most popular leisure activities of adolescent boys and girls was studied by Bibb with 1,042 Rockford, Illinois, high-school students as subjects.[7] Participation in sports ranked highest among the boys at all the grade levels studied. The results, shown in Table 14–2, show that boys prefer attending movies and social affairs next to participating in sports. The most popular leisure activities of girls, presented in Table 14–3, are talking, attending movies, and participating in sports.

As boys and girls pass through pubescence they display a progressive increase in interest in heterosexual activities. Dancing ranked first as the most popular leisure activity of heterosexual groups 15, 16, 17, and 18 years of age (see Table 14–4). Listening to the radio and watching TV programs are activities frequently engaged in by adolescent boys and girls together.

Leisure activities and socio-economic status. A number of studies have shown that different socio-economic groups in the United States

have different cultures, although these cultures share a common American culture including language, political attitudes, interest in sports, food habits, and the like. Thus, one will find groups of adolescents culturally alike in some ways and culturally different in other ways. An interesting question related to the interests of adolescents is: What is the relation between the social status of the individual and the leisure-time activities he pursues?

Table 14–4

MOST POPULAR LEISURE ACTIVITIES OF HETEROSEXUAL GROUPS AS
REPORTED BY ADOLESCENT BOYS AND GIRLS, ACCORDING TO AGE
(*After Bibb*)

Activity	Age of boys and girls reporting				
	14	15	16	17	18
Playing games	1	3	2	4	3
Dancing	2	1	1	1	1
Listening to phonograph ...	3	2	3	2	—
Participating in sports	4	6	4	10	2
Attending movies	5	4	6	5	—
Talking	5	5	5	3	5
Attending school affairs ...	7	10	10	9	—
Attending parties	8	9	9	7	—
Attending sports	9	8	7	6	—
Riding	10	7	8	8	4

One study bearing on this problem dealt with the spare-time activities of fifth-, sixth-, and seventh-grade children from different cultural backgrounds.[8] These children were asked to record in diaries their daily activities for each of two weeks. A comparison was then made of the activities engaged in by children from the four classes—the upper-middle with some upper class, the lower-middle class, the upper-lower class, and the lower class. The ratio of girls to boys was about the same in all four socio-economic groups. The rank order of activities of children of each class engaged in various activities is shown in Table 14–5. The average percentage of children who recorded the particular activity one or more times during the week is reported in this table. The results show that comparatively few low-class boys and girls participate in organized group activities. A comparison of the rankings of each activity and the per-

[8] M. Macdonald, C. McGuire, and R. J. Havighurst, "Leisure Activities and The Socio-economic Status of Children," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1948–49, Vol. 54, pp. 505–519. University of Chicago Press (Copyright 1948–49 by the University of Chicago).

Table 14–5

RANK ORDER OF CHILDREN'S ACTIVITIES BY PER CENT OF EACH SOCIO-
ECONOMIC GROUP ENGAGED IN SUCH ACTIVITIES
(*After Macdonald, et al.*)

Rank	Social Class of Children *							
	D		C		B		A	
	Activity	Per cent	Activity	Per cent	Activity	Per cent	Activity	Per cent
1	Movies	84	Movies	82	Radio	84	Radio	79
2	Evening play	72	Radio	80	Movies	78	Church	61
3	Radio	67	Evening play	65	Church	59	Movies	57
4	Church	59	Church	57	Evening play	58	Family	57
5	Family	35	Family	30	Family	49	Evening play	52
6	Neigh'd Club	33	Homework	28	Read books	36	Scouts	46
7	Read books	30	Read books	25	Scouts	22	Read books	44
8	Homework	16	Scouts	23	Homework	20	Homework	39
9	Scouts	15	Neigh'd Club	22	Music	16	Music	22
10	Y.M.C.A.	9	Music	14	Y.M.C.A.	14	Y.M.C.A.	15
11	Youth Center	7	Y.M.C.A.	13	Neigh'd Club	9	Neigh'd Club	3
12	Music	4	Youth Center	10	Youth Center	3	Youth Center	0

* A refers to the high social class, B next-highest, etc.

centage of each of the four groupings reporting them show significant interclass similarities and differences. These data do not tell the whole story of these differences. A number of investigators have shown that the nature of family and church participation differs with different cultures. Systematic differences appeared in the participation of the different groups in organized recreational programs and in certain individual activities, such as taking music lessons. The middle-class children in general make up the Scouts and frequently take advantage of Y.M.C.A. programs, whereas lower-class children are frequently found in clubs sponsored by some civic group or clubs for "underprivileged children." A significant minority of children may be found among most groups of lower-class children who participate with middle-class children in middle-class organizations. It is in this manner that these children learn middle-class attitudes which lead to upward social mobility.

An outstanding feature of the activities of upper-class children and youth is their relative exclusiveness. They attend summer camps where the cost would exclude the major portion of children. They travel to resort areas and stay at hotels patronized by a select group. In many cases they attend school where only boys and girls from homes like theirs

are to be found. They are in many ways protected from the rough edges of life which children from the lower class are constantly encountering.

While the activities of upper-class adolescents tend to be exclusive, those of the middle class may best be described as selective. Middle-class children are required, because of financial considerations, to use public facilities. They are usually found in the public schools, the public parks, and other public areas. However, a selective process is continuously operating among middle-class adolescents and their parents. The parents try to choose the parks, the playground areas, and the forms of entertainment on the basis of middle-class culture and values. It was pointed out earlier that middle-class parents tend to be more discriminating and put greater pressure upon their children to achieve and move ahead socially than do lower-class parents. This is manifested in the leisure-time activities pursued, as well as the courses chosen in high school.

The activities of lower-class children and adolescents have been described as residual in nature. These individuals pursue those activities available to them. They take advantage of the nearby playground. Welfare services are usually welcomed. They are not protected from the difficulties of life. Individual competition in athletics, physical strength, and stamina are often in evidence. There is little parental supervision, and usually few barriers set up by their parents to their growth in responsibility. There is, however, a lack of guidance and stimulation in their activities.

Playmates. Just prior to adolescence both boys and girls choose playmates or some particular chum and build close friendships, interests and attachments. The reason for the choice of a particular chum and the effect of the chum on the formation of character in the life of the individual have been carefully studied by Furfey.[9] In a study of 62 pairs of boys in a group of 296, he found that 45 per cent were from the same neighborhood and that 89 per cent were in the same room in school. Correlations were obtained between the chums and certain variables, these variables being mainly physical measurements.

Table 14–6 gives the coefficients of correlation with respect to various

Table 14–6

CORRELATION OF CHUMS WITH EACH OTHER WITH
RESPECT TO CERTAIN VARIABLES

Chronological age	.39 ± .07
Developmental age (maturity)	.37 ± .07
Height	.34 ± .08
Mental age	.24 ± .08
Weight	.22 ± .08

[9] P. H. Furfey, "Some Factors Influencing the Selection of Boys' Chums," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1927, Vol. 11, pp. 47–51.

physical measurements. The study did not take into account such factors as tastes, interests, moral standards, temperament, social status, and economic conditions that in some cases are probably more important than some of the measurements given.

A study by Neugarten was concerned with the general question: To what extent and in what observable ways does the factor of social status affect the friendship among school children? [10] The subjects of the study were all children enrolled in grades 5, 6, 10, and 11 of the public school. The median age for the younger group was 11 years and 3 months; for the older group, 16 years and 3 months. A sociometry and a guess-who test were administered to these subjects. The results were studied in the light of the social status of the different children. She found that, with the exception of the group of lowest status, children tend to select as friends, first, children of higher status than their own and, second, children of their own status level. Children of families of high status received the favorable votes and children of low status received the unfavorable ones.

The child from a family of upper status occupies an enviable position—many of his classmates consider him their friend. The child from a family of lower status faces the opposite situation. He is seldom mentioned as a friend and oftentimes mentioned as a person his classmates do not like. A child, consciously or unconsciously selecting his friends, is probably reflecting the class stereotypes as he has learned them from his parents. In the high-school level, upper status is a sure indication that the adolescent will at least be the center of attention in his group, whether his reputation is favorable or unfavorable.

Physical activity is quite important in drawing adolescent boys together, although it is not likely to operate to such an extent among girls. Physical activity and ability are so very often looked upon as masculine traits that they are conceived of as more essential for the boy than for the girl; hence they tend to influence his choice of friends and companions. The home emphasis on social standing is especially influential among adolescent girls in their choice of companions.

That "birds of a feather flock together" has been long recognized and is borne out by evidence in the field of psychology and education. During adolescence playmates or companions are much more likely to be chosen according to individual likings than during earlier childhood, or even during the period following, when business and social standing play so prominent a part for most people in their choice of associates. When the adolescent tends to choose undesirable companions, it is usually of little use to admonish or reproach him. The trouble in most cases is due to early training or environmental surroundings, and much pressure brought

[10] B. Neugarten, "Social Class and Friendship among School Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1946, Vol. 51, pp. 305–313.

to bear during adolescence will, as a rule, serve only to aggravate the general situation and cause the individual to assume an antagonistic frame of mind. It is during the earlier years of life that tastes for good friendships should be established. Ideals of conduct directed toward some desirable goal develop gradually, according to the developmental concept emphasized throughout this study of adolescents. A new environmental setting for the adolescent, a new interpretation of life's value in harmony with certain interests and desires, or a change in general vocational activity may function effectively in the eradication of undesirable chum selection.

Formation of groups and gangs. At the age of adolescence boys and girls become highly interested in forming groups, societies, gangs, and clubs; and these are indeed truly representative of the "gang" stage of life. Scientific investigations show that as a rule the members of a gang are likely to be of about the same level of intelligence. The members usually come from within a certain limited geographical area, as is the case in the selection of chums among adolescent boys. The gang is very apt to be in the main a neighborhood affair. Through it individuals are affected by the behavior patterns of others and tend to influence the formation of behavior patterns in others by their own activities. The group is generally homogeneous in its desires, likes, and dislikes; social uniformity in ideals and attitudes tends to develop in accordance with general activities. Loyalty to different members of the group reaches a high pitch and may even surpass the loyalty earlier established to such ideals as honesty and truthfulness.

The structure and behavior of a gang is molded in part through its accommodation to its life conditions. The groups in the ghetto, in a suburb, along a business street, in the residential district, in a midwestern town, or in a lumber community vary in their interests and activities not only according to the social patterns of their respective milieus but also according to the layout of the buildings, streets, alleys, and public works, and the general topography of their environments. These various conditioning factors within which the gang lives, thrives, and develops may be regarded as the "situation complex," within which the human nature elements interact to produce gang phenomena. So marked is the influence of such factors as bodies of water, hills, and ravines in determining the location and character of gang activities that in Cleveland juvenile delinquents have been classified on this basis.

Gangs represent the spontaneous effort of boys to create a society for themselves where none exists adequate to their needs. Boys derive from such association experiences that they do not get otherwise under the conditions that adult society imposes—the thrill and zest of participation in common interests, more especially in corporate action, in hunting, capture, conflict, flight, and escape. Conflict with other gangs and the

world about them furnishes the occasion for many of their exciting group activities.

The gang functions with reference to these conditions in two ways: It offers a substitute for what society fails to give; and it provides a relief from suppression and distasteful behavior. It fills a gap and affords an escape. Thus the gang, itself a natural, spontaneous type of organization arising through conflict, is a symptom of disorganization in the larger social framework.

As individuals become affiliated with different groups in the school, the church, and the community in general, there may be conflicting loyalties. This is especially true for those who are members of minority groups, for the larger and more inclusive community organizations and agencies are likely to foster ideals and attitudes dominated by the majority element. The problem of adjustment is more difficult for minority groups—since it is fraught with more chances for conflicts—than for members of the majority group or groups. For example, the behavior, attitudes, and beliefs of the child of Greek-born parents, living in a family culture that is largely Greek but is located in a second- and third-generation Polish or German neighborhood, would be in conflict with that of the children of the community. In adolescence students are keenly aware of loyalties, especially of loyalty to members of their groups. The problems encountered in this connection are sometimes very difficult, as suggested by Meek:

How one can be loyal to one's family, loyal to a small organized group of peers, and loyal to the school becomes a vital question. Boys and girls need help in analyzing these loyalties and in discussing loyalties appropriate to various group affiliations. They need help through which to build a constructive basis for guiding their behavior.[11]

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS FOR ADOLESCENTS

There has been much controversy over the relative advantages of the city, small-town, or country environment for the social and character development of children. It has been pointed out by some that a farm in the open, away from the artificiality and restrictions of the city, is the ideal place; whereas others have pointed out that these advantages are more than offset by such disadvantages as lack of educational facilities, opportunities for social participation, and many modern sanitary and labor-saving conveniences. However, as a result of modern means of transportation and communication, coupled with the more wide-

spread use of labor-saving devices, these differences are not so marked as formerly. Urban attitudes, ideals, and values have to a very marked degree been adopted by boys and girls on the farms. The needs and problems of boys and girls in the different communities making up the United States are markedly similar.

Youth-serving agencies. There are some who decry the work of the home and community agencies in providing for the needs of youth. The figures presented earlier on problem children and youth appear staggering. However, we should turn to the other side of the picture, lest our perspective of youth will be a hazy one at best. More than eight million PTA members, hundreds of community councils organized by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, thousands and even millions of adult leaders of youth groups, and others have joined forces with the schools for the benefit of youth.[12]

There are upwards of 2,500,000 Boy Scouts of America, who proudly wear their uniform and display their membership as symbols of courage and service. It is significant that more Scout troops are sponsored by the school and parent-teacher groups than by any other agencies, although many churches have also taken an active interest in sponsoring such troops. Thousands of teachers and other lay people give voluntarily of their time to Scout activities.

Two outstanding organizations along with many others serve the girls of America—the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls. There were more than 1,500,000 girls enrolled in the Girl Scouts in 1954, while more than 3,000 communities furnish opportunities for girls to become members of Camp Fire Girls.

Closely allied to the work of the schools is the Future Farmers of America. This organization enrolls approximately 370,000 young men in 8,793 chapters active in all 48 states. Its counterpart, the 4-H Club, enrolls both boys and girls who live in small communities or rural areas. There are more than 2,000,000 4-H Club members in the United States. To these clubs more than 300,000 local leaders volunteer their services.

Just as the Future Farmers of America and the 4-H Clubs focus their attention on boys and girls from small towns and rural areas, so do the Boys Clubs of America direct their efforts to the interests and needs of boys (and in some cases girls) from the cities. Over 375 Boys Clubs have been organized in the larger metropolitan areas, enrolling more than 350,000 members. In general, these clubs tend to serve boys from less privileged areas and homes, and are located in those areas of the cities where they can best serve these boys. The Future Teachers of America organization is found in approximately 1,800 high schools, with more than 43,000 boys and girls enrolled. Youth organizations are

[12] H. C. Hunt, "Partners with Youth," *Journal of the National Education Association,* 1955, Vol. 44, pp. 99–100.

sponsored by all the major religious bodies of America. The importance of their work cannot be easily estimated, since they are concerned with intangibles that are hard to grasp and evaluate. Materials bearing on the contribution of the church to the moral and spiritual development of boys and girls were presented in Chapter 8. The breadth of activities of these various organizations, supplemented by the work of the home and the school, is the surest guarantee of better citizens for tomorrow.

The nature of youth-serving agencies will vary with the size, pattern, cultural background, and other features of the particular communities. Also, the degree of participation will vary with different communities. One of the major pitfalls of many communities is that they fail to provide social and recreational opportunities for all the individuals of the community. In some cases certain groups may be excluded from most of the organizations by financial circumstances, since there is a fee connected with membership in most of them. In other cases, certain groups are neglected because of the special interests of those concerned with the development of community social and recreational programs. In one study, conducted during the 30's when a large percentage of youth were not in school and could not find employment, 74.5 per cent of the youth studied reported that they belonged to no club.[13] A more recent study of 840 high-school students reported that less than 50 per cent of youth engaged in club activity. The club activities engaged in by the students is presented in Table 14-7.[14] Some interesting sex differences may be noted in this study, revealing some differences in interests of adolescent boys and girls. The boys engaged more frequently in hobby clubs, Scouts, and game clubs. The girls, on the other hand, engaged more frequently in library groups, religious activities, and school clubs and councils. One should not, however, generalize too far relative to the value of an organization based upon the information that a certain number of individuals participated in it. The quality of the participation is most important. It is quite conceivable that an organization may have much worth in one community, while it is largely ineffective in another community.

Participation of youth in community activities. Youth participation in community living involves cooperative action by youth with adults in planning and solving community problems, and in planning and carrying out community projects. This is an important aspect of a good citizenship training program, referred to in Chapter 18. If adolescent boys and girls are to actively participate they must be on the ground floor when plans are being made, rather than be assigned tasks by a group of adults. Where adolescents and youth have been given the opportunity to partici-

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[13] H. M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1938, p. 168.

[14] E. B. Olds, "How Do Young People Use Their Leisure Time?" *Recreation*, 1949, Vol. 42, pp. 458–463.

Table 14–7

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS OF UNIVERSITY CITY HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS
(*After Olds*)

Type of organization	Boys	Girls	Total
Libraries	47	79	126
School clubs and councils	21	44	65
Jewish National Program groups	2	20	22
Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.	45	48	93
Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A.	20	13	33
Boy and Girl Scouts	62	11	73
Other Community Chest agencies	4	4	8
Music organizations	3	2	5
Religious bodies (choirs, Sunday schools, youth organizations, churches, etc.)	158	202	360
Masonic junior organizations	19	16	35
Bobby clubs	18	1	19
Game clubs	11	9	20
Skating and riding clubs	2	4	6
Sports clubs	3	5	8
Country clubs and Missouri Athletic Club	4	0	4
Social groups other than sororities and fraternities	114	165	279
Miscellaneous	5	0	5

pate in community affairs, they have proved themselves to be capable
and responsible for major undertakings. The obstacles to youth partici-
pation have been listed as follows:

1. The patronizing attitude shown by many adults; lack of adult accept-
ance and trust; the assumption of superiority by adults, with consequent lack
of opportunity for youth to learn by trial and error.

2. The lack of time caused by the pressure of school activities; in this re-
gard, youth must be prepared to make some sacrifices in the public interest,
as do many busy adults.

3. The failure to realize that youth participation is a process of patient
learning; it is not easy to be a good representative, this is developed through
cooperation with parents, teachers, and community leaders.[15]

Social recreational programs. The various studies of the effects of
lack of guidance on the behavior of adolescent gangs have caused the
community to focus its attention more and more upon the need for de-
sirable recreational activities for adolescent boys and girls. According to

[15] *Proceedings of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth.*
Raleigh: Health Publications Institute, 1950, p. 284.

the studies by Thrasher, gang life thrives in those areas where there is a lack of wholesome and well-directed group activities, and where boys and girls are faced with difficulties in adjustment to persisting problems.[16]

Many cities realize that boys and girls need a place where they can meet together, laugh, talk, and amuse themselves at wholesome activities. The lure of the "juke joint" and similar places is contrived to appeal to boys and girls attempting to satisfy their desire for recreation. Although the community projects carried out by city authorities cannot take the place of homes or parental supervision, they can provide hang-out rooms where adolescents may enjoy wholesome recreation under desirable conditions. These rooms may be equipped with a radio, a piano, table tennis, magazines, and the like, and provided with supervision sufficient to satisfy the need without being obtrusive. Recreation departments have found that for the older high-school group the most popular programs are those offering social activities of a rather informal nature, an observation confirmed by the conclusions of the *Fortune* survey: "Ahead of any specific sport came dancing and movies for both boys and girls. After these the favorite pastimes are running around with friends, gab sessions, and the like." [17]

The importance of recreation as a stabilizing force during a transition period is well exemplified in the case of Henry Smith.

Henry left high school at the end of the ninth grade. He was then almost sixteen years of age. Although he was not a failure in school, he didn't find the work too interesting. Furthermore, he came from a home in the lower economic scale. He tried to get a job, first in one of the stores of the community and later in a nearby furniture factory. His efforts were fruitless, although his name was placed on file for future reference. Back at home and later on the streets, Henry was faced with several possibilities. He might continue a search for a job. In this quest he might or might not succeed. He might give up completely his search for a job and join a gang of ne'er-do-wells at the back lot, or he might remain patient, and find release for his energy in wholesome recreational pursuits. The last-named alternative would tend to keep him in a more wholesome state, and better prepare him for breaks that might appear at a later time. Henry resorted to this alternative and spent part of his spare time at the public library, looking through some magazines and books dealing with mechanics. Furthermore, he continued his interest in Sunday school and during the summer played softball with a church team. Through his associations and by constant alertness to find work, he obtained a job at a filling station, an adjustment that seemed to be a happy one for him.

Although this is not a story of the poor boy becoming a prince, it does reveal the need for wholesome recreational pursuits as a means for attaining desired adjustments during a transition period. It is during such a

[16] F. M. Thrasher, *The Gang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.
[17] See *Fortune*, December, 1942.

period that the boy or girl is forced to make a choice, and any condition involving choice is fraught with the danger that the wrong one will be made.

In order to provide opportunities for boys and girls to enjoy wholesome recreational pursuits, it was suggested by Dorothy Richardson, Director of the Y.M.C.A.-USO work during World War II, a three-way program is needed. This program would include more adult education relative to the nature and needs of adolescents, well-planned high school recreational programs designed to hold youngsters in their community and perhaps in school, and wholesome social centers or places of meeting sufficiently inviting to attract youngsters who might otherwise frequent less desirable places.

A description of the operation of a 4-H Club by one of its members shows how it may serve the recreational and social needs of adolescents. The meeting place for the 4-H Club, composed of both boys and girls, was a large gymnasium-auditorium and church. The meetings were held every two weeks, at which time there was a varied program including social games, dancing, television, volleyball, and snacks. Swimming parties at a nearby lake, with wiener roasts or marshmallow roasts, were frequently planned for the summer months. Sponsors were selected from the parents of the teen-age members. The climax of the summer festivals consisted of a community-feed just before school started. All the parents were invited. Food, entertainment, and games (such as three-legged races for the different age-groups) made up the program. Prizes were given for each event; although these were inexpensive, they were treasured by those who won them. The group used varied and ingenious devices for financing their 4-H Club activities.

An illustration of how one town with a population of approximately 21,000 has met the recreational problem reveals the nature and needs of adolescents today. In this town there were many adolescents who had almost no responsibilities and few things to occupy their interests. There were the movies, of course, some of the homes attempted to welcome a few of the boys and girls who happened to be friends of the family. The Country Club provided for a few. But the situation in general was grave. With no recreational activities open to most of these boys and girls, they began creating their own without guidance and help from adults. They formed a "100 Club." In order to become a member of this club the adolescent was required to drive a car down a certain street—a dangerous street, crossing side streets and a main highway—at approximately 100 miles per hour. They also found and visited the famous "parking" places. In many cases, the primary purposes were to molest the cars of others, to frighten others, or to commit some act of mischief or some offense.

Some alert parents and some community workers, recognizing the grav-

ity of the situation, became interested, worked together, and were instrumental in the formation of what was referred to as "The Teen Tavern." They took an old mill building, made some slight alterations and necessary repairs, repainted it, and turned it into a recreational hall. Nearly all of the work was done by the teen agers, many of them members of the 100 Club. The materials were furnished by one of the civic organizations of the town. Various community leaders provided such supervision and special skills as were needed. The boys and girls elected officers, set up committees for carrying on the various activities, and provided a functionally responsible organization. Included in the building are a snack bar, a bowling alley, and games of a number of different types; dances are held from time to time, and in general The Teen Tavern is a wholesome place in which to meet friends and to have fun. An attraction that interested many teen-agers was the introduction of lessons in folk dancing. Although this did not eliminate all the mischief carried on by adolescent boys and girls, it reduced it to a minimum and at the same time did much to develop wholesome attitudes and outlooks on the part of boys and girls toward problems of everyday living.

In many cases one of the churches of the community sponsors a teen-age group or club, and furnishes a meeting place for other teen-age groups. A brief description of the operation of such a club will reveal one of the ways the church can function effectively as a community agency in character building. The people of the church, realizing the need for a social and recreational center for children, adolescents, and adults, built a large building on the church grounds for this purpose. The center contained a large kitchen with stoves, a large electric refrigerator, and other conveniences for preparing and preserving food. A piano was donated from the home of one of the church members. The Men's Club bought a TV set. A committee composed of adolescents and adults submitted rules for the guidance of the clubs in the use of the facilities. These were adopted after certain revisions by the groups concerned.

There is no charge for the use of the building by the clubs of the church; there is a $2.00 charge for other groups, which is used to defray the cost of cleaning the club house after a meeting. During the summer months the members of the "Drop-In Club" (made up of teen-agers) meet regularly every Thursday night and irregularly on other occasions. During the winter months they meet every other Friday night. Watching television, talking, dancing, shuffleboard, and other games and activities are carried on at the meetings. Groups of teen-agers as well as adults from other churches of the community use the building frequently, since this is actually the only community building available.

The camp. It is becoming more widely recognized that camping activities may contribute much to the personality development of boys and girls. However, one cannot set forth a general rule or guide about who

should go to camp. Nor can one say just what is the best type of camp, for this will depend upon the nature and needs of the individual. The widespread development of camps is a result of (1) the increased recognition of the educational value of camp experiences, (2) the mental and physical health value of camp life, and (3) the need for recreation under guidance during the summer months when schools are not in session.

The effect of the summer camp on the social development of a maladjusted and dependent adolescent is clearly shown in the case of Barbara, an emotionally immature adolescent.[18]

When Barbara first approached the camp counselor at the station she was a plump, well-developed youngster with kinky black hair and frightened eyes. She weighed 167 pounds and was clumsy and unhappy in appearance. On an adventurous bunk hike, she paused at the top of a steep incline, gasped audibly, and complained of a headache. Sitting down on a rock, she refused to go any further and later admitted she was afraid of falling down. Her appearance had an important bearing on her social life and activities. She would develop a cold or swollen gland on the days of the co-ed social, and thus use this as an excuse to avoid the social, including dance.

Unable to swim at first, Barbara learned to swim well enough to receive a swimming certificate. She was one of the best in sports, and became a permanent member of the volleyball team. During gymnastic periods and dancing classes she engaged in vigorous exercise, losing as much as 25 pounds in weight, which gave her a nice figure. She learned how to rhumba and samba during the social dance periods, being more graceful and at ease in company now. Doing things and succeeding in various physical activities brought forth social approval and self-confidence. Participating in the special performances of the bunk, the division, and the camp, she felt a sense of accomplishment through cooperation with others.

With the urbanization of our society there have come about new demands for these activities, and the utilization of camping as an educational, health, and recreational agency seems destined to become more general in the future. The form the camp takes depends in a large measure upon the agency sponsoring it, but the general aims of all camps are somewhat similar; to this statement the Scout camp, operated primarily in the towns and cities, and the 4-H Club camp, operated among rural groups, both with the same object and with much the same activities, bear witness. It is quite likely that more camps supported by public funds and appealing to special interest groups will be developed, and that these will be operated primarily as educational and recreational centers. By bringing together special-interest groups from different localities, camps enable adolescents to form new associations, and these associations

[18] A. D. Lifshitz and J. Sakoda, "Effect of Summer Camp on Adolescents' Maturity," *Journal of Child Psychiatry*, 1952, Vol. 2, pp. 257–265.

give them a broader view on life, liberalize their thinking, and humanize their personalities.

Dimock requested parents of boys who had been away at camp to note changes appearing in these boys a month after they had returned.[19] According to the results of these ratings, there was a pronounced improvement in certain character qualities, among which are the following, listed in order of the number of times the increased rating was given them: confidence in self, courtesy, responsiveness to parental suggestion, appreciation of music, consideration for the welfare of others, ease in meeting and mixing with others, readiness to cooperate, volunteering for service tasks, and so forth.

Dimock also requested the boys themselves to indicate "the biggest things a boy gets out of camp life."[20] The things mentioned most often were as follows:

	No. of boys mentioning
Skill in such activities as swimming, canoeing, campcraft	39
Learning to get along with others, "mixing," working together	35
Better health, physical fitness, strength, posture	33
Attitude of helping the other fellow, unselfishness	32
Self-confidence, reliance, initiative, thinking for self	20
Development of courage and nerve, losing timidity	17
Appreciation of nature, out-of-doors, and music	17
Meeting and making friends, fellowship	16

Organizations such as the Camp Fire Girls, Girl and Boy Scouts, the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.C.A., and many others have established camps throughout the country. These camps are generally operated on a liberal expense budget. The child's health is given careful consideration and he is put on a balanced diet; he learns the art of living, working, and playing with others. Children—especially those from the urban sections of the country—are given an opportunity to become acquainted with the world of Nature and to explore its possibilities. The camp, like the public school, is democratic in nature, and it provides an even greater opportunity for democratic living. Children from different types of homes are enrolled at these camps, yet they are all required to follow the same rules and are given the same privileges; thus they tend to live, work, and play in a democratic manner.

Democratic versus autocratic leadership. There is evidence from the study of the early social climates of adults that aggressive behavior and instability are related to an early life dominated by authoritarian control. When the father or mother was the dominating (authoritarian) force in

[19] H. S. Dimock and C. E. Hendry, *Camping and Character.* New York: Association Press, 1929, pp. 284–288.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

the home, the children obeyed, but their lives were filled with tension and frustration. Lewin, Lippitt, and White have conducted a number of investigations on this general problem.[21] Their studies have furnished considerable evidence for the conclusion that the nature of the experimentally created social climates (autocratically or democratically controlled) affects the behavior of children.

In their first experiment two clubs of 10-year-old boys, engaged in theatrical mask-making for a 3-month period, were studied. The group leader treated one group in an authoritarian manner, while the other group was handled democratically.[22] The behavior of the boys was carefully studied by four observers. In the club meetings the authoritarian club members developed an increasingly aggressive, domineering attitude toward each other but an attitude of submission toward the leader. The behavior of the democratic club members toward each other was characterized by friendliness and fact-finding. This group was more spontaneous in its responses and assumed a free and friendly relation with its leaders. On the one item, *overt hostility,* the authoritarian group was much more aggressive than the other, the ratio being 40 to 1. The authoritarian group displayed greater hostility toward each other, used more attention-getting devices, showed hostile criticism, and indicated a lack of a sense of fair play.

In the second experiment by Lewin, Lippitt, and White five democratic, five autocratic, and two laissez-faire atmospheres were established. In the laissez-faire groups the leader sat around and left things to the club members. There was less than half as much participation by him as there was by the leaders of the other types of groups. The influence of the leader's personality was controlled by having each of four leaders play the role of autocratic and of democratic leader at least once. Relative to tension created in the autocratic group, the investigators state:

> An instance where tension was created by *annoying* experiences occurred when the group work was criticized by a stranger (janitor). There were two cases where fighting broke out immediately afterwards.

In the autocratic atmosphere the behavior of the leader probably annoyed the children considerably (to judge from the interviews. . . .)

In addition there were six times as many directing approaches to an individual by the leader in autocracy than in democracy. It is probably fair to assume that the bombardment with such frequency ascendant approaches is equivalent to higher *pressure* and that this pressure created a higher tension.[23]

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[21] K. Lewin, R. Lippitt, R. K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created Social Climates," *Journal of Social Psychology,* 1939, Vol. 10, pp. 271–299.

[22] R. Lippitt, "An Experimental Study of the Effect of Democratic and Authoritarian Group Atmosphere," *University of Iowa Child Welfare,* 1940, Vol. 16. No. 3, pp. 43–195.

[23] *Op. cit.,* pp. 291–292.

The value of cooperation was well stated by a classroom teacher in the St. Louis public schools:

This faith in cooperation—belief that people working together to manage their own affairs is the best kind of control—has its roots in the social philosophy of democracy and is the essence of our American heritage. Yet, even though our society accepts this philosophy verbally, many of its institutions reveal that force and not the "will of all" is the guiding principle.[24]

Need for adult insight. As children progress from early childhood through later childhood and into adolescence, the adults who deal with them show less and less insight into the role or position of a particular child in his social group. This is reflected in statements made by adults, such as: "I don't understand why Sue is not more popular with the other girls; she seems to be such a nice, sweet girl." In a study bearing on this problem, Moreno asked children from kindergarten through the eighth grade to choose two classmates whom they would like to have sit on each side of them.[25] He also asked the teachers to list which children conceivably would receive many choices and which would receive few or none. The teachers' judgments coincided with the choices made by the kindergarten and first-grade children about two-thirds of the time. On the other hand, they agreed with the seventh-grade pupils only in about one-fourth of the cases.

SUMMARY

Changed social and economic conditions have resulted in profound changes in the organization and activities of the community. The increased leisure time of boys and girls has presented a definite challenge to the communities to provide recreational opportunities and better guidance of boys and girls, especially during the adolescent years. Many of these problems will be studied further in later chapters. Materials have been presented in this chapter showing the activities of adolescents in the community and some of the needs for the community to provide better educational and recreational facilities for boys and girls as they grow through adolescence toward complete maturity.

A few pieces of lumber, some glue, and nails is not a table. Likewise, a collection of boys, girls, and adults is not a community. There must be some common interests and needs, mutual confidence and understanding, association and sharing a common lot, if there is to be a true community. Morgan has said in this connection: "In a true community many activ-

[24] D. C. Bohn, "Teachers Share in Administration," *Educational Leadership,* 1948, Vol. 5, p. 429.

[25] J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* Washington: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934.

ities are shared by the same people. This unified living results in deeper social roots and more unified personalities." [26]

The summer camp has come into use as a means for providing for the recreational, health, and educational needs of adolescents. Increased leisure has presented a problem and a challenge. It is important that this time be not wasted, but used as a road to health, efficiency, and morality. Without a purpose or goal, free time may bring the adolescent in contact with vice, crime, and unconventional practices. But if his community offers libraries, museums, school activities, sports, hobby groups, church groups, "Y" settlement houses, playgrounds, movies, and parks, there is less chance that he will divert his energy into undesirable channels. Further materials bearing on the importance of favorable recreational facilities as a means of preventing delinquency will be presented in Chapter 17.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. What are the main features of a community? Describe some community of your acquaintance, showing the presence of these features.

2. What are some of the new conditions and problems faced by the child in his community adjustments?

3. Show how conflicting loyalties sometimes develop as the individual becomes affiliated with various groups of the community.

4. What are some class distinctions found in a community of your acquaintance? Show how individuals may move from one class to another. What are the major barriers to such mobility?

5. How would you account for the increased tension usually found among boys in autocratically controlled groups?

6. Describe the community facilities for recreation in some community with which you are especially acquainted.

7. Analyze the nature and function of one of the teen-age recreation centers discussed in some fairly recent number of *Recreation* magazine.

8. List the youth-serving agencies with which you are familiar. Look up data in a recent number of the *World Almanac* or some other source concerning the number of individuals enrolled in certain organizations with which you are familiar.

9. What are the major conclusions you would draw from Table 14-5 dealing with leisure activities and socio-economic status of children and adolescents? What are the implications of these findings for the planning of a recreation program for adolescents?

10. What are some of the major changes in the recreational interests of boys and girls from 10 to 16 years of age? (Review materials from Chapter 6 for additional information on this exercise.)

11. List what you consider to be the most important values that the adolescent derives from wholesome recreational activities.

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[26] A. E. Morgan, "The Community," *Journal of the National Education Association*, 1945, Vol. 34, p. 55.

12. What do you consider the role of the school to be in providing recreational facilities for adolescents? How can the church function in this connection?

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THE ADOLESCENT
AT SCHOOL

WHAT GOES INTO THE TRAINING OF YOUTH
EMERGES IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION.*

INTRODUCTION: PROBLEMS AND
PURPOSES

The institution of the school has evolved in all highly civilized societies. In a democratic society such as ours, it holds an outstanding and dominant place. The perpetuity of a democracy is predominantly dependent upon an enlightened citizenry, and therefore upon educational opportunities for all. According to the school census of 1950, 96.1 per cent of youths in the age range 10 to 13 and 84.4 per cent of those in the 14 to 17 age range were enrolled in school.[1] The increased birth rate of World War II, which has continued well beyond the middle of the century, along with the increased percentage of boys and girls of high-school age remaining in school, is destined to increase considerably the enrollment in our high schools. It has been estimated that the group 14 to 17 years of age will have increased from less than 8 million in 1950 to about 13.5 million by 1965. The estimated increases from 1954 to 1956 are shown in Table 15–1.

The twentieth century has also witnessed a pronounced increase in leisure-time activities and a decrease in child labor. Our notion of what constitutes child labor has changed enormously during the course of the past century. Slightly over a century ago (1842) the State of Massachusetts specified that children under 12 years of age should not work more than 10 hours per day. However, the first minimum-wage law, passed by Pennsylvania in 1848, established a 12-year minimum age for workers in textile mills. This was a higher minimum than that provided a few years later in Connecticut and Massachusetts. The concern during

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* Message of President S. C. Garrison to the graduating class at George Peabody College of Teachers, August 22, 1939.

[1] *Schools and the 1950 Census,* National Education Association, Research Bulletin, 1951, Vol. 29, No. 4.

Table 15-1

ESTIMATED POPULATION TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE GROUP 14 TO 17 YEARS OF AGE

Year	Population	Year	Population
1954	8,546,743	1960	11,019,678
1955	8,837,614	1961	11,738,073
1956	9,327,526	1962	12,431,846
1957	9,955,086	1963	13,203,333
1958	10,361,813	1964	13,451,685
1959	10,569,299	1965	13,689,955

this period was over the control of the hours of labor for children rather than adolescents. There was little concern about child-labor legislation for adolescence until a fairly recent date. Thus, child labor in industry was at its peak in 1910. At that time approximately 30 per cent of the 14- and 15-year-old boys and girls were listed as gainfully employed, while many others worked on the farms and at other tasks and did not attend school regularly. Furthermore almost one million youngsters under 14 years of age were gainfully employed. The steady decrease in the number of children employed each year since 1910, together with the corresponding increase in the number in school, is a reflection of the growth of the concept that universal education is needed for intelligent and efficient citizenship.

Increased high-school enrollment. The growth of the American high
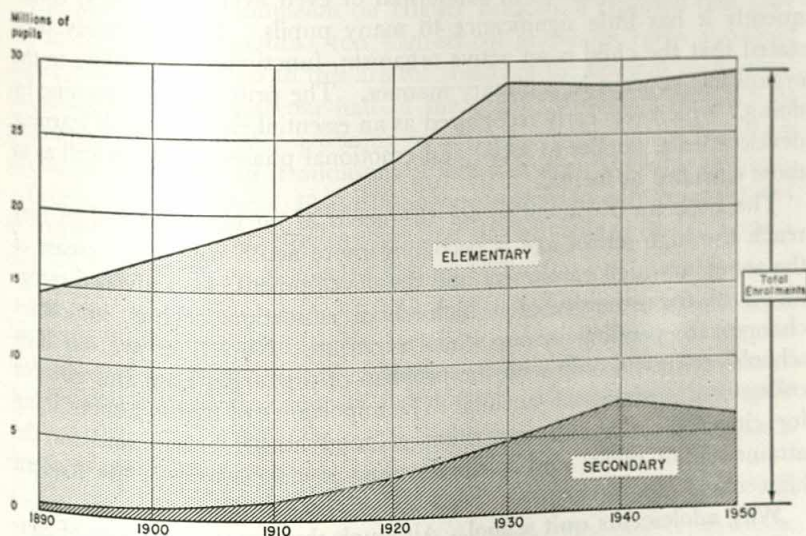
Figure 15-1. ENROLLMENT TRENDS IN PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, FOR CENSUS YEARS 1890 THROUGH 1950.

school during the twentieth century has been phenomenal. A study of Figure 15–1 will reveal more precisely the nature of this growth.[2] There were in 1890 about 360,000 students enrolled in public and nonpublic secondary schools. This number had climbed to more than 7,000,000 by 1940. As late as 1930 the total high-school enrollment, according to the United States Office of Education, was equal to only 50 per cent of the population group 14 to 18 years of age. By 1950 this increased to 84.4 per cent. The data presented in Table 14–2 show that a larger percentage of urban than rural youth are enrolled in school. Several conditions may be offered as an explanation of this, among which are the closer proximity of high schools for urban youth, lack of work opportunities for urban youth, and the greater emphasis upon education on the part of urban dwellers.

From less than 5 per cent of the total school enrollment at the beginning of the twentieth century, high-school enrollment has grown until it now comprises from 20 to 25 per cent of the total enrollment. Unlike enrollment in the elementary schools, high-school enrollment is affected by social and economic forces. It is closely related to our economic and political philosophy, and barring unforeseen calamities it seems most likely that there will be a further increase in the percentage of youth who remain in school.

The problem of the school. Materials relative to school survival rates reveal a high mortality rate with advancing age and contacts with more complex school materials. The curriculum of our secondary schools was not designed for children of subnormal or even average abilities; consequently it has little significance to many pupils. It has already been stated that the child is an active organism, functioning according to the organismic concept in a unitary manner. The principle of "learning by doing," which was early recognized as an essential element in all learning developments, applies to social and emotional phases of life as well as to those classified as mental.

The problem of providing for the needs of *all the pupils* when they reach the high-school age is becoming more acute with the increase of the secondary-high enrollment and the development of a universal recognition of the necessity of a high-school education. Thus, important changes are pending in our school program. No longer are our high schools concerned only with the problem of preparing boys and girls for college and professional pursuits. The importance of high-school training for citizenship, for the acquisition of good health habits, and for the attainment of moral and spiritual values is emphasized in the modern high-school program.

Why adolescents quit school. Although the American theory of education maintains that the public-school system, extending through the

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

high school, is designed to serve all the boys and girls, almost half of those who reach the fifth grade drop out before completing high school. These dropouts are too often looked upon as numbers to be listed in statistical reports and then forgotten. Withdrawal from school is a complex process and any attempt to explain it is difficult, since there usually operates a combination of elements affecting each dropout.

A study of the causes of young people's leaving school, conducted by the United States Department of Labor in the spring of 1947, furnishes a basis for evaluating the factors that cause adolescents to quit school. A sample of 524 boys and girls, 440 of whom had not yet completed high school, from Louisville, Kentucky, were interviewed.[3] This survey showed that dissatisfaction with school was given as the major factor by 47.7 per cent of the young people, while economic need and lure of a job ranked second and third, respectively, in importance.

These results are in harmony with those obtained from a study of dropouts in Syracuse, New York.[4] A sampling of dropouts, representing seven semesters of the postwar period, was obtained. Of these 194 were interviewed concerning the causes of their leaving school. The reasons given are summarized in Table 15–2. These dropouts represented all the major occupational groups of the city. Many graduates expressed dissatisfaction with the courses offered and the school services. They expressed a desire for more information about job opportunities and about how to get a job. They also expressed a need for further vocational training and advice on social living.

The Minnesota Commission on Higher Education reported that only one in three of Minnesota's top high-school graduates earns a college degree.[5] Closely related to this are the results of the findings by Berdie.[6] His study indicated that one-half of the bright Minnesota high-school graduates, who were not planning to attend college, would not have altered their plans even if additional funds had been available to them.

Dropping out of school, like delinquency, cannot usually be attributed to isolated causes. Case studies show that this behavior is usually a reaction to a total situation, as was the case of Tom.

Tom was the youngest of four children. His parents owned a small farm. His father worked at varied jobs in the winter and at other times of the year when he was not busy cultivating his small farm. Tom's mother showed some anxiety for the education of the children. However, the father was

[3] E. S. Johnson and C. Legg, *Why Young People Leave School.* National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1948.
[4] *Syracuse Youth Who Did Not Graduate.* Research Division, Board of Education, Syracuse, New York, 1950.
[5] Minnesota Commission on Higher Education, *Higher Education in Minnesota.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950.
[6] R. F. Berdie, "Why Don't They Go to College?" *Personnel and Guidance Journal,* 1953, Vol. 31, pp. 352–356.

Table 15-2

	Frequency of Occurrence
School situations	
Dissatisfaction with school	91
Relation between school subjects and future work	51
Inability to learn	48
Teacher-pupil relationship	46
Suitable subjects not offered	35
Too old for grade	33
Completion of course	22
Principal—vice-principal—pupil relations	13
Other	11
Total	350 (62%)
Personal or financial	
Family need or family situation	67
Lack of personal funds	60
Lure of job	59
Illness	19
Too poor in comparison with others	9
Total	214 (38%)

quite lukewarm to the idea. Neither of Tom's two brothers nor his sister had finished high school. Tom was in the ninth grade, and was doing satisfactory work in all of his classes except English. Since he lived more than ten miles from school and rode to school on the school bus, he was unable to remain after school and take part in athletic practice and activities. Also, Tom didn't have as much money to spend as most of the children. Thus, Tom found little at school to interest him or to challenge his interests and abilities. A caustic remark by his English teacher relative to the grammar Tom used in a written composition was the final factor that caused Tom to remain out of school. At first his parents were unaware that he was not attending school. Later they found out that Tom had merely been riding into the village where the school was located and catching the school bus at the end of the school day and riding back. By this time Tom had gotten so far behind with his school work that he could not be persuaded by his mother to return to school.

Education and class status. With the constantly increasing number of adolescents remaining in school, teachers and school officials are con-

fronted with problems that did not exist several decades ago. An important problem, often not recognized by the teachers and others concerned with the school program, is that of reconciling its middle-class point of view and values with the lower-class culture of so many of its pupils. This failure on the part of the schools creates conditions that drive the lower-class student from high school. The writer observed a case in which the small-town school had expanded and a number of boys and girls from the rural area were transported to school by bus. Several of these students had not had the social and cultural opportunities of the average child. They were at first unable to enter into many of the social aspects of the school life. The teachers tended to ignore them and the students, through their cliques, built up barriers that excluded the farm children from their activities. Most of the underprivileged rural group dropped out of school. At a later date the school district was further expanded to include a much larger group of rural boys and girls. The program was expanded to provide vocational agriculture, industrial arts, home economics, and commercial courses. Many of these students were able to find courses and activities that were of interest to them. Perhaps a changed point of view was adopted by the teachers, without their realizing it, and after a few years the valedictorian and vice-president of the senior class came from the group of rural students.

Table 15–3

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT OF ELMTOWN YOUTH ACCORDING TO
CLASS STATUS (*After Hollingshead*)

	In School		Out of School	
Class	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
I	4	100.0	0	00.0
II	31	100.0	0	00.0
III	146	92.4	12	7.6
IV	183	58.7	120	41.3
V	26	11.3	204	88.7

A study of school retention among Elmtown youth shows that the dream of equality of educational opportunity is to a large extent a myth.[7] This is shown in the analysis of the per cent of adolescents from each of the five social-economic cultural classes found in Elmtown presented in Table 15–3. There are two rather widespread misconceptions about the problem of school leavers. First, there are many upper-class city dwellers

[7] Table 15-3 is reprinted by permission from *Elmtown's Youth* by A. B. Hollingshead, published by John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949. Elmtown is a fictitious name given to a midwestern town of around 10,000 population.

who pass up the problem by pointing out that these leavers are from the rural areas. Surveys conducted at Elmtown and other points show that this is not the case. The great preponderance of school leavers appear among the underprivileged groups in our rural areas, towns, and cities. The second misconception relates to the time of school leaving. The Elmtown study shows that despite compulsory school laws requiring boys and girls to remain in school until they are 16 years of age, 74 per cent of the 345 young people out of school in the spring of 1942 had dropped out before they had reached their sixteenth birthday. Neither the Elmtowners nor the school authorities were aware of the large number of young people who had dropped from school. Such a condition may become even more exaggerated in a larger urban area.

Although differences in educational opportunity are apparent to any careful observer, differences in motives, goals, aspirations, and attitudes toward school are also extremely important to the teacher and to others concerned with the educational program. A study by Hieronymus was concerned with the relationship between anxiety for an education and certain socio-economic and intellectual variables.[8] Scales for measuring socio-economic status, attitude toward education, and level of socio-economic expectations were administered to 610 ninth-grade students. Composite scores on the *Iowa Tests of Educational Development* and intelligence quotients were available from school records for a major portion of the sample.

The results of this study were carefully analyzed. Correlations were obtained between the scores on the various tests and evaluating devices. The correlations between the different variables and attitudes toward education are shown in Table 15–4. The correlations of .49 and .47, for boys and girls respectively, between socio-economic expectation and attitude toward education, and the moderately high correlations between the other variables and attitude toward education provide further support for the hypothesis that socialized anxiety is an important motivating force in American education. Because of this it acts as a selective process in high-school and college enrollments. This should be recognized by those concerned with the education of high-school boys and girls. It appears most likely that for today and tomorrow the most difficult task facing those responsible for the education of high-school boys and girls is that of providing an educational program and educational goals for a large percentage of those in the lower socio-economic groups. All too often the motives held up by teachers for them to remain in school are unreal, or at least unimportant to these boys and girls.

[8] A. H. Hieronymus, "A Study of Social Class Motivation: Relationship between Anxiety for Education and Certain Socio-Economic and Intellectual Variables," *Journal of Educational Psychology*. 1951, Vol. 42, pp. 193–205.

Table 15–4

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION AND CERTAIN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND INTELLECTUAL VARIABLES (*After Hieronymus*)

	Attitude toward education	
	Boys	*Girls*
Socio-economic status	.28	.29
Mid-parent education	.22	.22
Father's occupation	.15	.16
Test intelligence	.29	.24
ITED composite	.33	.39
Socio-economic expectation	.49	.47
Educational expectation	.49	.41
Occupational expectation	.34	.36

NEEDS AND GOALS

Many changes have been made in the high schools during the past century. From the adult point of view most of these seem to be for the better. Just how well the modern high school is helping the youth to learn the things they feel a need of learning is still quite questionable. Perhaps we should seriously reflect upon the words of one teen-ager:

Dad says I can quit school when I'm fifteen and I'm sort of anxious to because there are a lot of things I want to learn how to do and as my uncle says, I'm not getting any younger.[9]

Education and technology. Since the school is often so completely separated from the world of work, the adolescent may emerge with a store of abstract knowledge, but with very little notion about life itself. It is also likely that those who immersed themselves most completely in their studies are the ones most unfit for the ordinary day-to-day activities. Furthermore, there is such a long time lag between the learning of certain facts and their application that the student must be motivated by various extrinsic and artificial incentives. The cry of unreality is raised against the school system by many who would integrate the school more closely with life. Many reforms have been proposed as the real solution to the problem. The real trouble seems to have developed as a by-product of technology. Technology has brought about an economic condition wherein the labor of children is no longer needed for the production and distribution of goods.

[9] S. M. Corey, "The Poor Scholar's Soliloquy," *Childhood Education*, 1944, Vol. 20, pp. 219–220.

This has created important readjustments in the school program to meet the needs of boys and girls in a technological age. This need is especially evidenced when it is realized that most high schools are still geared to the goal of preparing students for college. Most high-school students take the college-preparatory course, but only 20 per cent of them ordinarily go on to college. Another 20 per cent are prepared for a trade or vocation. But what about the other 60 per cent? Should they not be provided with a *real* education suitable to their present and future needs? A summary of the type of training that would be included in such a program is here presented:

1. *Family-life training.* Such learning emphasizes facts about marriage, the family, and child care and training as well as materials involving English literature and mathematics.

2. *Consumer education.* Learning how to get your money's worth at the store counter is recognized as just as essential as learning skills in order to make money.

3. *Good habits of work.* These involve learning how to study, how to budget one's time, and how to get along with one's fellows in the performance of cooperative tasks.

4. *Creative use of leisure time.* Recreation involves more than rest, or just going places. Skills are acquired, interests are developed, and varied activities are pursued as means of developing worth-while interests and creative abilities.

Scientific and vocational interests. A group exploring the secrets of a radio. (*Courtesy Los Angeles Public Schools*)

5. *Citizenship training.* An individual's obligations to his neighbors, to the community, and to society at large are learned. Such learning prepares for citizenship in a cooperative democratic society, which is dependent upon individual initiative, responsibility, and cooperation with others in many enterprises.

6. *Vocational skills.* Those learnings necessary for making a living involve more than the skills used on the job. Understanding, ability to get along with others, and a favorable attitude toward work make the individual a more capable worker and a better adjusted citizen.

7. *Good health habits.* Good mental and physical health are prerequisites to the maximum of happiness and success. The schools have an important obligation to develop good health habits, which would include safety and accident prevention programs. There is ample evidence that when driver education programs are included as part of the educational program better driving habits result with a lower accident rate among youthful drivers.

8. *The development of the spiritual self.* This includes moral development and character formation in harmony with a sound philosophy of life.

Educational choices of adolescents. In a study conducted by Donald Doane a group of high-school boys and girls was confronted with an inventory of 19 courses of action embodying the needs and problems of youth as found from previous studies, from which certain selections were to be made.[10] These boys and girls were instructed to select the five areas (described as *courses* that might be pursued in school) that they would want most and the five that they would want least. The course "Vocational Choice and Placement" was selected by a larger percentage of both boys and girls than any other course. Furthermore, there was little difference between the choices of those found to be in the high IQ group and the choices of those in the low IQ group (see Table 15–5). The results of a survey of 5,500 high-school students in the State of Washington support the general findings of the study by Doane. The percentage of boys and girls checking the different things they thought the high school could have done to make them better prepared are listed in Table 15–6.[11] The need for more courses, especially vocational courses, was checked by half of these high-school students. Also, a significant number checked items dealing with vocational guidance, vocational experience, better understanding of world problems, and follow-up work after graduation. A study of a sampling of 1,400 high-school seniors from Connecticut showed that foreign languages, history and social studies, and mathematics were listed as the least valuable subjects.[12] The students

[10] D. C. Doane, *The Needs of Youth: An Evaluation for Curriculum Purposes.* Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education,* No. 848, 1942.

[11] L. J. Elias, *High School Youth Look at Their Problems.* Pullman, Wash.: The State College of Washington, 1949.

[12] K. Wiles, *Youth Education in Connecticut.* Hartford, Conn.: Governor's Fact Finding Commission on Education, 1950, pp. 79–91.

Table 15–5

COMPARISON OF THE CHOICES OF COURSES OF HIGH
AND LOW IQ GROUPS (*After Doane*)

Course	High IQ (N 164)	Low IQ (N 164)
Vocational Choice and Placement	65%	68%
Getting Along with People	52	48
Health	37	49
Sex	22	30
Relationships with Opposite Sex	29	30
Finances	22	25
Plans for Marriage and Family	25	24
Philosophy of Life: Mental Hygiene	18	20
Relationships with Family	16	19
Leisure Time and Recreation	10	19
Morals	16	13
Religion	11	5
History	27	23
Government	29	27
Current Problems	10	18
Music, Art, Dramatics	42	30
Sciences	25	24
Languages	26	16
Literature	13	9

Table 15–6

THINGS HIGH-SCHOOL YOUTH THINK THE SCHOOL COULD
DO TO MAKE THEM BETTER PREPARED (*After Elias*)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Offer more courses	50.2%	46.8%	48.3%
Give more vocational courses	45.6	52.4	43.8
Teachers could be more friendly	16.8	18.6	17.8
Provide more guidance and counseling	29.2	29.9	29.6
Show interest in what they do after graduation	13.3	7.1	9.9
Tell them what vocation to follow	5.2	3.7	4.4
Give them practical vocational experience	28.8	26.9	27.8
More help with personal problems	11.2	9.9	10.5
Give them understanding of world problems	11.6	12.8	12.2
School and teachers are too strict	4.6	6.3	5.3

indicated that the schools gave them little help in dealing with questions
of dating, marriage, parent-child relations, and personal problems.

The results of these studies are in harmony with those obtained from the Purdue University Opinion Poll for Young People.[13] The poll interviewed 15,000 adolescents all over the nation to determine how young people feel about their courses, the problems that bother them, and what subjects they would like to take. Some findings from this study are presented in Table 15–7. Many of the students expressed a desire for help in vocational selection, understanding themselves, choosing a college, and securing a job. Over one-fifth of the students expressed a doubt about the value of the things studied in high school, while 50 per cent wondered what courses would be of value to them in later life. A large percentage of students expressed a desire for work experiences and vocational courses, indicating their concern about vocational development and earning a living.

Table 15–7

ATTITUDES EXPRESSED AND PROBLEMS GIVEN BY HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS RELATING TO THEIR HIGH-SCHOOL COURSES (*After Remmers and Shimberg*)

Attitude or problem	Per cent
Doubt the value of the things they study	21
Courses are too far removed from everyday life	10
Would like to take courses that are not offered in their school	35
Would like to take more vocational courses	33
Would like to get some practical work experience	49
Need advice in choosing courses	25
Wondered what courses would be of value to them in later life	50

Recreational and social needs. From an analysis of the replies of over 2,100 high-school students (about equally divided between sophomores and seniors) from ten high schools of western Pennsylvania to a questionnaire submitted relative to their participation in varied aspects of the social and recreational program of their school, some interesting conclusions may be drawn and some constructive generalizations made.[14] The results of this study again bring out the need for the school to plan definite programs to satisfy the recreational and social needs of adolescents. Such a need is certainly to be found more often in the larger high schools than in the smaller ones. Those students questioned suggested, in addition, a need for get-acquainted parties during the early part of the year, in order that students from the different elementary schools who now made up the

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[13] H. H. Remmers and B. Shimberg, "Problems of High School Youth," *The Purdue Opinion Poll for Young People,* Report No. 21, Purdue University, 1949.

[14] D. R. Kovar, "Student Attitudes Toward the Program of Social Recreation in Certain High Schools of Western Pennsylvania," Doctor's Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1939.

high-school group might come to know one another better. It is pointed
out that informal dances should have a part in the social program, but
that these should not make up the whole program. There seems to be a
need for activities that will include all the pupils. In addition to these
needs for social and recreational activities, there is felt to be a need for
the teachers to offer help through clubs, the homeroom, or regular classes
in social usage. Along with all this, there should be a democratic spirit
existing within the school, and the faculty should display an interest in
and appreciation of the problems and aspirations of the adolescent boys
and girls.

In the organization of the well-adjusted personality, there must be a
consideration of all the factors that go to make up personality. Each
individual represents a relational pattern of traits. These traits are more
or less peculiar to the particular individual concerned, and their organi-
zation into a pattern that will produce a well-integrated personality
should be the major goal of education. Club activities, homeroom
projects, socialized classroom procedures, and other methods and con-
ditions characteristic of the modern school are designed to aid in the
development of the individual pupil as a whole. We have come to real-
ize that human health, happiness, and success depend upon more than
intellectual development. A student may be able to solve intricate prob-
lems in physics and chemistry, or be able to write an essay rated as very
superior, and still be so badly adjusted emotionally that he is incapable of
solving the simplest problem of his own everyday living. The home and
the school, as well as other educational and social agencies, must come to
recognize the problems of social, educational, vocational, and health
adjustments in relation to each other and to a well-adjusted personality.
In the study of Doane:

Help in development of social abilities—making friends, popularity, man-
ners and etiquette, etc.—was indicated as desired by about one-half to three-
fourths of the girls, depending upon the particular topics, and by about
one-fourth to one-half of the boys. *How to make friends* was checked by 74
per cent of the girls and 55 per cent of the boys, and *manners and etiquette,*
etc., by 65 per cent of the girls and 43 per cent of the boys.[15]

With increased college enrollment, orientation of students toward col-
lege will be an increasingly important function of the counselor. It has
been predicted that college enrollment in 1960 will be double that of
1950 and 1970 enrollment will treble that of 1950.[16] However, guidance
toward specific college majors may come too early. This is suggested in
the results from studies by Dressel and Sturgis.[17] These studies showed

15 *Op. cit.,* p. 116.
16 R. C. White, "Estimating Future Demand for Admission to College," *Educa-
tional Record,* 1953, Vol. 34, pp. 17–24.
17 P. L. Dressel, "Role of General Education in Articulation," *Junior College Jour-
nal,* 1952, Vol. 23, pp. 131–144; H. W. Sturgis, "Trends and Problems in College
Admission," *College and University,* 1952, Vol. 28, pp. 5–16.

that over half of the college students changed their major while in college. This is somewhat in harmony with data that will be presented in Chapter 17, showing that interests during the high-school period as measured by interest inventories are not sufficiently stable to use as a sound basis for vocational guidance.

Preparation for marriage. Some fifteen studies, conducted as part of the California Study of School Drop-Outs and Graduates, attempted to

A GREAT DEAL	SOME	LITTLE OR NONE
56% Getting along with people	35%	6 %
52% Using good English	33%	12%
43% Using mathematical skills	34%	18%
41% Reading efficiently	35%	18%
41% Preparing for college	35%	19%
32% Understanding oneself	42%	22%
31% Solving personal problems	36%	29%
29% Care of health	46%	21%
28% Business problems	36%	29%
24% Getting a job	37%	33%
24% Community affairs	37%	29%
20% Leisure activities	45%	28%
15% Marriage	29%	46%
15% Handling money	34%	42%

Figure 15–2. PERCENTAGES OF FORMER HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO FELT THAT SCHOOL HAD HELPED THEM IN VARIOUS AREAS. "UNCERTAIN" RESPONSES RANGING FROM 3 TO 10 PER CENT ARE NOT SHOWN. (McCreary and Kitch)

Preparation for postadolescence. COURSES IN HOME ECONOMICS ARE VITALIZED WHEN THE ADOLESCENT GIRL IS TRAINED IN MAKING CLOTHES TO STOCK HER OWN WARDROBE. (*Courtesy Roosevelt Junior High School, New Britain, Connecticut*)

appraise how much assistance the schools had given students in preparing them for different life activities, including marriage.[18]

Among the fourteen life activities studied, students ranked lowest the preparation they had received for marriage. This is shown in Figure 15–2. Only 15 per cent of those answering felt the schools gave them a great deal of assistance, while almost half of them stated they had received little or no assistance. In view of the high dropout rates in the senior high school, it is important for the school to provide appropriate courses at the ninth- and tenth-grade levels. Marriage, home, family budgets, children —these are early concerns of many young people upon leaving high school.

Preparation for college. Although studies show that there is a high student mortality in colleges and universities, the typical high-school program is more closely geared to getting along in college than to varied life activities. This notion is supported by the responses of college students

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[18] W. H. McCreary and D. E. Kitch, "Now Hear Youth," *Bulletin of the California State Department of Education*, 1953, Vol. 22, No. 9.

about the high-school program. A cooperative study of graduates of a number of California high schools who had gone on to college showed that they were fairly well satisfied with what the high school had done for them.[19] About two out of three of the graduates felt the high school had been "very helpful" or "helpful" in preparing them for college. English, mathematics, and typing were subjects listed as most helpful.

About one-third of the graduates of the California study felt that transition to college had been difficult. The following suggestions for helping students going to college, offered by these graduates, are sufficiently sound for special consideration:

Teach good study habits.
Give students increased responsibility.
Furnish more information about college programs.
Use more college-type lectures and examinations.
Make provisions for note taking.
Make high-school work (particularly the senior year) more difficult for those going to college.
Increase the scope of and improve the guidance programs in high school.

Preparation for life activities. The relative success of the high school in preparing youth for college and marriage has already been discussed. Chapter 17 deals with the guidance and preparation of youth for the world of work. The question may be raised: How well does the school program prepare students for common life activities such as reading, speaking, using mathematical skills, getting along with people, solving personal problems, leisure-time pursuits, health, and community living?

A study of the results presented in Figure 15–2 shows that former students had greatest confidence in the school's ability to prepare them to get along with other people.[20] It is not easy to state just what aspect of the school program contributed most to this, but it would appear that clubs, discussion groups, and other parts of the school program that involved active pupil participation would be especially helpful in the development of this ability. In general, the students felt that the schools were teaching the fundamental skills. Girls rated their training in English high; boys tended to rate their training in mathematics high.

The ratings given by these former students indicated some weaknesses in school programs, if these programs are to prepare students for the life activities listed in Figure 15–2. The respondents felt that they received very little help in handling money, leisure-time activities, community affairs, getting a job, and solving personal problems. Various reasons might be projected for the low ratings given by these former students to the extent to which the schools prepared them for certain life activities. In the first place, courses are not usually set up and organized with prep-

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–18.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

aration for these activities as the major aim. Again, teachers are not usually oriented toward these aims. Whatever the reason, the program of the school appears to the former students to be least effective in these areas.

SCHOOL PROBLEMS
OF ADOLESCENTS

Maladjustments at school. It was pointed out in Chapter 9 that educational problems loom large in the lives of adolescents. Problems relating to failure in school, how to study, pupil-teacher relationships, and the like, apparently appear in the lives of many high-school boys and girls. Materials from the California adolescent growth studies, presented earlier, show that a large percentage of preadolescents, adolescents, and post-adolescents disliked elements in the school situation that indicated unfair practices on the part of teachers and snobbish as well as overly aggressive and dominating attitudes and practices on the part of their classmates. In general the boys checked many more items related to the curriculum and program than did the girls. Dullness and lack of interest as well as lack of value (as viewed by the students) in the subject matter were checked in many cases at all stages of development by approximately 50 per cent or more of the boys and slightly fewer girls.

The results of the study by Montague, presented in Chapter 1, showed that a large percentage of boys and girls from the lower social status group expressed dissatisfaction with the school program. When this is coupled with the fact that a large percentage of dropouts, as revealed in Table 15–2, quit school because of dissatisfaction, we are forced to the conclusion that dissatisfaction with school operates among a large percentage of adolescents. It appears evident that a large percentage of adolescents, particularly from the lower social class, feel that the typical high school is unrealistic and offers little to them of special value.

Norton's study of the student problems met by the teacher indicated that such problems fall into three large groups, which are listed as: (1) school-related problems, (2) non-school-related problems, and (3) post-school-related problems.[21] The number and per cent of guidance problems in these areas met by a group of high-school teachers is given in Table 15–8. The problems were broken down as follows:

I. School-related problems—those arising directly out of, and chiefly pertaining to, school situations such as choice of study, difficulties with subject matter, extracurricular activities, and school citizenship.

II. Non-school-related problems—those dealing primarily with the pupils' lives away from school and not directly traceable to school situations, such

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[21] S. K. Norton, "Student Problems Met by the Teacher," *School Review*, 1948, Vol. 51, p. 404.

as homes, their families, their friends, their financial conditions, and their health.

III. Post-school-related problems—those concerning the pupils' choice of vocations and of educational institutions beyond high school.

Table 15–8

MAJOR CLASSIFICATION OF 4,682 GUIDANCE PROBLEMS MET BY
1,586 HIGH-SCHOOL PUPILS (*After Norton*)

Category	Number	Per Cent
I. School-Related Problems	1,676	35.8
II. Non-School-Related Problems	1,822	38.9
III. Post-School-Related Problems	1,184	25.3
Total	4,682	100.00

Of the school-related problems, choice of study ranks first for over half the group in 54 Michigan communities. This problem should be taken seriously by the teacher, more seriously than routine, because in many cases it determines whether a student can enter the college of his choice. This, in turn, will affect his entire life. The next highest item was academic difficulties. These include such items as low achievement, poor study habits, make-up work, reading difficulties, lack of interest, and the like. School citizenship is very important from the standpoint of both the teacher and the student. Earlier in this chapter items relating to school citizenship were discussed in connection with school situations annoying to adolescents. In general, most of these problems of school citizenship are not of the sort that can be completely disregarded. Even though they may not seriously disturb the activities of the classroom, the library, or wherever they may occur, they are symptoms of emotional disturbances resulting from maladjustments.

The child who is successful in school is quite often looked upon as a model; such success is regarded as a crowning achievement of such qualities as will power, tenacity, desirable drives, and good mental habits and powers. That this is true in a great many cases is not questioned here; but when such an achievement is attained at the expense of a well-balanced personality, it is fraught with danger and should be looked upon with suspicion. The writer is reminded of a case that came within his observation a few years ago:

A girl, referred to here as Josephine, had always been a good student. She enjoyed her work at school and spent most of her time working with the assigned lessons. She was third from the top in a class of more than 30 pupils in the sixth grade. Since she was about average in intelligence (the Stanford Revision of the Binet Test gave her an IQ of 107), she had to

spend most of her time at work on her lessons in order to make the mark and hold the position in her class toward which her aims were always pointed. Her parents as well as friends and kinspeople commented favorably to her about her schoolwork, and this was an added urge to keep trying. From observations of this girl for a period of five years following this first general observation, it has become apparent that the girl is not developing her social qualities as she should. She has a very narrow range of interests; though a leader in her schoolwork she is not a leader among the group of girls of her class, nor has she given just consideration to her health and general appearance. It is unlikely that she will be able to go to college (unless her continued academic drive operates in this connection). Although she is not a problem case of any kind, she has not developed the various phases of herself that would serve her well in difficult situations or enable her to adapt herself to the groups with which she will come into contact during the course of her life.

Non-school-related problems have taken on an added importance within recent years. The high-school student's behavior will be largely affected by the conditions and forces he meets outside the school environment. It makes a great deal of difference whether the boy or girl comes from a home where the social climate is a happy and wholesome one, or whether he comes from a home where the social climate is not a happy and wholesome one. Although it is not easy for the school authorities to investigate problems arising from home and community conditions, an awareness of the nature of these conditions will enable them better to understand adolescent problems originating in situations and conditions outside the school.

Vocational choice and employment opportunities top the list of problems encountered by students leaving high school. The need for vocational guidance and follow-up work is recognized by students as well as teachers. Some of the major problems relating to this will be discussed in Chapter 16.

The effects of non-promotion. The notion that school standards must be upheld at "all costs" has gradually given way to the view that the individual pupils must be given first consideration. Naturally, there are a few cases where repeating a subject might be the most desirable procedure to follow, usually because the student involved is a normal, well-adjusted individual, who because of excessive absences, accidental conditions, or some other attenuating circumstances failed to make progress commensurate with his ability. In general, however, the factors that contributed to poor learning when the subject was first taken tend to operate when the subject is repeated.

A second objection to a policy of repeating a subject or grade concerns the personal and social effects upon the individual student. Non-promoted students have fewer friends and are less popular with their

classmates than are those regularly promoted.[22] Since retarded children are older than their classmates, they are on the average larger and stronger; however, teachers rate them low on most personality traits.[23]

Educational counseling will be concerned with the promotion of learnings commensurate with the abilities and needs of the individual pupils. In order to effectively counsel students whose achievement is low in comparison with their abilities, the counselor or teacher must be familiar with the causes of underachievement. Serene arrived at the major causes of underachievement by a group of high-school students through interviewing them and analyzing their school records.[24] A summary of the causes is presented in Table 15–9. The list of causes shows the problems that must be met by high schools if they are to help students reach the level of achievement they are capable of reaching. Closely related to this problem is that of grades and promotion, a problem that has constantly plagued teachers.

Table 15–9

ESTIMATED CAUSES OF UNDERACHIEVEMENT BY HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS
(*After Serene*)

Cause	Frequency
Lack of study	78
Poor planning and organization	56
Television	32
Not scholastic conscious	28
Dislike of subjects	22
Health and other physical reasons	18
Parental apathy	18
Social activities, dancing, skating, etc.	17
Study space lacking in the home	17
Work outside home	16
Poor home conditions, parents divorced or separated	15
Extracurricular activities	9
Poor grade-school background	8
Poor reading habits	7
Dislike of teachers	6

[22] See R. D. Anfinson, "School Progress and Pupil Adjustment," *Elementary School Journal*, 1941, Vol. 41, pp. 507–514; C. Saunders, *Promotion or Failure for the Elementary Pupil.* Bureau of Publications, Teachers College Columbia University, 1941.

[23] A. R. Mangus, "Effects of Mental and Educational Retardation on Personality Development of Children," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, 1950, Vol. 55, pp. 208–212.

[24] M. F. Serene, "An Experiment in Motivational Counseling," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 1952–53, Vol. 31, pp. 319–324.

Case studies in educational maladjustments. A better understanding of the operation of varied factors in producing educational maladjustments should result from a careful study of the two cases that are here presented.

CASE STUDIES

The case of Sonia [25]

Sonia was a difficult person to find in school. She stayed home the equivalent of 51 days in half-day sessions during her years in senior high school and, when she was there, she was so expert at evading school regulations on any pretext that she just never seemed to be in the place to which she was assigned. She flitted about the halls with permission slips to go to the library, the typing laboratory, the nurse's office, or to any other spot in the building. She failed to do assignments and often arranged to be absent from classes on the days when they were due so that she had an alibi when the work was not done. Only one teacher followed through sufficiently to recognize what she was doing, and in that class she received her only failing

SUBJECT	GRADES			
	9	10	11	12
English	C^2 C^2	D^2 C^2	D^2 F	– D
Amer. History			D^2 D^2	
Civics	C^2 C^2			
Amer. Problems				D^2 C
Algebra	D^2 D^2			
Geometry		C^2 D^2		
Biology			D^2 D^2	
Physical Ed.	Credit	Credit	Credit	Credit
Home Economics				C^2
Typing			C^2 D^2	C^2 Dropped
Shorthand			D^2 D^2	
Junior Business	C^2 C^2			

Figure 15–3. MARKS GIVEN SONIA DURING HER FOUR YEARS IN HIGH SCHOOL.

[25] J. W. M. Rothney, *The High School Student*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1953, pp. 103–108.

grade. She came sufficiently close to failure so frequently that she ranked only 329 in a graduating class of 353. Sonia's grades are shown on the chart presented in Figure 15–3; the numbers next to each grade indicate the degree of effort, (1) being high, (2) average, and (3) low.

In only one subject in one semester was Sonia's effort rated as excellent. She had started a course in clerical training, and because she liked the teacher and the subject seemed practical, she went right to work. As the work became more demanding in the second semester, her interest waned and she returned to her old practices. Sonia had very definite feelings about courses and teachers. She liked bookkeeping but not the teacher of that subject. She disliked geometry *and* the teacher of geometry. She refused for a week to attend the class in American problems to which she had been assigned because she did not like the teacher, and she might have missed graduation with her class had she not been permitted to transfer to another section. She disliked history because it was too difficult, but she admitted that she did not try very hard in that class. She disliked typing because of the speed tests, in which she said she got very nervous because one error counted so much against her. She said that she was forced to drop shorthand because she could not keep up with the speed of the other members of the class. She said that she would fail a course rather than give an oral report in it.

The pattern of behavior that she exhibited in classes carried over to other activities. When she was sent out to work in an office in a work-experience program for school credit, she did not like the brick floors and green shades in the room. And she did not like her fellow workers because "they were too catty and they did not like me because I wouldn't be catty, too." She did not like a part-time job as a store clerk and left it soon after she began.

When asked how her friends would describe her, Sonia said that they would say she was selfish and that she wanted her own way. She indicated that she was getting along better with her friends since she had stopped telling them what she thought about them. She encouraged the attentions of a boy who drove an expensive car but said that she was just leading him along without serious intentions to get the privileges which his plentiful supply of cash provided, and that she was dating other boys without his knowledge. She had many quarrels with her parents and she seemed unhappy about not getting her own way at home. As leader of a gymnasium class for younger girls, she was happy when she was a boss. Her nickname of Pouting Pansy seemed often to fit well.

That Sonia had physical assets was freely admitted by everyone. She was generally described as good-looking of face and figure, and she had learned to make the best of these features. Her grooming was immaculate and she used very good judgment in make-up, coiffure, and dress. The general visual impression that she presented called up such words as slender, petite, pretty, glamorous, and chic. Her choice of modeling as a vocation seemed possible of accomplishment.

Although Sonia had many quarrels with associates, her activities were largely social. She did some sewing, although she said she became very impatient in the process, and she did very little reading. She went to all

dancers at the youth-center ("I couldn't get along without them!") and was likely to appear at all strictly social functions. School organizations did not appeal to her, and she joined only one club, the Future Business Leaders of America, membership in which was mandatory for all students in the commercial course. One close friend, a girl who also wanted to become a model, accompanied her in most of her social activities.

The case of Teddy [34]

The hunkiest boy in his class, Teddy was known to everyone for his prowess with the shotput and discus and as one of the solid blocks in the football line. Uninterested in matters academic and unhappy about "sitting still as much as they want you to do in school," Teddy almost became a dropout. Several times it appeared that he would succumb to the pleas of his friends to go out West and get away from high school, but he did "went out a diploma." When he left after his four years of travail, he was very uncertain about the wisdom of having stayed and about his future.

Perhaps Teddy's lack of interest in school could be traced to the fact that he always had trouble with words and with reading. His test scores when he saw them, seemed only to verify what he had known about himself. He

SUBJECT	GRADES						
	9		10		11		12
English	D²	B²	D²	C²	C²	C²	C²	C
Amer. History					D²	C¹		
Civics	C²	D²						
Amer. Problems							C²	D
Algebra					C²	D²		
Biology			C¹	C¹				
Physics							C²	C
Physical Ed.	Cndt		Cndt		Cndt		Cndt	
Agriculture	D¹	C¹						
Industrial Arts	C²	D²						
Woodwork			D³	D³				
Mechanical Drawing			D²	D¹	C²	C²	D²	D

Figure 15-4. MARKS GIVEN TEDDY DURING HIS FOUR YEARS IN HIGH SCHOOL.

[34] Ibid., pp. 61-66.

was very unhappy because English was a required subject. "I am not interested," he said, "in stories and poetry, and I can see no reason why I should have to read them and talk about them in class." His own disliked his classes in woodwork because marks were determined by written tests rather than by what had been accomplished manually in the shop.

Teddy's grades are shown on the chart presented in Figure 15-4. His school activities were confined to athletics. He was a member of the track and football squads for three years. He did say that he would have liked to be in choir (prevented by a conflict in schedule with athletic activities), but he rejected invitations to join any other organizations. When he was asked what new school activities would attract him, he said, "Driving and shooting teams."

Much of Teddy's leisure time was taken up with a motorcycle, which he had bought with his own earnings. Riding his motorcycle and participating in sports filled most of the time left after school, athletic practices, and 15 hours of work each week. He listed football, swimming, and ice skating in that order as the things he liked to do most in his spare time, with dancing and hiking as "once-in-a-while" interests.

SUMMARY AND EDUCATIONAL
IMPLICATIONS

The modern technological age in which we are now living is placing additional burdens upon the schools. Some have proclaimed that we are now in a race between education and chaos. Others are disturbed over materialism and lack of spiritual values in the modern age. Regardless of the description given to the present state of affairs or the explanation offered, there seems to be a general agreement that this is an age of transition, although the problems related to human needs today are quite similar to those that have been ever present. H. G. Wells is quoted as having said to his bedside friend in the closing hours of his life, "Please don't disturb me; can't you see that I am busy dying?" Throughout his life he was constantly concerned with "the shape of things to come." A brief survey of this modern age in contrast to conditions of less than a century ago furnishes proof that the age of hand labor, scarcity, individualism, and isolation has given way to changed ways of living. The old patterns of education, designed for the past age, with a small percentage of boys and girls continuing their education even into high school, do not fit present conditions. The need for experimentation on educational problems is greater today than ever before. This calls first of all for well-trained teachers, administrators, and other individuals engaged in educational work, to lead the way.

There is a growing recognition of individual differences in abilities, interests, and needs. New curriculum materials are in the process of making, with programs organized around life activities and needs of pupils. The curriculum of the past often represented units designed for

a select group of boys and girls, and such curricula were not planned for the needs of our present high-school population. Some of the contemporary problems with which the schools are now faced may be listed as

1. The educational effects of the increased production resulting from technological developments.
2. The educational problems created by increased leisure time.
3. The educational impact of changed world conditions resulting from the applications of science and technology.
4. The uses that might be made of television, radio, motion pictures, and modern travel in a more complete educational program.
5. Problems involving increased equality of opportunity as an ideal of a democratic society.
6. Problems arising from the merging of various racial, religious, and social-economic groups in a comprehensive high-school and college program.
7. How to work most effectively with the home, church, and other agencies in the guidance of children and adolescents.
8. Problems involving educational, moral, social, and vocational guidance of adolescents.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. List in order the factors you consider most important in the increased school enrollment.

2. Show from some case of your acquaintance how school success is not sufficient.

3. How does the school aid in the expansion of interests? Illustrate.

4. Elaborate on the meaning and significance of the following statement: "In the future, schools will be more closely integrated with the life of the community than they were in the past."

5. It has been stated that, "Education comes out of all kinds of experiences and affects all phases of one's life." What effect should the acceptance of such a viewpoint have on the work of the schools?

6. Evaluate some high-school program that you are familiar with in terms of the extent to which it is designed to fit the needs of adolescents as suggested in this book.

7. Study carefully the cases of Sonia and Teddy. What are the individuals' assets and limitations? What are the major problems encountered at school? What are some special needs?

8. What are the major causes of adolescent dissatisfaction with school? What suggestions would you offer those in charge of the high-school program for increasing the holding power of the high school?

9. It has been suggested that the biggest problem facing the high-school teacher is finding means of motivating a large percentage of high-school students who find no values in the learning experiences imposed upon them at school. What are the implications of this for the teacher?

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EDUCATIONAL AND
VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

HE THAT HATH A TRADE HATH AN ESTATE; AND HE THAT HATH A
CALLING HATH AN OFFICE OF PROFIT AND HONOR. *Benjamin Franklin*

THERE IS AN EVER-INCREASED use of scientific procedure in the ordinary
life-activities of man. This increase has brought with it changed modes
of living, changed occupational conditions, more widespread leisure, in-
creased luxuries, and a change in our social-economic structure. All
these have had an important influence upon family relations, peer activ-
ities, community enterprises, educational and religious programs, work
opportunities, and the economic needs and conditions of adolescents and
youths.

The materials presented throughout the previous chapter indicated the
educational needs and problems of adolescents. A review of the materials
of this chapter shows that:

(1) Adolescents are beset with many problems, and need help and guid-
ance in their efforts to solve their problems.
(2) Many young people lack the information needed for making sound
decisions, especially about occupations.
(3) Services for counseling young people and giving them adequate assist-
ance in the solution of their problems are in many instances woefully
inadequate.
(4) The problems involved in choosing a vocation are extremely complex
and cannot be solved by a rule-of-thumb method.
(5) There is a great need for an opportunity for young people to secure
work experience as part of their training, as well as for occupational
orientation.

Increasing the holding power of the school. The increased secondary-
school enrollment presents a major problem to those concerned with the
education and guidance of boys and girls. In the previous chapter it
was pointed out that many youths drop out of high school before gradua-
tion. If the schools are to adequately serve all youth, such conditions
and provisions must be provided that they will remain in school and thus

develop their abilities and acquire skills and understandings essential for solving the problems they will meet as mature adults. If the schools are to meet the needs of these boys and girls they must first of all set up the kind of program that will challenge the potential dropouts. There is evidence that the modern secondary school is reducing the number of early school leavers. An important factor is a conviction on the part of the school staff that high schools should serve all the youth. Unless this conviction guides the action of the school personnel, the high school will be a selective institution where a large percentage of students will attend only until they reach the legal school-leaving age.

A second essential, closely allied to that of the attitude of teachers and others toward the function of the school, is that of providing adequate counseling services. By improving and extending the counseling services, the needs of the various groups of students needing special assistance will be more nearly met. Each pupil should know well at least one teacher or counselor and feel free to approach such a person concerning his problems. Studies show that a good counseling program inevitably reduces the number of dropouts. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that educational problems loom large in the lives of many high-school boys and girls. Effective school counseling will help boys and girls meet these and other problems with increased understanding and solve them more intelligently. A good counseling program will also require a flexible curriculum. The case of Teddy, presented in the previous chapter, could have been solved more readily if the curriculum program had been more flexible, especially that phase of it concerned with testing and grading. Pupils not qualified for either vocational or academic courses might choose general courses. Miller refers to one system where 3,250 pupils who could have left school to go to work were retained by a system of instruction apparently attractive to them.[1] A fourth feature that should prove helpful in increasing the holding power of the school is the provision of school–work projects, under which pupils spend part of their time at school and part on the job under the supervision of trained coordinators. Such projects furnish valuable educational experiences for the students as well as financial assistance needed by many.

A fifth means of increasing the holding power of the high school is to provide diagnostic services, along with the counseling and educational program, for students with special needs. The educationally and mentally retarded pupils are too often branded as a failure because of their inability to do the work prescribed for them. A complete educational program for all high-school students will determine through diagnostic

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[1] L. M. Miller, "How Can a High School Increase Its Holding Power of Youth?" *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, 1952, Vol. 36, No. 185, pp. 117–125.

tests and other means the abilities and needs of the individual students. Teamwork in diagnostic testing, counseling, and teaching services will have a beneficial effect upon retaining students in schools for a longer period of time. Closely related to the diagnostic services is the need for research on the nature and causes of dropouts. The dropouts, as well as the graduates, represent our human resources. They are the products of our schools. The pupil personnel program should, as part of its responsibilities, conduct follow-up studies of these students. This can be done by means of questionnaires and interviews, depending largely upon the purpose of the study and the personnel available for conducting it. Such follow-up studies have two major functions: (1) to help the individual through guidance and further training, and (2) to serve as a basis for revising the school program.

EDUCATIONAL GUIDANCE

It was pointed out earlier in this chapter that a large percentage of high-school students drop out of school before graduation. Various reasons have been given to account for these dropouts. Studies show that a large percentage of these are maladjusted. There are also many students who remain in school until they graduate although they are not well adjusted. These conditions have led to an increased interest in the guidance of boys and girls in the solutions of their problems and in making better personal, social, educational, and vocational adjustments.

Importance of guidance. The expansion of guidance facilities is one of the important characteristics of a modern high-school program. The chief methods of providing guidance are through school counselors, homeroom teachers, classroom teachers, assembly programs, special orientation courses, career days, visiting teachers, and special resource agencies outside the school. The major objective for counseling is usually considered that of helping students form sound judgments in the solution of their educational, vocational, personal, social, recreational, and religious problems. There is no one person who may be designated as the one who should do all or even a major portion of the counseling; neither is there any one best procedure for counseling. However, there are certain principles for organizing and administering counseling activities which will tend to expedite the work and to help students better solve their problems.

The diversity of problems that may come to the attention of the counselor or teacher presents them with a real challenge. These problems indicate the need for resource materials and people to help teachers and others in their counseling activities, and to help adolescents in solving their problems. In order to determine the activities and duties of school counselors Hitchcock secured data from 1,282 counselors representing

1,255 schools throughout the United States.[2] The materials presented in Table 16–1 show the duties now performed by these counselors. Hitchcock found that the majority of counselors are now utilizing public relations media in their work. The counselors also work closely with teachers,

Table 16–1

PERCENTAGE OF 1,282 COUNSELORS PERFORMING CERTAIN DUTIES
(*After Hitchcock*)

Duty	Percentage
Helping pupils adjust to school	95
Assisting pupils who are failing course work	91
Assisting pupils with course planning	94
Referring pupils in need of specialized help	89
Assisting pupils with occupational plans	96
Gathering information about pupils	94
Making notes of interviews	90
Helping pupils appraise strength and weakness (educationally and vocationally)	92
Assisting pupils with in-school placement	87
Securing part-time jobs for pupils	81
Assisting school leavers with next steps (i.e., college, trade school, jobs, etc.)	84
Assisting pupils with leisure-time placement	62
Administering group tests	94
Administering individual tests	89
Administering sociometric tests	40
Interpreting test results to pupils individually	92
Assisting pupils who are emotionally maladjusted	91
Assisting pupils who are socially maladjusted	90
Assisting pupils with moral and religious problems	85
Assisting pupils who are juvenile delinquents	82

administrators, and other youth-serving individuals and agencies, although many of them felt that this should not be a part of their responsibility. Three important factors emerging from this study may be summarized as follows: (1) A very large percentage of counselors are

[2] W. L. Hitchcock, "Secondary School Counselors and Their Job in the United States," Ed. D. Thesis, Oregon State College, 1953.

called upon to deal with a diversity of student problems. (2) Counselors are called upon to perform a wide range of tasks, and must work closely with teachers, administrators, and parents. (3) The duties of the counselor carry him outside the school, as he attempts to help students with such problems as job placement, emotional, social, and religious adjustments, and assisting school leavers with next steps.

A democratic system of education should provide opportunities for each child to develop his abilities and potentialities. Individual guidance on the part of the teacher is essential if this goal is to be reached. The dull child, the neuropathic child, the defective child, and the gifted child alike should receive consideration in our school program. Complete recognition of individual differences means a recognition of these deviations in intelligence, in aptitudes, in temperament, as well as in goals and purposes in individual cases.

Counseling the individual pupil. Counseling is as old as formal education, if not older. It has recently been described as "a personal and dynamic relationship between two people who approach a mutually defined problem with mutual consideration for each other to the end that the younger, or less mature, or more troubled, of the two is aided to a self-determined resolution of the problem. . . ."[3] Counseling is primarily an individual matter and is more apt to be successful when conducted on that basis. In connection with the school environment it implies greater maturity and understanding on the part of the teacher or adult. In a study of 1,500 15-year-old boys in Detroit, 82 per cent wanted adult companionship and counsel.[4] Those who had least companionship and poor family adjustment were most eager for this adult counseling. Counseling is not synonymous with interviewing, since the latter is a technique for some specific purpose. Referring to Wrenn, we find the following diagrams with explanations:

A too common type of interview is information and advice given, thus:

Counselor ⟶ Student

A less common and sometimes quite justifiable interview is the information-getting situation, thus:

Counselor ⟵ Student

The interview as it should be used in counseling must be represented:

Counselor ⟷ Student

Educational, vocational, and personnel-social problems loom large in the lives of adolescents. Too often social and personal problems are not given the attention and consideration they deserve. It is only when these

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[3] C. G. Wrenn, "Counseling with Students," *Thirty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1. Bloomington, Ili.: Public School Publishing Company, 1938, p. 121.

[4] K. W. Layton, "Guidance Needs of Detroit's 15-Year Old Pupils," *Occupations, The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, 1936, Vol. 15, pp. 215–220.

reach the teacher or administrator that they are recognized. There, they have usually been treated as behavior activities, without much consideration of the drives back of them.

The need for "belongingness" or being accepted is very important during the adolescent years. Teachers must be aware of this need, and must recognize the problems of adolescence as real, even though they may appear trivial to the adult. This ability to understand the nature of the problems of others is a prerequisite for counseling. When the problems of others are considerably removed from one's own life, the ability to understand such problems becomes more difficult of attainment. Adolescents' problems are not synonymous with the problems of a teacher on the job. This in itself presents a challenge to the teacher, if his work in the guidance and direction of adolescents is to be effective:

Each boy and girl in the classroom wants to be accepted as a unique individual. He wants to be accepted *as a person* and not for what he can accomplish. Students like to think of a teacher as someone whom they can trust. To violate a confidence will freeze the channels of human relationships immediately. What might seem insignificant and unimportant to the teacher may be of vital importance to the child.[5]

Importance of records. A basic principle of guidance is that we must secure definite information about the individual before effective plans can be formulated to meet his needs. The kinds of information that should be useful for instructional and guidance persons and that should be included in the cumulative record have been listed by Dugan as follows: [6]

AREAS OF INFORMATION	MEANS OF APPRAISAL
1. Scholastic aptitude	Previous grades, psychological tests of ability and achievement
2. Scholastic achievement and basic skills	Previous grades, standardized and teacher-made achievement tests, survey and diagnostic tests of basic skills, school activities, and work experiences
3. Special abilities: clerical, mathematical, artistic, and the like	Special aptitude tests, interviews, and evaluation of previous achievement or performance (work experiences, hobbies, extracurricular activities)
4. Interest and plans	Autobiographies, interest inventories or tests, stated interests, interviews, previous achievements, and both work and leisure activities
5. Health and physical status	Physical examination, health history, observation, attendance record and nurse follow-up, and family consultation

[5] E. C. Morgenroth, "Relationships between Teachers and Students in Secondary Schools," *Progressive Education*, April, 1939, pp. 248–249.

[6] W. E. Dugan, "Counseling in the Modern Secondary-School Program," *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, 1951, Vol. 35, p. 15.

6. Home and family relationships	Observation, anecdotes, rating scales, interviews, autobiographies, themes, check lists and adjustment inventories, reports from employers, group workers or group leaders, and parent conferences
7. Emotional stability and social adjustment	
8. Attitudes	Student questionnaires, home contests, interviews, themes, autobiographies and other documentary information, and standardized rating scales
9. Work experiences	Record of employer, reports of vocational counselor, interviews, and student questionnaires

Previous school experience is not by any means an absolute, safe basis for the prediction of future development. However, the pupil's response to certain types of courses, his areas of high and low achievement, and his participation in extracurricular activities all show definite trends that are a source of help to the counselor. Records should be kept on mental and educational growth from time to time. Educational achievement tests furnish records of growth in the school subjects.

Techniques for use in securing information on aptitudes and abilities are manifold. Such tests, however, may be dangerous in the hands of an untrained person. Some occupations require only a special type of intelligence while others demand only skills of some particular type. Facts about past activities, interests, health, and educational growth should serve as valuable information on a cumulative record. Through interviews, questionnaires, tests, rating devices, and observations, information is obtained. When it is organized in an understandable and usable manner, such information should serve as a basis for more accurate guidance and counseling of adolescent boys and girls.

The chief advantage of the cumulative record is the possibility of combining the separate items it contains into an integrated picture of the whole individual. The meaning of various patterns of interest records, as well as of patterns of abilities and activities, and ways of combining these most effectively are matters demanding further study. Concerning the importance of having such information available, in order to assist the students in their educational problems, Strang has stated:

Assistance to students must be thorough but not superfluous. One cannot have too much information about a student, but one can give him too much advice. His present level of maturity must be ascertained; his values, goals, aims and purposes recognized and respected. Counseling, in part, is instruction in self-direction. It is a process, not a conclusion.[7]

Wrenn and Dugan have listed five principles that may be used as guides for teachers and others in understanding and dealing with problems typically encountered among adolescents.

[7] R. Strang, *Counseling Technics in College and Secondary School.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937, p. 130.

1. *Behavior is caused.* Teachers who understand their students will interpret each individual's present behavior in terms of that individual's past experiences, home and family influences, health, personal needs, interests, and goals. Present behavior, however undesirable or annoying, is symptomatic. Rather than punish or treat the symptoms, teachers should search out underlying causes, conditions, or unmet needs that produce the observed behavior.

2. *Causes are complex.* It is seldom that only one factor or condition is responsible for a personal difficulty. A number of underlying causes or conditions usually contribute to a single behavior problem.

3. *A pattern of data is needed.* To understand a student effectively, a comprehensive picture of him must be obtained. Information gained from a cross-section analysis of his present needs, abilities, and interests must be supplemented by a developmental record of his individual growth.

4. *Treatment is a cooperative process.* The case study conference is a cooperative approach utilizing the reports, anecdotes, and experiences of all teachers and other trained staff members in a careful analysis of an individual student.

5. *Therapy is continuous.* Recommendations for remedial treatment or action in assisting each pupil to achieve an optimum adjustment represent only a starting point. A follow-up study of the *effects* of such courses of action is needed, for new facts may come to light and changes in treatment or further courses of action may be found desirable. The successful guidance of an individual student demands patient follow-up and continued attention to the changing pattern of his life.[8]

VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

One sometimes hears the statement that present-day adolescents have been spoiled by the rising living standards and easy money, that they have lost the old-fashioned virtue of work, and that they are looking for the easy way out. To find out how high-school boys and girls feel about work without the monetary rewards, the tenth- and twelfth-grade students of the Michigan study were asked to complete the statement: "If, without doing any work, I had a guaranteed income on which my family and I had everything we wanted, I would . . ." The responses presented in Figure 16–1 show that idleness alone has very little appeal to these students.[9] Seven out of ten indicated that they would prefer a full-time or a part-time job, even if they had complete financial independence. The remainder would develop some hobby to occupy their free time. The notion of work appears to be an accepted part of the culture of adolescents.

[8] C. G. Wrenn and W. E. Dugan, *Guidance Procedures in High School.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950, pp. 17–18.
[9] *Youth and the World of Work.* Social Research Service, Michigan State College, 1949, p. 10.

Get a Job Anyway		39%
		36%
Get a Part-Time Job		36%
		32%
Follow My Hobbies and Interests		18%
		25%
Not Get a Job At All		3%
		2%
No Response 5%	EACH SYMBOL EQUALS 5%	
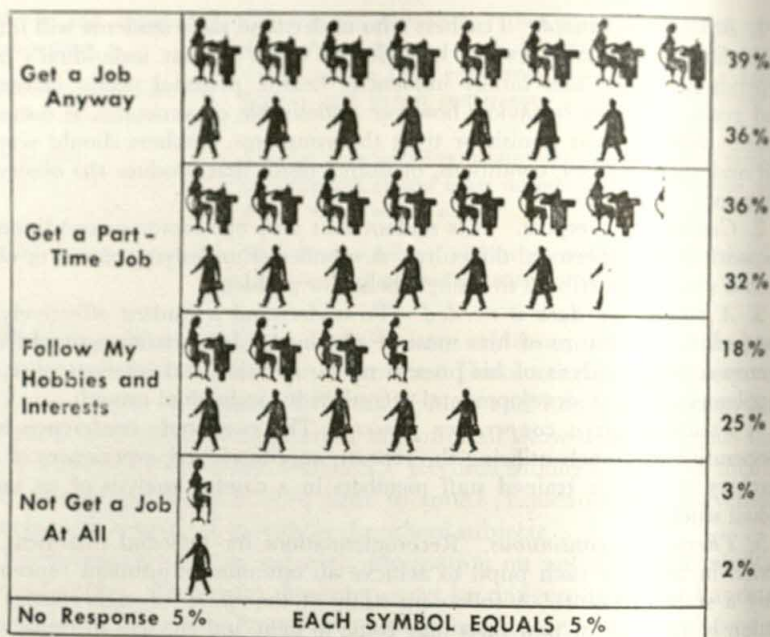
Figure 16–1. WHAT HIGH-SCHOOL BOYS AND GIRLS INDICATE THEY WOULD LIKE TO DO IF THEY WERE FINANCIALLY INDEPENDENT. (*Youth and the World of Work*)

Vocational aspirations. There is a marked tendency on the part of high-school students to aspire to a rather high goal in their vocational planning. The results of the Michigan study showed that by the time students reach the twelfth grade they have fairly definite ideas of the kinds of occupations they want to enter. In this study students were asked first the kind of work they would *like* to do and second the kind of work they actually *expect* to do. (Girls were asked to assume that they would have a paying job before or after marriage.)

The results of the Michigan study, presented in Figures 16–2 and 16–3 showed that 34 per cent of the boys and 30 per cent of the girls listed professional work as the kind of life work they would most like to do. A further study of these showed that only 22 and 23 per cent, respectively, actually expect (not hope) to get into the professional field. When one considers the number of people in the professional field, as listed in Table 16–6, it is obvious that a disproportionate number of boys and girls are aspiring to and expect to enter these fields. A study of the choices of tenth- and twelfth-grade girls shown in Figure 16–3 reveals that two-thirds of the girls aspire to professional, clerical, and sales work, while only 8 per cent aspire to and expect to go into all the other occupations
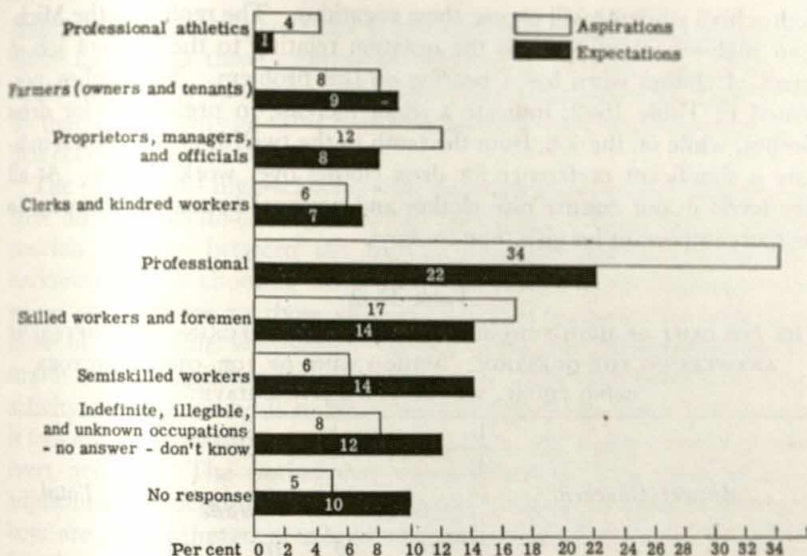
Figure 16-2. Comparison of the kinds of jobs boys would like to have with those they actually expect to have.

with the exception of homemaking. The realism of the girls is indicated, however, by the large number who expect to become homemakers. It is highly probable that many will be disappointed with the jobs that will actually be open to them.[10] However, as the semi-skilled trades, clerical, and sales jobs are made more attractive and furnish a better income, more
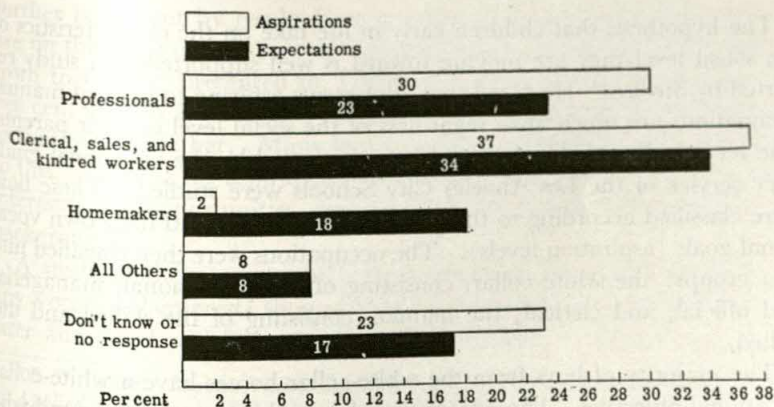
Figure 16-3. Comparison of the kinds of jobs girls would like to have with those they actually expect to have.

[10] Op. cit., p. 20.

high-school students will choose these vocations. The replies of the Michigan high-school students to the question relating to the kind of job in terms of clothes worn has a bearing on this problem. The replies, presented in Table 16–2, indicate a slight increase in preference for dress clothes, while on the job, from the tenth to the twelfth grade. Girls indicate a significant preference for dress clothes over work clothes. At all age levels in our culture nice clothes and personal appearance appear to be more important for girls than for boys.

Table 16–2

THE PER CENT OF HIGH-SCHOOL BOYS AND GIRLS CHECKING THE DIFFERENT
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: "WHICH KIND OF JOB, OTHER FACTORS
BEING EQUAL, WOULD YOU RATHER HAVE?"

Answer Checked	Boys		Girls		Total
	Grade		Grade		
	10	12	10	12	
One where you wore dress clothes	32	46	69	73	54
One where you wore work clothes—such as overalls ..	30	22	4	4	15
It doesn't matter	32	28	22	20	26
No response	6	4	5	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The hypothesis that children early in life take on the characteristics of the social level they are moving toward is well supported in a study reported by Stefflre.[11] He noted that adolescents aspiring to work at manual occupations are much alike regardless of the social level of their parents. The records of senior-high-school boys counseled by the vocational guidance service of the Los Angeles City Schools were studied. These boys were classified according to the parent's occupations and their own vocational goals (aspiration levels). The occupations were then classified into two groups: the white collar, consisting of the professional, managerial and official, and clerical; the manual, consisting of the skilled and unskilled.

The majority of boys from the white-collar homes have a white-collar vocational objective. Those from the white-collar home background who aspire to a manual objective are most apt to have selected a skilled occu-

[11] B. Stefflre, "Psychological Factors Associated with Aspirations for Socio-Economic Mobility," *California Journal of Educational Research,* 1955, Vol. 6, pp. 55–60.

pation. Their intelligence test scores and educational records are definitely inferior to those aspiring to white-collar occupations. They are significantly more impulsive, submissive, and concerned with overt activity than boys from the same home background who choose to remain at that occupational level.

The majority of high-school seniors from the manual home background have adopted white-collar vocational aspirations. These boys occupy a position midway between the manual aspirants and the white-collar-background boys choosing white-collar vocations. Their intelligence test scores are superior to those choosing manual vocations but inferior to those of the stable white-collar group. They are characterized by restraint and thoughtfulness. They are also more concerned with overt activity. The boy who is stable at the manual occupational level or who is moving downward is, conversely, impulsive and much concerned with overt activity. The notion that upward mobility is a result of poor adjustment is not supported by this study. Rather, it appears that such boys are well adjusted at school and have adopted many of the values found among the white-collar group.

Factors and conditions affecting vocational choices. The question has been raised: What are the factors that contribute to one's choice of a vocation? The results of one study, involving more than 700 high-school seniors, indicated the following factors in order of importance: the parent, a friend, a professional acquaintance, and a relative other than a parent.[12] Other factors listed were opportunity for advancement and opportunity for quick employment. These results substantiate the general claim that the home is the most important single agency in the determination of a vocational choice by adolescents and youth. This is further borne out by results from a study of the percentage of sons who are on the same or adjacent occupational level as their fathers.[13] Results from this study, presented in Table 16–3, show that from 60.1 to 71.9 per cent of sons are engaged in the same or adjacent level of occupation as that of their father. Many factors in the boy's environment contribute to this, including his aspirations, values, peer associations, and vocational interests and opportunities derived from his home and neighborhood backgrounds.

A study of the ages at which the subjects of Norton's study first had any vocational interests showed that factory workers developed interests later and developed fewer interests than teachers.[14] Their mean age of

[12] E. F. Peters, "Factors Which Contribute to Youth's Vocational Choice," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 1941, Vol. 25, pp. 428–430.

[13] Reprinted from *Occupational Mobility in an American Community,* by P. E. Davidson and H. Dewey Anderson with the publishers, Stanford University Press. Copyright 1937 by the Board of Trustees of Leland Stanford Junior University.

[14] J. L. Norton, "Patterns of Vocational Interest Development and Actual Job Choice," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1953, Vol. 82, pp. 235–262.
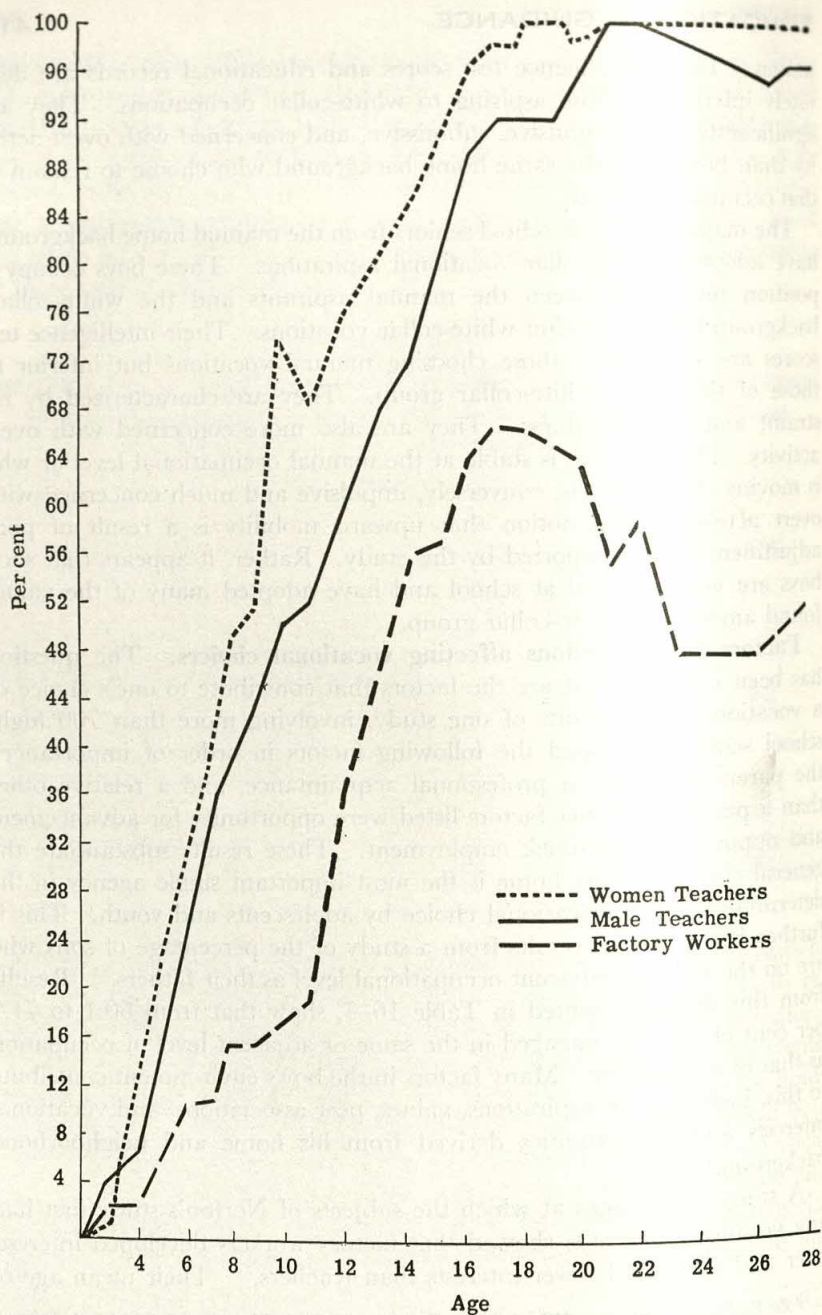
Figure 16–4. Percentage reporting any vocational interest at each age. (*Norton*)

first vocational interest was 12.9 compared with 9.7 for male teachers and 8.8 for women teachers. The total number of vocational interests reported by each group for the different age levels is shown in Figure 16–4. The age when the peak number of vocational interests was reached was 17 for all groups, but the high level of interests maintained by the teachers stood in strong contrast to the falling off of interests among factory workers. The nature of the women's interest was more stereotyped than that of the men: 49 per cent had teaching as their first interest. The male teachers were more unstable in their childhood interests, reflecting no doubt the greater range of activities open to boys. For the factory workers, professional ball-player ranked high among the men, while their other vocational interests were spread over a rather broad range.

Table 16–3

THE PERCENTAGE OF SONS WHO ARE ON THE SAME OR ADJACENT OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL AS THAT OF THEIR FATHERS

(After Davidson and Anderson)

Occupational Level of Father	Per Cent of Sons on Same or Adjacent Level
Professional	61.6
Proprietors, etc	60.1
Clerks, etc	61.5
Skilled	73.5
Semiskilled	68.1
Unskilled	71.9

Mental ability and vocational aspirations. Many factors affect the vocational aspirations of adolescents. The vocational choices of 1,500 junior- and senior-high-school students enrolled in some of the schools within and adjacent to the Philadelphia area were studied by Bradley.[15] The median IQ of these students was found to be 104.3, with a distribution and a range typical of that for an unselected group of high-school students. The vocational choices of these students were classified into five categories: professional, business and clerical, skilled, military, semiskilled, and unskilled. The percentage of students from the various levels of intelligence expressing a vocational preference in each of the vocational groups is shown in Table 16–4. Although there is a continuous decline in the median IQ from 108.25 for those choosing the professions to 99.50 for those choosing unskilled types of work, there are individuals at varying mental levels choosing vocations from each of the occupational

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[15] W. A. Bradley, "Correlates of Vocational Preferences," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1943, Vol. 28, pp. 99–169
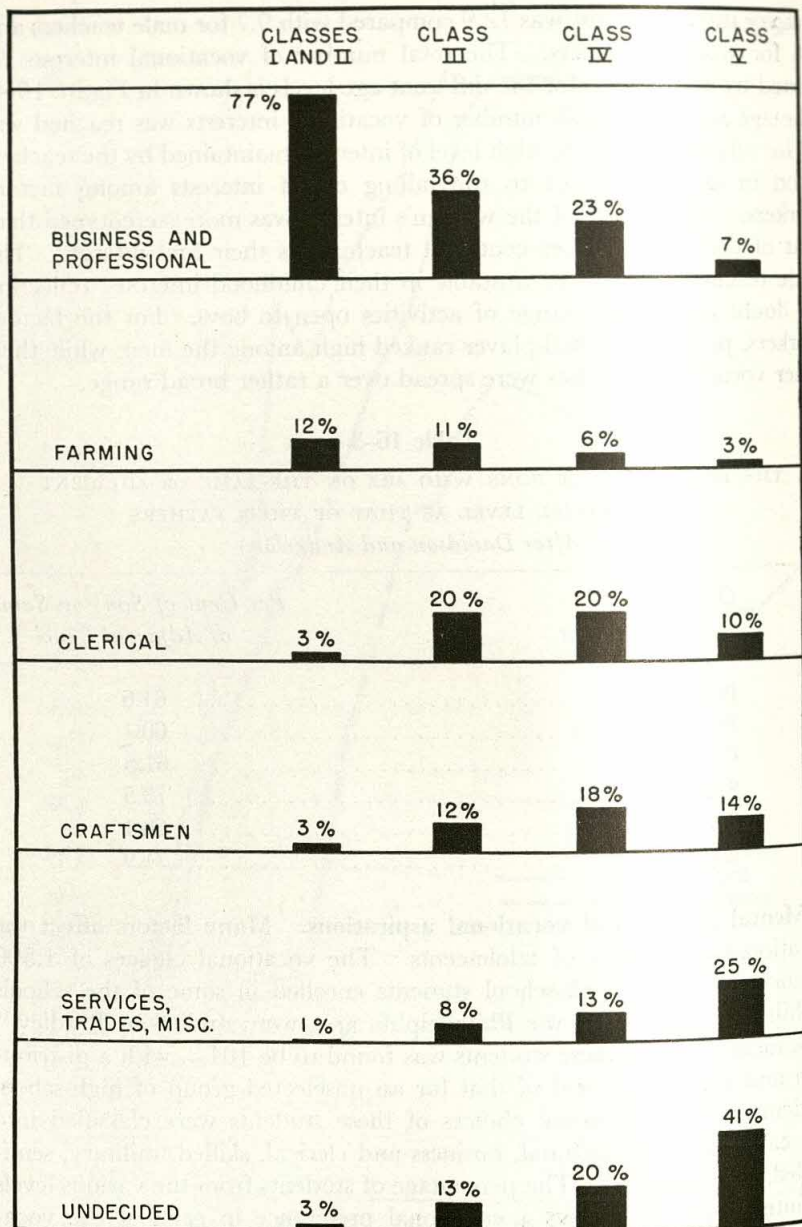
Figure 16–5. VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF ELMTOWN'S YOUTH BY CLASS AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS. (*After Hollingshead*)

classifications. These data furnish evidence that mental ability is a factor related to vocational choice, but is only one of a number of factors.

Class status and vocational aspirations. The study by Bradley, supported by other studies, reveals that the social and economic status of the family is another factor affecting the vocational choice of adolescents. A study of the aspirations of Elmtown's youth showed that job opportunities are closely associated with the class position of the boy or girl seeking the job.[16] The family influence is such that class II boys and girls are given a preferable type of employment when they are employed at all; class V and to a lesser extent class IV boys and girls must take what they are able to get with respect to full-time or part-time employment. The net result of this is that general office and clerical jobs are assigned to class II and class III boys and girls, while doing menial odd tasks around stores, factories, and other places of employment is left to boys and girls of class IV and of class V.

Table 16-4

MENTAL ABILITY AND VOCATIONAL CHOICE OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS

(After Bradley)

I.Q.'s	Per Cent of Choice *						
	Professional	Business and Clerical	Skilled	Military	Semiskilled	Unskilled	Total
140–149	.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.2
130–139	.6	.3	.1	.3	.0	.0	1.3
120–129	1.5	3.6	.7	1.7	.0	.0	7.5
110–119	5.5	7.2	3.2	5.3	.3	1.0	22.5
100–109	6.3	12.8	3.3	5.7	1.9	2.5	32.5
90– 99	3.0	9.0	2.7	8.3	.3	2.0	25.3
80– 89	.7	1.3	2.3	3.4	1.0	1.0	9.7
70– 79	.0	.3	.0	.0	.0	.7	1.0
Total	17.8	34.5	12.3	24.7	3.5	7.2	100.0
Median IQ	108.25	105.19	103.48	101.14	102.37	99.50	104.31

* The large number listing military was influenced by temporary conditions prevailing.

[16] Figure 16–5 is based on data reprinted by permission from *Elmtown's Youth* by A. B. Hollingshead, published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949.

Each adolescent in the Elmtown study was asked to name the job or occupation he would like to follow when he has attained maturity. The results, presented in Figure 16–4, show the vocational choices by class for the different occupational groups. The adolescent boys of class I and class II wish first to be business and professional people (77 per cent) and second to be farmers. The girls wish to get married. Class III has somewhat similar desires, although only 36 per cent aspire to be professional and business people. The choice in the clerical area looms large with this group, a choice that no doubt reflects the influence of the adult vocational pattern that prevails among a large number of this class. The large increase between class II and class III in the undecided column indicates that many of these youngsters are unable to reconcile their aspirations with their abilities and opportunities. Many adolescents in class III aspire to a higher vocational level than that followed by their parents, but are not able to see their way clear, financially and otherwise, for securing the training needed to enter into such a vocation. There is a continued sharp increase among the undecided as we move from class III to a study of the choices in class IV and class V.

Class V presents a vocational-choice pattern that is almost opposite to that of class I and class II. Uncertainty (41 per cent) stands out as significant in this group. Many miscellaneous vocations such as animal trainer, juggler, and the like were listed by this group. In the craftsman group, containing 14 per cent, is included the largest percentage of those who have made specific plans for their future. Farming as an occupation shows little appeal to this group. A follow-up would no doubt show that a still closer relationship exists between the occupations actually chosen and followed and the class status. Needless to say, most of the girls will become housewives; although in this study their preferences were about equally divided between business and the professions and clerical work. The girls appear to be oriented toward fields of endeavor that will require some or much technical training, although a large percentage of them will never obtain such training.

Despite the credos we may use with respect to our democratic ideals and practices, anthropological and sociological research has shown that individuals acquire certain anxieties and assume characteristic roles to some extent because of their class membership. Also, these studies have shown that there is a certain mobility in our class structure, although this is certainly not as great as most people would claim. Furthermore, it is well known that occupations are very important in determining class status, because of a number of characteristics associated with certain occupations, such as nature of the work, extent of power, nature of associates, training and educational requirements, income, security, and the like. Concerning their role in the development of attitudes and anxieties, Levin has stated:

Counseling. ADOLESCENTS NEED GUIDANCE AS A PART OF THEIR PREPARA-
TION FOR LIFE. (*Courtesy U.S. Department of Labor*)

In terms, therefore, of the relationships between given occupations and their common class status, certain attitudinal and belief requirements may be expected to be associated with the various occupations. It would not even be rash to assume that many of the emotional and personality requirements of various occupations are fundamentally based on class status factors and not on job requirements, as such. Thus, the professional is expected to appear, behave, feel and think quite differently than the skilled worker, and even more differently than the semiskilled worker or unskilled worker. The stereotyped hierarchical classification of vocations is essentially a reflection of their class-conferring characters.

In a relatively mobile class society in which the vocations have class-conferring potency, it is obvious that ego-involvement with respect to occupational achievement would be high for many. Occupations must be selected, consciously or otherwise, in terms of their value in either maintaining the present class membership, if that is adequate to the individual's level of class aspiration, or in terms of their value in facilitating the individual's climb to the class considered higher, if he is motivated to do so.[17]

Occupational choices and opportunities. Occupational choices have been so affected by the social factors that they are out of harmony with occupational demands. This becomes evident from a further study of choices commonly made by high-school boys and girls. The influence of parents on the choice of the occupation of their children has been re-

[17] M. M. Levin, "Status Anxiety and Occupational Choice," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 1949, Vol. 9, pp. 29–38.

vealed in a number of general studies. Kroger and Louttit give the results from a questionnaire study of 4,543 boys in four technical and academic high schools.[18] About 90 per cent of the boys expressed vocational choices. A majority indicated choices higher than those of their fathers. When compared with census figures, 70 per cent of the boys indicated a preference for types of work engaged in by only 35 per cent of those gainfully employed today.

Every teacher concerned with counseling students about their vocational aspirations should have information concerning occupational demands and trends. As late as 1870, more than one-half of all American workers were engaged in agriculture. According to the 1950 census approximately 10 per cent of the workers were classified as farmers, farm managers, foremen, and farm laborers (except unpaid). The continued mechanization of farming during the past decade has reduced the per cent of people engaged in farming, while there have been substantial in-

Table 16-5

PER CENT OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
ACCORDING TO THE 1940 AND 1950 CENSUS

	1950 Male	1950 Female	1950 Total	1940 Total
Professional, technical, and kindred workers.....	7.3	12.3	8.7	7.5
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm..	10.7	4.3	8.9	8.3
Farmers, farm managers, and farm laborers, except unpaid	15.2	3.5	9.9	18.6
Clerical and kindred workers	6.4	27.3	12.3	10.4
Sales workers	6.4	8.5	7.0	6.5
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	18.6	1.5	13.8	11.2
Operative and kindred workers	20.0	19.2	19.8	18.5
Private household workers	0.2	8.5	2.5	4.9
Service workers, except private household	5.9	12.2	7.6	7.3
Laborers, except farm and mine	8.2	0.8	6.1	6.8
Occupations not reported	1.1	1.8	1.3	—

creases in those engaged as clerical workers, craftsmen, service workers, and machine operators. Data relative to the employment of workers in major occupational groups, presented in Table 16-5, should serve as a guide in counseling and training adolescents, although it is well recognized that community conditions and demands play an important role in the vocational aspirations and opportunities of adolescents. The school counselor should be realistic and honest in his relations with adolescent

[18] R. Kroger and C. M. Louttit, "The Influence of Fathers' Occupations on Vocational Choices of High School Boys," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1935, Vol. 19, pp. 203-212.

boys and girls. Vocational choices should in the final analysis harmonize with the abilities of the individuals concerned and with the vocational opportunities that are likely to be present.

VOCATIONAL NEEDS AND ATTITUDES

Educational demands. There is considerable evidence that the increased demand for universal education on the secondary level is not a result of the demands of various occupations and jobs. This is not to be interpreted to mean that there is no need for universal education on the secondary level; it means rather that such a need must be related to factors bearing upon increasing complexity of our social order, and not to actual demands of a vocational nature. However, as the average educational level of the young people entering the labor market is raised, those who leave high school without graduating will find themselves competing for jobs with individuals with more education. It has already been pointed out that employers consider many of these youths as too immature, undependable, or lacking in experience. A manager of several filling stations recently explained to the writer his reasons for hiring only helpers who had finished high school. He stated:

The high-school graduates are more eager to make good.

They can be depended upon to be on the job at the time they are supposed to be there.

They are more intelligent and are thus able to assume responsibility when the need arises.

They are courteous to the customers and help to build up my trade.

A comparison of boys and girls who finish high school with those who fail to finish reveals some interesting and significant differences. Although one should be careful in drawing conclusions about causation from association there is evidence from case studies as well as from group comparisons that additional schooling has desirable effects upon the character and personality of the boys and girls as well as upon their knowledge, skills, and understanding. In one study data were obtained by means of the "guess who" test on sixth- and ninth-graders and analyzed to show contrasts between those who later completed and those who failed to complete high school.[19] Among the sixth-graders those who later dropped out of school acted "older" than other sixth-graders. They also were quiet, unpopular, sad, less friendly, less cheerful, and less enthusiastic than those who remained to graduate.

Vocational needs of youth. The fundamental differences between the

[19] R. G. Kuhlen and E. Gordon, "Sociometric Status of Sixth- and Ninth-graders Who Fail to Finish School," *Educational and Psychological Measurement,* 1952, Vol. 12, pp. 632–637.

problems of livelihood faced by the youth of a generation or more ago and those faced by today's youth have been presented in earlier chapters. These changed conditions have brought with them changed vocational needs. To a marked degree, the vocational pace of the worker is governed by social forces about him or the machine in the factory. The worker must be able and ready to perform the task and meet the demands placed upon him by the various forces and conditions present in a technological society. On the job he is likely to be called upon to do some specialized task, which usually requires very little formal training. Thus, the vocational needs of the worker cannot be thought of in terms of the acquisition of specific skills alone. The new worker brings with him to the job attitudes, habits, outlooks, moral codes, health, and civic qualities that have important bearings on his success on the job. Industry, dependability, ability to follow directions, good personal and social adjustments, and the ability and willingness to cooperate in a common task are attributes that a youth should acquire while in school, if he is to succeed on the job.

A community occupational survey conducted in Kern County, California, revealed that local employers were especially concerned with desirable personal characteristics among the employees.[20] Excerpts from interviews with managers and personnel directors revealed that certain personal qualities were regarded as especially important. An employer in the merchandising field gave the following characteristics as required: "pleasing appearance, honesty and dependability, ability to get along with other people, and an aptitude to learn merchandising."

The characteristics liked most by the employers included in this survey are presented in Table 16–6. Those concerned with the educational program for youth should note that proficiency is listed fifth on the list. Honesty, dependability, neatness, and ability to meet people are more frequently listed by each of the employer groups than skill or training for the job. No one would deny that ability to take shorthand and type is essential for success as a stenographer; however, if health is neglected, or if the individual cannot be depended upon to get a letter out at the time specified, the skilled stenographer's value to her employer is seriously impaired if not nullified.

In a study by Doane the choice of a course of action was interpreted as indicating the existence of a psychobiological need in the area provoking the greatest intensity of response.[21] More concern was noted in the area of *Vocational Choice and Placement* than in any other area. Among the ten topics within this area, those chosen most often were *How to apply for a job, Keeping a job,* and *Finding out what kind of work you are best*

[20] R. Prator, "The Employer Survey and General Education," *California Journal of Secondary Education,* 1950, Vol. 25, pp. 438–440.

[21] D. C. Doane, "The Needs of Youth: An Evaluation for Curriculum Purposes," Teachers College, Columbia University, *Contributions to Education,* No. 848, 1942.

Table 16–6

PERSONAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS LIKED MOST BY EMPLOYERS
TABULATED BY MAJOR INDUSTRY DIVISION SURVEY AREA—1949
(*After Prator*)

Personal or Physical Characteristics Named by Employers	Number of Times Named	Agriculture	Industrial Production and Utilities	Wholesale and Retail Trade	Insurance, Real Estate and Government	Service
Honesty	476	27	43	201	37	168
Neatness	454	13	25	191	57	168
Dependability .	378	19	59	110	50	140
Meeting Public	310	9	17	135	34	115
Proficiency ...	261	14	43	58	45	101
Ambition	247	15	25	100	29	78
Industry	215	20	28	83	17	67
Common Sense	202	16	19	54	27	86
Friendliness ...	189	7	20	66	18	78
Cooperativeness	175	10	19	59	25	62
Loyalty	171	10	23	51	24	63
Morality	105	12	21	34	9	29
Initiative	99	8	21	31	16	23
Versatility	37	—	4	11	6	16
Health	22	2	4	7	1	8
Married	8	—	1	2	—	5

Read table as follows: Honesty was mentioned 476 times by all employers receiving questionnaires, 27 times by employers in agriculture.

suited for. The topics related to training for a job were chosen less frequently than most of the vocational guidance items by both boys and girls in each age-group. This seems to indicate that adolescents feel a greater need for vocational guidance than for vocational training. The feeling of need for such help was more evident in boys than in girls and reached its height as the time for leaving school drew near.

Interviews with youths will verify the notion that, if a student once drops out of school, he is not likely to go back again. Those fortunate enough to find reasonably good jobs, or even jobs that barely provide them with the necessities of life and some small amount of spending money, will hesitate to leave them. The gulf is too wide between the program of the school and the vocational demands of life. Young people too often enter blind-alley jobs, or wander for years after they leave school from one job to another. The vocational needs of adolescents may be summarized as follows: (1) a better understanding of their own aptitudes and limitations, (2) occupational information—including occupational opportunities and job requirements, (3) vocational training,

both in school and through work experiences, and (4) the opportunity to use their abilities once developed, i.e., the right to a job. If these needs are to be satisfied, there must be more vocational guidance in our schools. Guidance is based upon a recognition of the existence of individual differences and the philosophy of freedom of choice. The field of guidance has been divided into six comprehensive areas: (1) occupational information, (2) cumulative records, (3) counseling, (4) survey of training opportunities, (5) placement, and (6) follow-up.

Vocational training in the schools. The ever-increasing complexity of our industrial order emphasizes the necessity for vocational guidance and counseling, as well as for the provision of certain sample types of industrial training for boys and girls, who will later perform similar productive activities in their economic life. Traditionally, young people have met this problem by adjusting themselves to vocational requirements outside of school, through actual employment as beginners. Abrupt transitions accompanied by emotional upsets, "rougher" factory conditions, and the danger of exploitation were some of the results due to the limitations of a system that failed to integrate school with postschool experiences. Progressive schools today are committed to the principle of bridging the gap between the life of the community and the activities within an educational institution.

There are some skills that are basic to broad fields of work; and there is knowledge of a vocational nature that is closely related to a large group or class of occupations or vocations. For example, agriculture is a term that is used in connection with many occupations—even with those of the proprietor of the country grocery store and the man who distributes farm goods and machinery. There is knowledge about the motor car and about the engine that pulls it through space that is important not only for the manufacture, repair, and operation of the motor car, but for many related occupations as well. Thus, training in agriculture, home economics, industrial arts, and business education tends to function in a manner sufficiently extensive to justify its existence without impairing training in other principles necessary to the wholesome development of the individual student. "Furthermore," as Bent and Kronenberg have pointed out, "these fields, viz., home economics, industrial arts, business education, and agriculture have social and personal value as well as vocational, which is an additional reason why they can be included." [22]

However, the education of adolescents who give themselves wholeheartedly to the academic pursuits of high school on a full-time basis is destined to become a less important function of the public secondary school. The idea of "liberal" (academic) education for the gifted and "vocational" education for those less well endowed academically seems

[22] R. K. Bent and H. H. Kronenberg, *Principles of Secondary Education.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941, p. 359.

to some to be an undemocratic caste-form of school program. In recent years this attitude has been changing and, beginning with the Smith-Hughes Law of 1917, the federal government has constantly sought to encourage and stimulate the development of vocational education. Substantial federal funds (available to the states on the dollar-for-dollar matching principle) for this work are in large measure responsible for the great variety of courses offered and the large number of students now enrolled in them.

In the light of the findings of modern psychology relative to generalized experience and socio-industrial developments making for rapid changes in occupations, vocational programs need to be organized for broader skills and knowledge rather than around narrow skills and highly specialized knowledge. It has been pointed out that such programs should consist of the following phases: "(a) practical, concrete activities and experiences of the occupations represented, (b) related science and technical information, and (c) the social and economic understandings and appropriate attitudes." [23] The school program provides largely for the second of these and to a lesser degree for the third. In order to provide for the first, it is necessary to readjust the educational and vocational programs.

In connection with the organization and planning of vocational courses, it has been pointed out that "there is increasing recognition that highly specialized types of vocational education should be reserved until the period immediately prior to the time when the pupil leaves the full-time school, and that in many cases the young person can better come back for specialized vocational courses after he has made a beginning in some suitable occupation." [24] It has been proposed that the reorganized secondary-school curriculum should involve the specific activities that high-school youth are now experiencing, subject to guidance and integration of these experiences with materials related to different aspects of the school program. There are two types of such activities found in most communities that can be used for this purpose. One of these is made up of the gainful occupations; the other involves civic-social participation. According to Meriam, 12 per cent of all high-school pupils are wage-earners on a part-time basis. [25] Many of these students work because of economic necessity; others are motivated by special interests and the desire to be usefully and actively employed.

A survey of the work opportunities in almost any community, under normal conditions, will reveal a great number of jobs well within the

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[23] L. V. Koos, J. M. Hughes, P. W. Hutson, and W. R. Reavis, *Administering the Secondary School.* New York: American Book Co., 1940, p. 75.

[24] F. W. Reeves, *Youth and the Future.* Washington: American Council on Education, 1942, p. 139.

[25] J. L. Meriam, "The High-School Curriculum," *Phi Delta Kappan,* 1942, Vol. 25, pp. 13–16.

capacities of high-school youth, and, at the same time, educationally valuable, if conducted under the supervision and guidance of competent school authorities. There is perhaps no limit to what can be done in this connection. However, it is obvious that difficulties may arise relative to child-labor legislation or to conflict with labor organizations. If this work is conceived to be an educational adventure and if precautions are taken to safeguard the pupils from exploitation, one part of the difficulty will have been overcome. Furthermore, if the public recognizes that the work is done as part of the school program, and is not a procedure for supplying cheap labor, the second problem can be overcome as well.

The cooperative plan of education, whereby boys and girls of senior-high-school age spend part of their time at work and part in school, has many advantages. Such plans have been used successfully in various types of school programs, and have received the sanction of a number of educational agencies. There are, however, definite precautions to be taken, for the dangers inherent in part-time work should be eliminated as far as possible. Experience in certain types of work, it has been pointed out, is oftentimes available in the home. Spafford has stated:

> Young people, who wish to do so, may secure home employment for almost any kind of work in which they are skilful, for as much time as they wish to be so occupied. Home economics teachers have a real responsibility for making this employment an educational experience for those who undertake it.[26]

Values of work experience. For the majority of youth the need is for work experience rather than for training for some specific job. As a result of studies dealing with this problem, Jacobson has stated: "What they need is work experience, vocational guidance, placement, and an understanding of vocations and their possibilities."[27] Materials presented in the study by Bell lend support to this notion.[28] According to the opinion of employers in occupations believed to employ 70 per cent of all workers, more than two-thirds of those workers could be trained to reach full production in one week or less, and less than 10 per cent of them would need to be trained for a period of 6 months or more.

Some of the work experiences that might well be offered to youth are those involving community beautification and betterment. Certainly, the care of wildlife, the conservation of natural beauty as well as of natural resources, and the elimination of rubbish and other unpleasant elements from the physical environment will, in the end, make for community

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[26] Q. Spafford, "Adjusting Home Economics to Wartime Needs," *The School Review*, 1943, Vol. 51, p. 36.

[27] North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools: *General Education in the American High School*. New York: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1942, p. 272.

[28] H. M. Bell, *Matching Youth and Jobs*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1940, p. 58.

betterment as well as for immediate beautification. The extent to which such enterprises are carried out will depend in a large measure upon the personnel concerned with the initiation of the program. Problems connected with sanitation, recreational projects, and social needs can well be solved through the activity of youth groups, provided help, encouragement, and leadership are given by schools and civic groups in initiating the program. Some communities are providing work experiences in various types of community surveys and in certain types of research activities relative to community conditions, needs, and problems. These and many other more or less related types of work are among the things that can be done by youth groups. Such work experiences may thus be valuable for the improvement of the community at the same time that they are furnishing experiences of an educational nature to the youths involved in them.

Charles P. Schwartz, Jr., of the University High School, Chicago, spent 11 weeks during the summer of 1942 on a farm in Wisconsin. His description of some of his activities there reveal the values that such work experiences may have for an urban boy:

Before we left we had quite a few meetings at school, learning, after a fashion, about farm life. We also sent to the Department of Agriculture for some pamphlets, but we found that we needed some practical experience before they would do us much good.

Finally the day arrived. It was Saturday, June 20th. We left the city at noon and arrived at the farm about two o'clock.

That evening I did my first chores, throwing down silage, feeding horses and pigs, and a few other miscellaneous chores. These were to increase as the summer went on, but then they were all I could handle. Never having been on a farm before, I learned quite a few facts my first day: that milk was warm when it came out of a cow, that silage was warm, that pigs really deserved the name of hog. . . .

Among the things which I thought were unusual during my first few days were: how horses could eat so much hay, and how much housekeeping horses and cows required; I had to clean the barns. . . .

One of my biggest jobs during the summer was the shoveling of grain during combining. After combining was over I wondered how I could ever have shoveled so much grain but I guess I did. . . .

I had to go home on the fifth of September, but as I look back on the summer I feel that it was about the best I ever had and that if I'm needed I would like to go back. I acquired many new skills and saw the rural way of life and its outlook.[29]

Most educators today are of the notion that work experiences contribute to the high-school student's education. Values, skills, and understandings are secured through these experiences that cannot be otherwise

[29] C. P. Schwartz, "Eleven Weeks on a Farm," *Progressive Education,* December, 1942, pp. 432–433.

acquired. If such experiences do have important educational values, a fundamental question appears: Should not the school find ways to make these benefits available to a larger segment of the high-school population? Another fundamental question related to this problem is: How can teachers and counselors help boys and girls get the greatest educational benefits from their work experiences?

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

It has already been pointed out that today's job world has become highly specialized and extremely complex. There are in excess of 30,000 different occupations to be found in our industrial economy. This makes the adolescent's task of selecting the kind of work that he desires to pursue much more difficult than it was when our economy was primarily agricultural. Also, the different jobs require varying amounts and kinds of training. This places a burden upon the schools to try to provide the training that is needed for different kinds of work. There is also the problem of helping students better understand their abilities and characteristics and of providing them with information and experiences about the world of work that will help them make sounder vocational decisions. Thus, the problem of vocational guidance has become extremely important in a modern school program designed for the needs of today's youth.

Criteria of vocational success. If vocational success is one of the aims set forth for education, we must determine what is meant by this term. During the early part of this century *earnings and output* were commonly used as a basis for evaluating vocational success.[30] However, during the late twenties and early thirties other criteria were introduced. *Advancement,* the rate of progress made in moving into a better position, became an important criterion. This is quite different from earnings and output, since the emphasis is now on suitability for a higher or more advanced job. During the depression of the 30's, the ability to hold a job was often used as a measure of vocational success.

During this period also rating scales were introduced, and the success of the individual was often judged by *ratings* from a supervisor or from one serving in some such capacity. Despite the fact that ratings are not dependable, they served to broaden the base for estimating success. Then, too, the emphasis was shifted from earnings, output, or achievement to the worker as an individual. This early emphasis upon achievement was reflected in the aims of education and in the purposes of vocational guidance during this period. In a large percentage of cases the focus is still on achievement rather than on the adjustment and satisfaction of the individual concerned.

[30] D. E. Super, "The Criteria of Vocational Success," *Occupations,* 1951–52, Vol. 30, pp. 5–9.

The emphasis of school psychologists and mental hygienists has in many cases brought forth a reappraisal of the meaning of success. They have pointed out that success should be thought of not wholly in objective terms but in a personal and subjective manner. Success in terms of earnings would have meant little to Gandhi. Social position has meant little to many of our great scholars. Prestige is unimportant to the recluse. Individual goals and values should be considered in judging success from a subjective standpoint. Super has suggested that since success in American culture is so often measured by achievement, we should probably use a new term. His emphasis upon *adjustment* as a criterion to be used by teachers in evaluating the results of teaching and guidance is worthy of special study and consideration. In this connection he presents the following definition of vocational adjustment:

> In the fullest sense of the term, vocational adjustment implies that the individual has opportunity to express his interests, use his abilities, achieve his values, and meet his emotional needs.[31]

If teachers and counselors would shift their emphasis from the traditional emphasis upon success in terms of advancement to that of success in terms of vocational adjustment, the individual student would find realistic values and increased satisfaction in his school work and better vocational adjustment after he leaves school.

Need for vocational guidance. It has already been pointed out that the vocational aspirations of adolescents are not in harmony with occupational needs. There is also evidence that vocational interest patterns become fairly well stabilized by the time the individual reaches the eleventh grade, although circumstances and opportunities oftentimes affect vocational choices after this period. Taylor and Carter administered the *Strong Vocational Interest Blank* to 58 girls, first in the eleventh grade, and a year later in the senior year in high school.[32] Profiles of interests based upon the results obtained from these two tests revealed considerable stability in individual interest patterns during the year interval. This presents a challenge to those concerned with the guidance of adolescent boys and girls during the early high-school years. In relation to this problem, Roeber and Garfield state:

> To the extent that students in the eleventh and twelfth grades tend to select occupations outside of the professions, we have evidence of a more mature and realistic point of view. The fact that such trends are limited implies that the secondary school has a definite responsibility for helping students look at occupations realistically. When we find that the choices of seniors differ only slightly from those of freshmen, and that the hopes of both

[31] *Ibid.,* p. 8.

[32] K. V. F. Taylor and H. D. Carter, "Retest Consistency of Vocational Interest-Patterns of High-School Girls," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* 1942, Vol. 6, pp. 95–101.

groups are in great measure illusory, we can infer that the school has been relatively ineffective in the vocation guidance of its students.[33]

As we have suggested, when boys over 15 or 16 years of age who are interested in becoming lawyers, doctors, preachers, or members of some other profession are advised to enter some mechanical type of activity more in harmony with their abilities, they may often resist such advice. Furthermore, high-school students have too often been attracted to professional and so-called "white collar" jobs under the influence of the example of some outstanding individual. Perhaps it is a successful uncle who studied law and is now a superior-court judge, or it may be an acquaintance who has made much money through selling life insurance. Now it is at this point that a great deal of vocational advice fails. The individual tends to picture his chosen work from the viewpoint of those who are highly successful in the work; he does not see its failures and hardships. The professions are held up as being clean, honorable, easy occupations offering good pay and considerable social prestige; the more mechanical activities are conceived to be laborious and dirty, unskilled, inferior in social status and in pay. This division, which sprang up before the day of the trained engineer and farmer, is not as well defined today; but the line of demarcation has been set up in part in the minds of the majority of boys and girls. One of the most prominent developments in recent years, in connection with the expansion of education, is the raising of so many other lines of human endeavor to a level close to that of the professions.

Not only is the discussion presented here true for young men, but similar factors are also valid for high-school girls. In the past vocational guidance has been meager, and almost exclusively for men, but today it is reaching into the lives of high-school girls. Observe the large number of girls occupied in various pursuits; notice the many lines of endeavor in which women engage. With the inclusion of so many activities in woman's domain has come their acceptance as desirable social positions, and thus they have become generally occupied by young women. Vocational guidance, then, has a prominent appeal for the young women of tomorrow.

Changes in the life activities, and particularly in the vocational activities, of women during the past century have been accompanied by innumerable problems for the adolescent girl. Cultural norms relating to the nature of the feminine role have been established. These norms have been passed down as part of our social heritage. Specifically, the male expects the female to play this feminine role.

The other role, introduced as a result of the induction of women into

[33] E. Roeber and L. Garfield, "A Study of the Occupational Interests of High School Students in Terms of Grade Placement," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 1943, Vol. 34, pp. 361–362.

many vocational fields, tends to eliminate the factor of sex and the sex role. Here the girl is encouraged to study hard in school so that she can enroll in a certain school for nurses. The father and mother may point with pride to their daughter, who is now a laboratory technician at some reputable hospital. These contradictions of roles present difficult problems for adolescent and postadolescent girls. It is through her family and through boy friends in particular that she meets these contradictions and inconsistencies. The writer observed this in a study of the problems of adolescents, referred to in Chapter 9. One of the most common problems added by girls to the check list was: "Wondering whether or not I will ever get married." In discussing these inconsistencies in relation to the girl's adjustments, Komarowsky stated:

> . . . Generally speaking, it would seem that it is the girl with a "middle-of-the-road personality" who is not happily adjusted to the present historical moment. She is not a perfect incarnation of either role but is flexible enough to play both. She is a girl who is intelligent enough to do well in school, but not so brilliant as to "get all A's"; informed and alert but not consumed by an intellectual passion; capable but not talented in areas relatively new to women; able to stand on her own feet and to earn a living but not so good a living as to compete with men; capable of doing some job well (in case she does not marry or otherwise has to work) but not so identified with a profession as to need it for her happiness.[34]

Task of the counselor. The vocational choice of the adolescent and the task of the counselor relative to an individual's vocational choice on a higher occupational level than that occupied by his father should be carefully studied. To many counselors and most secondary-school teachers, social mobility is a virtue that should be given encouragement. The American dream that if a child works hard he will be able to climb from an underprivileged place on our cultural ladder to a privileged place has infiltrated their thinking. Often boys and girls with the ability and aspirations to move up the socio-economic ladder become frustrated because they are stymied in their efforts and blocked by circumstances beyond their control. There are also many boys and girls with good ability, who, with drive and willingness to postpone certain immediate needs and satisfactions, could move into an occupation requiring aptitude or ability and training, but lack the aspirations to make the sacrifices and efforts necessary for such training. Such was the case of James.

James' father was dead. His mother taught the first grade in a mill village. Since she assisted with the recreational program she was given a comfortable home in which to live without having to pay rent. James was the older of two children. He had access to the family car and learned to play his roles as a boy and a member of the community. His mother was am-

[34] M. Komarowsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1946, Vol. 52, p. 189.

bitious for him to go on to college after finishing high school. However, none of James' close friends were planning to continue further schooling. James was better than an average student in high school. His ambition, however, was to finish high school, secure a job as a clerk in a store in a nearby town or city, and purchase a sport-model automobile. With some sacrifice and drive on the part of James he could have gone on to college and received additional training for a higher occupational level. Lack of aspirations for additional education prevented James from seeking further training.

The task of the counselor is not that of deciding what James and others should do. Rather it is to help adolescents make sounder decisions in their efforts to solve their problems. Specifically his task may be summarized as follows:

1. To help the adolescent decide whether or not he should try for a higher occupational level.
2. To encourage certain individuals in their aspirations and to discourage others.
3. To help students arrive at sounder values as a basis for formulating their vocational decisions.
4. To help the majority of students find satisfactions through vocational adjustments within their own occupational levels.
5. To assist teachers in their efforts to help students make sound decisions and arrive at good vocational adjustments.

The vocational guidance of handicapped pupils presents special problems. The handicapped adolescent must have an understanding of his own abilities and limitations, and, second, he must have information about the requirements of various occupations.[35] A study of 1,000 students of the Hawthorne Junior High School in San Antonio, Texas, reported that 144 had an IQ below 80. However, only 33 per cent of these selected a semiskilled job, and none selected an unskilled job. After completing a course in occupations, 48 per cent of the original group of 144 lowered their choice of occupation to a level nearer their true abilities.

Rehabilitation programs and demands for manpower during national crises have opened up a great variety of jobs for the physically handicapped. Employers have found that, partially because of their handicapped condition, they are more dependable on certain types of jobs than are the non-handicapped workers. Thus, vocational training in the modern school is not limited to the physically able adolescents. However, good vocational training programs must be accompanied by vocational counseling which will consider the whole individual in connection with particular vocational pursuits.

The use of intelligence and aptitude tests. The two major uses made

[35] A. T. Allen, "Cogs in the Occupational Wheel," *Occupations*, 1941, Vol. 20, pp. 15–18.

of intelligence and aptitude tests in today's schools are (1) to determine what level of schoolwork may be best suited to the individual, and (2) for vocational guidance. The majority of tests used for these purposes are group intelligence tests. These tests are sometimes classified as verbal and nonverbal tests. In some cases, notably the *California Test of Mental Maturity*, both verbal (language) and nonverbal (nonlanguage) test items are included, making it possible to obtain both verbal and nonverbal IQ's. It was pointed out in Chapter 4 that positive correlations ranging from .30 to .70 are usually obtained between group intelligence test scores and scholastic grades. The relationship is sufficiently close that some students of measurement have referred to group verbal tests of intelligence as scholastic-aptitude tests. Since educational and vocational guidance are closely interrelated, scholastic-aptitude evaluations become extremely important in a modern vocational guidance program.

Aptitude tests have been developed for estimating one's potential abilities.[36] These tests measure one's readiness or potentials for the development of certain abilities and understandings. When combined with intelligence tests, scholastic grades, temperamental qualities, and other information about the pupil they are most useful in guidance. However, tests are not ends in themselves. They are tools or means to help the counselor gather data about the individual's potentials for development. The effectiveness of their use will depend upon the understanding and efficiency of the counselor and counselee.

A number of studies have shown a low relationship between intelligence-test scores and occupational choice. This is to be expected, since intelligence is only one of a number of interrelated factors related to good occupational adjustment. There is a likelihood, however, that many adolescents aspire to occupations beyond their intellectual abilities, while many more are satisfied with occupations requiring far less intelligence than they have. The distribution of the mental ability of 1,500 senior-high-school pupils with their vocational choice is presented in Table 16–7.[37] A great deal of overlapping exists in IQ's for the different vocational choices, with more than 20 per cent of those choosing the professions having an IQ below 100. A large percentage of those choosing the professions lack the mental ability or scholastic aptitude necessary for professional training. The problem of interpreting the soundness of the choices of the other occupational areas is more difficult. Certainly intelligence- and aptitude-test scores should be considered along with other data in vocational choices and guidance.

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[36] For a more complete presentation of materials bearing on intelligence and aptitude testing the student is referred to recent textbooks on the subject such as: L. J. Cronbach, *Essentials of Psychological Testing*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949; D. E. Super, *Appraising Vocational Fitness*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949; and F. S. Freeman, *Theory and Practice of Psychological Testing* (Rev. Edition). New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1956.

[37] W. A. Bradley, "Correlates of Vocational Preferences," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 1943, Vol. 28, pp. 99–169.

TABLE 16-7

MENTAL ABILITY AND VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF 1,000 JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS (After Bradley)

IQ	Professional	Business and Clerical	Skilled	Military	Semiskilled	Unskilled	Total %
140–149	.2	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.2
130–139	.4	.5	.1	.5	.0	.0	1.5
120–129	1.5	5.6	.7	1.7	.0	.0	7.5
110–119	5.5	7.2	5.2	5.5	.5	1.0	25.5
100–109	6.5	12.8	5.5	5.7	1.9	2.5	35.5
90–99	3.0	9.0	2.7	6.5	.5	2.0	25.5
80–89	.7	1.5	2.5	5.4	1.0	1.0	8.7
70–79	.0	.5	.0	.0	.0	.2	1.0

The use of interest inventories. The testing movement brought with it attempts to appraise not only the abilities of students but also their interests and personality. It has already been suggested that vocational counseling must be concerned with the whole person, not just his aptitudes and skills. Interest inventories have been developed which may be useful to the counselor in helping students determine more accurately their areas of highest and lowest interests.

Three groups of high-school students were used in one study of the relation of scores on vocational-interest inventories to vocational choices. Scores were obtained from 115 tenth-grade boys and 117 tenth-grade girls on the Kuder Preference Record. These students were also requested to rank the nine vocational areas measured by the Kuder according to their vocational preferences. Correlations were then obtained between these rankings and the inventory rankings. The correlation for the boys was .39 and for the girls .50. A comparison of the first three choices of the students with the three highest-ranking areas on the Kuder Preference Record showed that the first choices of the boys were within the three highest scores in 90 per cent of the cases. The results presented in Table 16-8 show that this relationship is not so close for the girls. The first three choices of the girls were the highest scores on the Kuder test in 70 per cent of the cases.

These results have been corroborated by other studies bearing on this problem. Data presented in Chapter 8 showed that vocational interests

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[20] T. Kopp, and L. Tuning, "The Vocational Choices of High School Students as Related to Scores on Vocational Interest Inventories," Occupations, 1947, Vol. 25, pp. 554–562.

Table 16-4

(table content illegible)

G. G. Mullinson and H. V. Dogt, "Stability of High School Students' Interest in Science and Mathematics," *School Review*, 1952, Vol. 60, pp. 362–367.

total personality engaged in solving a vocational or related problem. Thus the original "numerical counselee" has become a dynamic human being, equipped with emotions, aspirations, aptitudes, attitudes, interests, and values. He is functioning in a society where certain values, mores, and cultural patterns exist. These impinge upon him in such a way as to determine his aspirations, concepts of himself and others, and his role as a member of the social group.

The assumption has at times been made that different jobs require different but rather specific vocational patterns. Studies of successful workers will show that this is not the case. One will find successful welders, farmers, teachers, nurses, and the like with varying personality patterns.

New role of vocational guidance. The goal of vocational guidance has taken on a new meaning, with the words *vocational adjustment* being substituted for vocational success. Career planning, counseling, aptitude testing, placement, and follow-up work are subgoals in this process of helping the individual make good vocational adjustments. Gellman states: "The criterion for success or failure of vocational counseling is the degree to which it facilitates individual adjustment to work within the limits imposed by the vocational pattern and socio-economic factors." [40] The shift in the goal to vocational adjustment means that the counselor must consider not only the individual's fitness for the job but also on-the-job conditions and problems that might affect the individual's personal and vocational adjustment. In this connection personal adjustment may not always be essential for vocational adjustment, although good personal adjustment should help one in his vocational adjustment.

Methods in vocational guidance are changing in that more emphasis is being given to the observations and study of individuals in actual work situations, or situations that simulate reality. "Interviewing must deal with the meaning of work to the individual, his attitude toward work, the values sought in a work situation, and the psychological limits within which an individual functions." [41] It seems unlikely that any real substitute can be used for actual work experiences at tasks, in exploratory courses in school or in part-time work out of school. These experiences furnish the student with the foundation needed to better understand occupational information and vocational counseling encountered in the school program. It furnishes the counselor with a more realistic basis for evaluating and changing behavior.

SUMMARY

Vocational training is a function, a resultant of technological developments, economic changes, and social forces. It is based upon a recog-

[40] W. Gellman, "The Role of Vocational Guidance in Counseling Youth," *The School Review*, 1954, Vol. 62, p. 159.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

nition of the value of the individual as a member of a social group. Within the social group is variety, caused by the specialization of labor, and this calls for vocational guidance and training to the end that each individual may be successful and adjusted in his place in the world of work.

There is no unanimity of opinion concerning the effects technological developments are having upon the concept of the function of schooling. In many cases, such as in that of the specialization found on the assembly line, the need for training in specific vocational skills has decreased. It appears that there is now a need for a broader conception of vocational training, which will include character and personality development. Furthermore, the increased complexity of our social and economic structure has increased the need for considering training in citizenship as part of the vocational training program.

Some important trends may be noted in the guidance program. In the first place the adolescent functions as a unit. One cannot divorce one aspect of guidance from all other aspects. The goal of vocational guidance has been defined in terms of facilitating vocational adjustment. A vocational-guidance program developed in accordance with modern trends presented in this chapter will provide the following to all adolescents and youth whether in school or on the labor market: "counseling, placement, vocational adjustment, and guided work experience." [42]

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. List some of the basic factors to be considered in a sound vocational guidance program.

2. How has technological development affected the nature of vocational training? Illustrate your answer by reference to some jobs with which you are acquainted.

3. What occupational trends are suggested in Table 16–5? What are the implications of these trends to education? To vocational guidance?

4. How would you account for the large number of high-school boys and girls undecided with respect to a vocation? What generalizations would you make from the results presented in Table 16–8?

5. What is the new role of the vocational counselor? In what ways is this different from the old role?

6. What do the results of the study of the vocational choices of Elmtown's youth from the different class groups indicate? How would you account for these results?

7. It has been suggested that one of the difficult problems of adolescents in our culture is the lack of a definite occupational identity. What advantages arise from this condition? What are some problems that emerge as a result of this?

8. What are the most important factors that influence youth's choice of

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

a vocation? What should be the role of the teacher and counselor in this connection?

9. What are the major vocational needs of youth? What bearing should these have on the school program?

10. Discuss the place of intelligence and aptitude tests in vocational guidance. Why have intelligence tests been referred to as scholastic-aptitude tests?

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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

ALTHOUGH THERE IS little exact knowledge of undetected delinquency, there is evidence that it is extensive. Considerable delinquent behavior never comes to the attention of the courts. Also, the extent of delinquency depends partly upon the definition used. In the Cambridge-Summerville Youth Study, 114 boys were studied for a period of five years.[1] Only 13 of these boys had committed no offense which had come to the attention of the investigators. The remaining 101 committed a minimum of 6,416 legal infractions, of which only 95 had become a matter of legal complaint. There were 4,406 minor offenses, among which were truancy, petty stealing, trespassing, sneaking into movies, running away from home, and the like. Only 27 of these violations were matters of legal complaint. This study, supported by much fragmentary evidence, suggests that vast amounts of hidden delinquency exist and that police and courts concentrate their attention primarily on serious offenses that come to their attention.

DEFINITIONS AND EXPLANATIONS

From a social point of view delinquency means any form of behavior detrimental to the well-being of society. Such a definition, however, does not provide for any practical limits. Actually, juvenile delinquency is a legal term. In most states a juvenile delinquent is an individual under 18 years of age who is adjudged guilty of violating the law. Thus, it can readily be seen that the great majority of problem adolescents would not be officially designated as juvenile delinquents. In a broad sense of the word, our schools and other social agencies are concerned with all problem behavior.

Children in the courts. An estimated 350,000 boys and girls were brought to the attention of the juvenile courts in 1951.[2] The boys out-

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[1] F. J. Murphy, M. M. Shirley, and H. L. Witmer, "The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1946, Vol. 16, pp. 686–696.

[2] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Some Facts about Juvenile Delinquency*. Children's Bureau Publication No. 340, 1953.

numbered the girls 4 to 1. A much greater number—probably 1,000,000 cases, including many referred to the courts—were dealt with by the police in the same year. A great many delinquent children escape the attention of the law. The exact number of these cases is unknown. It has been estimated that from 30 to 60 per cent of all cases are undetected, either because they are not apprehended, or because they are handled by the home, school, or other community agencies.

There was an average increase of 17 per cent in the number of children brought before the juvenile courts between 1948 and 1951, while the increase in the number of children in the country who were of juvenile court age (generally 10 to 17) was only 5 per cent. A frequency curve showing the number of juvenile-court cases for the different years beginning with 1941 is given in Figure 17–1. The curve shows a pronounced increase of juvenile-court cases during the World War II years. Various explanations have been offered for this, including migration, less home supervision due to both parents' being at work, too much spending money, and increased law enforcement.

The majority of boys and girls who come before the courts for delinquent behavior are between 15 and 17 years of age, although one study of 500 delinquent boys revealed that the average age at the time of their first court appearance was 12.4 years.[3] Approximately 35 per cent of these young people who come before the courts have appeared there previously. Almost half of these same individuals showed evidence of becoming delinquent at the age of 8 or younger. Various studies show that the onset of misbehavior, which may be regarded as delinquent, appears at an early age.

Basic explanations of juvenile delinquency. The development of explanations of delinquent behavior seems to have gone through three fairly distinct phases. These have been referred to by Tappan[4] as: "a prescientific mystical period, an early modern particularistic era, and a contemporary quasi-scientific empirical period." In each of these, however, there has been considerable variation in the nature of the explanation brought forth by its exponent, although there is a special feature characteristic of each of these explanations that makes such a classification possible. Since our treatment of juvenile delinquency in this chapter will not be especially concerned with the first two explanations, only a brief description of them will be presented.

The mystical concept ascribed delinquent behavior to some force outside of and beyond the individual, such as evil spirits. Such spirits might,

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[3] The materials of Tables 17-3, 17-4, 17-5, 17-7, and Figure 17-2 are reprinted by permission of the publishers and The Commonwealth Fund, from Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, copyright 1950 by The Commonwealth Fund.

[4] P. W. Tappan, *Juvenile Delinquency.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949, p. 74.

however, inhabit the body and thus affect one's actions. There were many varieties of this concept; but they were similar in the one respect just mentioned. The mystical concept held sway for many centuries. Its influence was extremely great until about a century ago. Beginning, however, around the middle of the nineteenth century, a series of deterministic explanations appeared. These were also referred to as particularistic, since they attempted to explain a specific behavior act on the basis of some particular factor. The exponents of the various deterministic viewpoints were aided in their explanations by objective testing techniques and statistical procedures. The particularists followed the pattern set forth by the mystics in oversimplifying the basis for delinquency. Adherents to the particularistic concepts appeared with many different causal interpretations, such as heredity, climate, endocrines, frustration, religion, ignorance, broken homes, slums, health, and the like. In fact some of the adherents would rely on less inclusive particulars, such as movies, comics, modern jazz, and other factors or conditions of a like nature.

With the greater use of scientific techniques combined with critical studies of the various theories that had been propounded by the particularists, it was soon recognized that these explanations were oversimplified. Thus, the theory of multiple causation has gradually come to be accepted by a large number of students of juvenile delinquency. A great deal of statistical work has been conducted in an effort to determine the relative importance of various factors in producing delinquency. The multicausal notion has revealed that crime results from many complicated factors, and that its prevention is not as simple as some of the earlier particularists had indicated. This theory, however, should not be viewed in a mechanistic manner. These various factors do not operate separately. The hyperthyroid adolescent lives in a home and neighborhood. His overactivity will be affected by the nature of his home, his size, his financial circumstances, his intelligence, and the neighborhood conditions. The girl is reared not simply in a poverty-stricken home, but in a neighborhood of a certain type. How she reacts to her home conditions will be affected by her emotional characteristics, her intelligence, her body build, the quality of her neighborhood, the attitudes of her parents, and many other factors too numerous to list. In the discussions of the influence of various factors on the development of delinquent behavior, one should realize at all times that these do not act separately upon the growing individual. There is a definite interrelationship existing at all times between all the forces or conditions that affect the behavior of the individual.

Psychological types of delinquency. Attempts have been made to ascribe special characteristics to delinquents. In a fairly recent study of the psychiatric aspects of juvenile delinquency Donet concluded that

delinquency is a bio-social phenomenon, the common psychological denominator of which is a feeling of insecurity.[5] Case studies of delinquents reveal that these boys and girls have the same basic need and, in general, face the same problems as nondelinquents. Any attempt to draw a clear-cut line between delinquents and nondelinquents will be fraught with many difficulties.

A number of recent studies have furnished a useful basis for studying delinquents. On the basis of data gathered from the records of 1,110 white male juvenile delinquent probationers of the Cook County Juvenile Court, Reiss was able to isolate three psychological types of delinquents: (1) the relatively integrated delinquent, (2) the delinquent with markedly weak ego control, and (3) the delinquent with relatively defective super-ego control.[6] Hewitt and Jenkins classified delinquents as (1) socialized, (2) unsocialized, and (3) the maladjusted or withdrawal type.[7] This classification is not in opposition to that given by Reiss, which will be used as a basis for discussing characteristics of delinquents.

The *integrated delinquent* is relatively well adjusted and will in all probability become an emotionally mature adult. These are socialized delinquents and show no symptoms of maladjustments other than the delinquent act. They are classified by some psychiatrists as "normal," although individuals of this group are repeatedly engaged in delinquent acts.[8] The range of behavior of this group is wide, ranging from stealing an automobile for joy riding to selling protection to younger kids or committing a holdup with a loaded pistol. The case of Walter H. illustrates one who is a "normal" or integrated delinquent.

Walter H., the second of two brothers, was 13 years of age. He played hookey from school frequently and was part of a gang of boys who stole from department stores. He frequently came home late at night. His mother was deserted soon after Walter was born.

Results on psychological tests given at different periods showed an IQ range from 74 to 88. The lowest score was made on a language-type test of intelligence, while the highest score was made on a non-language type. Walter's school record was very poor. His older brother was in the tenth grade and doing satisfactorily in his schoolwork. He also assumed considerable responsibility for his own needs as well as certain family needs.

The center of Walter's life activities and interests was the gang of boys he ran with in and out of school. His home offered little of interest to him. His mother worked in a textile plant in an effort to provide for the family's

[5] L. Donet, *Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency*. World Health Organization Monograph Series No. 2. Geneva: World Health Organization, 1951.

[6] A. J. Reiss, "Social Correlates of Psychological Types of Delinquency," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1952, Vol. 17, pp. 710–718.

[7] E. Hewitt and R. L. Jenkins, "Case Studies of Aggressive Delinquents," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1941, Vol. 11, pp. 485–492.

[8] F. Schmidl, "The Rorschach Test in Juvenile Delinquency Research," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1947, Vol. 17, pp. 151–160.

needs. Her work and social life visiting with her neighbors occupied most of her time. Walter had no educational goals and looked upon school as an unfortunate or unhappy experience which he had to endure. He maintained a friendly relationship with his older brother, who regarded him as a young and irresponsible member of the family. He was friendly with his teacher and the school counselor as long as they did not pressure him about his schoolwork and activities.

The delinquent with markedly *weak ego control* is generally regarded as an insecure person with low self-esteem or as a highly aggressive and hostile person. These delinquents make up the maladjusted group in the threefold classification of Hewitt and Jenkins. They tend to withdraw from social participation and are often "lone wolf offenders." A case described by Topping illustrates a confused delinquent.

Harold, white, 14½. One of probably identical twins, of a family of seven children. When he was four, his mother died and his father deserted. The twins, two brothers, and a sister were placed in an orphanage where they remained four years, until the sister died. The other twin became delinquent. Harold stated his own delinquent conduct was due to his desire to be with his brother. His studied efforts to emulate the gangster smack of adolescent theatricals. He has a warped and scarred personality and is capable of deadly attack. Bitter hostility and a philosophy of futility became an integral part of his personality. Outstanding in his reaction were disappointment and bitterness arising from the loss of his parents; dread of being thought a sissy by his twin; loss of emotional security through separation from his siblings; determination to rejoin his twin by becoming delinquent.[9]

The type of delinquent referred to as having *defective super-ego controls* has not developed the social-conforming behavior of our middle-class society. These delinquents are characterized by emotional immaturity. Hewitt and Jenkins refer to them as "unsocialized delinquents." However, they may be socialized with respect to their own peer group. An important task faced by adolescents, as they grow toward maturity, is that of reconciling their individual desires and characteristics with the demands of society. We honor the hero who is daring, we magnify power and speed, and we glorify the machine for what it can do. However, the adolescent is cautioned to drive the automobile at a restricted speed, and not to take chances by chasing other cars on curves or on the brow of a hill. The difficulty of the emotionally immature adolescent to reconcile these demands and conditions may be observed in the reckless driving of many youths. A 15-year-old boy, referred to by Hirschberg as B. S., illustrates the operation of emotional immaturity in producing delinquent behavior:

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[9] R. Topping, "Case Studies of Aggressive Delinquents," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1941, Vol. 11, pp. 485–492.

B. S. A small, thin 15-year-old boy of dull-normal intelligence. The fourth in a family of five children, two of whom have records of delinquency. Urban environment, high delinquency area. Associates with undesirable companions and spends most of his time on the streets. Goes to movies four times a week. Mother states he is interested in movies and athletics. School conduct "fair" and does passing work in spite of truancy. Subject disabilities in English and arithmetic. Goes to church regularly but has stolen while in church. In court for burglary (twice) and some petty stealing. Has run away from home, is unmanageable and disobedient. Stubborn attitude in court.

When the psychiatrist had examined this boy he wrote: "From the intellectual standpoint one knows that B. is capable of better reasoning and a better sense of values than this incident demonstrates. However, he does not formulate his attitudes and thinking on an intellectual basis. So he explains his deviations by saying 'I do these things because I am just stupid,' yet he does not want us to think of him in terms of being stupid. Rather he is inclined to be quite insistent that his points and requests should be given serious consideration. It is all part of the emotional immaturity of the boy, one who carries hostility within him, and when his emotional impulses and requests are not met, then his hostility shows forth. He is nearly 16 years old, and he acts the part of a 13-year-old insofar as judgment, sense of values, etc. are concerned." [10]

SEX AND JUVENILE CRIME

Despite the fact that there is almost no type of antisocial behavior committed by one sex that is not committed by the other, rather pronounced differences in the modal trends of the delinquencies of the two sexes exist. Here again it appears that such differences as exist are not inherent but only reflect the interaction of the various elements peculiar to the personalities of each sex.

It is generally observed that girls are better behaved than boys. The total cases brought before the courts reported to the U.S. Children's Bureau are usually divided in the ratio of four or five to one, although the ratio in 1952 was approximately three to one, with about 68 per cent in the age-group 11 to 15. In the three-way classification of 650 children, Bronner reported that among children with personality and behavior difficulties, boys outnumbered girls 3 to 1; among the noncourt delinquents, 4 to 1; and among court delinquents, 6 to 1.[11] The two most common types of offenses by boys, as disposed of by the courts in 1945, are stealing or attempting to steal and acts of carelessness or mischief. With respect to the reasons for referring boys to the juvenile courts in 1938, the percentage has dropped slowly but consistently from

[10] R. Hirschberg, "The Socialized Delinquent," *The Nervous Child,* 1947, Vol. 6, p. 464.

[11] A. F. Bronner, "Treatment and What Happened Afterward," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 1944, Vol. 14, p. 31.

71 to 61 per cent for these two activities combined. During this time there has been a gradual and continuous increase in traffic violations and in running away from home. The "hot-rod" drivers have produced some real traffic hazards and traffic problems in some of our large cities. If adolescents are to be permitted to drive, it is necessary that they develop a greater sense of responsibility.

Sex offenses bring many more girls than boys to the courts. It was suggested in Chapter 6 that changes have come about in the sex lives of growing boys and girls, affecting various types of behavior, including sex behavior itself. Thus, it is becoming increasingly difficult to determine just which sex acts may be regarded as delinquent forms of behavior. Some analytic investigations of crimes committed by girls have indicated, in fact, that sex is much more prominent in their commitments than records show. Many families would say "ungovernable" when the real delinquency is probably sex offenses. It appears, further, that in many cases of ungovernability or running away, the sex offense is probably prominent. Although a fairly large number of girls are affected, and immorality is admitted by a rather high percentage according to some studies, very few of the delinquent girls have fallen to the level of prostitution. For various reasons boys of the adolescent age are seldom placed in institutions because of sex experiences, and especially is this true for heterosexual experiences. They, on the other hand, have been held more responsible for their own support, have probably been less protected in the home than the girls, and are faced with certain needs that they attempt to satisfy; hence they develop habits of stealing more than do the girls.

Although stealing is far less common among girls than among boys, it occurs sufficiently often to be given special study and consideration. The causes are numerous, but frequently appear in connection with self-adornment and being well dressed. Thus, many adolescents yield to the temptation of shoplifting or petty thieving in the stores, colleges, and boarding homes. The stealing is at first characterized by an impulsiveness which is less frequent among boys. Such was the case of Geraldine:

Geraldine was a young girl who had always had a reputation for honesty and had always respected the property rights of others. One day while visiting a large department store she impulsively and clumsily appropriated a ring from a tray which was being displayed to prospective customers. Upon being confronted with the theft, she immediately confessed but developed conflicts from her own feeling of unworthiness which were more or less incapacitating for several weeks. This particular isolated asocial act was entirely out of harmony with her own ideals and the fundamental moral attitudes which she had always had toward life.[12]

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[12] *Guiding the Adolescent*. Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Publication 225, 1946, p. 60.

INTELLIGENCE AND CRIME

No criminal type. It is quite generally believed that most delinquents are feeble-minded or that delinquency and feeble-mindedness parallel each other. This belief is exceedingly unfortunate, because objectively obtained and carefully interpreted data do not substantiate it. It arose before modern intelligence tests had been developed or put into such actual, widespread use as would enable those using them to know the true meaning or import of data obtained. Lombroso's now thoroughly disproved idea that there is a definite criminal type did much to make people feel that delinquents and criminals were qualitatively different from those not so branded by the law. His discussion of the stigmata of the criminal type and his description of it as being possessed of "the characters of primitive men and of inferior animals" [13] went far toward making that part of the general public which is attentive really feel that the criminal and delinquent surely must be set apart as a separate type.

While Goring very conclusively demonstrated the falsity of Lombroso's concept of special physical stigmata, he himself is probably in part responsible for the previously mentioned current concept. In fact, though he denies it, he really took over Lombroso's qualitative position, simply substituting the term "defective intelligence" for Lombroso's "defective physique." Lombroso believed that the characteristics that he described were of an atavistic type, and thus inherited; and Goring, as previously mentioned, states that heredity and intelligence are the two main factors that differentiate the criminal from the non-criminal type. Since Goring's method of classifying prisoners by intelligence was wholly subjective, one cannot rely very much on its results.

Goddard's early work. In America, Goddard, more than anyone else, is responsible for the quite prevalent idea in some circles that the delinquent is defective. Contrary to his thought, the fact that any one element of personality is associated with crime is not proof in itself that such an element is the sole factor responsible for crime. Granted that mental deficiency is related to inferior social and environmental status, that a preponderance of crime exists in congested sections of inferior social and environmental status in our cities, and that therefore an abundance of crime is committed by those of defective mental ability—granted this, it does not follow from the mere association of the factors that mental defectiveness is itself a cause of the crime.

Goddard concludes from some rather early studies:

Every investigation of the mentality of criminals, misdemeanants, delinquents, and other antisocial groups has proved beyond the possibility of con-

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[13] C. Goring, *The English Convict.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, p. 13. (Quoted from an address delivered by Lombroso in 1906 before the Congress of Criminal Anthropology at Turin.)

tradition that nearly all persons in these classes, and in some cases all, are of low mentality. . . . The greatest single cause of delinquency and crime is low-grade mentality.[14]

Error in sampling. A number of investigators early pointed out that factors of intelligence and socio-economic status operate to select delinquents that are brought before the juvenile courts. It is quite doubtful if we at any time have a truly representative group that can be labeled "juvenile delinquents." Since this is the case, we should exercise caution when we assume that the mean IQ of delinquents is between 80 and 90. A number of different investigators have presented data showing the average IQ of juvenile delinquents. The discrepancies found between the results from these studies may be explained on the basis of differences in sampling. To be sure, there is evidence from these studies that a larger percentage of boys and girls of low-grade intelligence appear before the juvenile courts than would be expected on the basis of chance. However, Mann and Mann point out:

A closer approximation to a general rule is that delinquents having an IQ below 90—because of low intelligence, because of the area from which they come, or for some other reason or reasons—are more likely to be caught in their delinquencies than those whose IQ is higher.[15]

If one bases his conclusion on children already committed to institutions, it is probably true that intelligence superiority among delinquents is rather rare. (Of course, it must be remembered that this group is not the entire body of delinquents in any state; the entire delinquent group, if all delinquents are considered, comes very close to being the entire population.) Among institutional cases the per cent of intelligence quotients in excess of 100 is small as compared with the per cent less than 100; however, for every intelligence quotient below 70 in the penal institution there can be found dozens or more of comparably low-ability persons not in such an institution—and, from the standpoint of behavior activities, no more deserving of being there than the general average of the population. It is probably true, and in most cases proper, that many juvenile-court judges try to salvage from the human wreckage that is brought to their courts as many as possible who appear promising or capable of recognizing the nature and consequences of antisocial behavior—those who can profit from mistakes and thus give promise of making more adequate adjustments under some sort of supervision outside institutions.

[14] H. H. Goddard, *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1920, pp. 72–73.

[15] C. W. Mann and H. P. Mann, "Age and Intelligence of a Group of Juvenile Delinquents," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1939, Vol. 34, pp. 351–360. A review of the average IQ's found by various investigators is presented in this study. Mann and Mann found the average IQ of 1,061 delinquent boys to be 84.88 and that of 670 delinquent girls to be 83.77.

But those individuals are in most cases not retarded mentally and are therefore not counted among the institutional cases. Hence, counting methods decrease the average mental ability found in our institutions.

In evaluating the findings reported by various investigators of the intelligence of juvenile delinquents, an answer should first be sought to the questions: (1) What evaluation device was used for determining the level of intelligence of the delinquents? (2) Whom did the investigator test? Juvenile-court cases? Institutionalized cases? Cases referred to a psychological or guidance clinic?

There is evidence from many sources that educational retardation, leading to dissatisfaction with school and truancy from school, is often the beginning stage of juvenile delinquency.

One study of the scholastic achievement of 345 boys committed to an institution for juvenile delinquency revealed a median retardation in reading of five years. In arithmetic, the retardation was even higher, slightly more than six years.[16] More than 90 per cent of the group indicated a distinct dislike for school. The *United States Public Health Service Classification Test* was used as a basis for measuring the intelligence of these boys. The range and distribution of intelligence quotients obtained from this test for the 345 boys is shown in Table 17-1.

Table 17-1

DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS OF DELINQUENT BOYS
(After Eckenrode)

Intelligence Group	IQ Range	Per Cent
Superior	120–134.9	4.35
High Average	110–119.9	11.89
Average	90–109.9	51.69
Low Average	80–89.9	17.68
Inferior	50–79.9	14.49

One study was concerned with differences in the components of intelligence of delinquents and nondelinquents as revealed in the verbal and performance aspects of the *Wechsler-Bellevue Scale*.[17] The delinquents were inferior to a control group of non-delinquents in verbal intelligence, while the two groups resembled each other closely in performance intelligence. A distribution of verbal and performance IQ's of the 500 delinquents is shown in Figure 17-2. The delinquents do better in those tasks in which the approach to meaning is direct in nature rather than through symbols. They are, in general, inferior in vocabulary and information.

[16] C. J. Eckenrode, "Their Achievement in Delinquency," *Journal of Educational Research*, 1949–50, Vol. 43, pp. 554–558.

[17] S. S. Glueck and E. T. Glueck, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–201.

This is a source of difficulty for them in much of the learning emphasized in the traditional school program. Thus, the nature of the test used affects the intelligence quotient obtained. Since the delinquent is frequently retarded in his schoolwork, he is seriously handicapped on tests involving language activities and reading materials. In spite of the fact that the various investigators have used different techniques for evaluating the intelligence of delinquents and have in many cases tested subjects
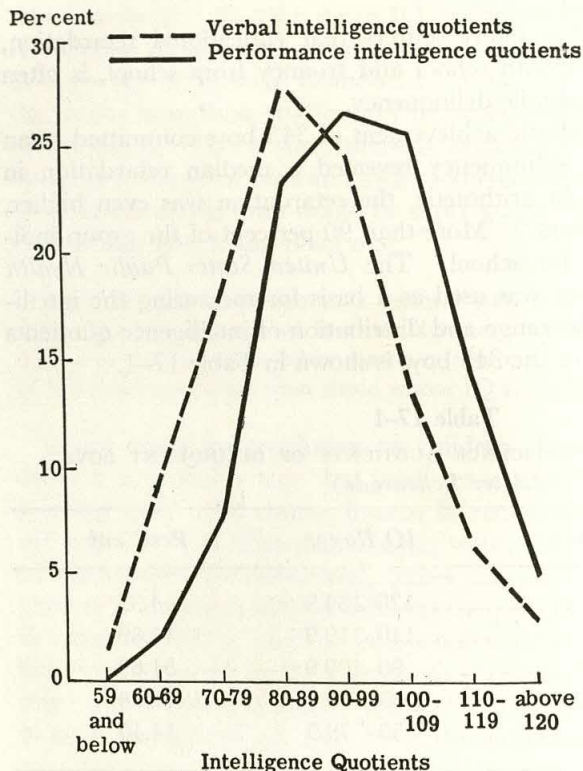
Figure 17–2. DIS-
TRIBUTION OF VER-
BAL AND PERFORM-
ANCE IQ's OF 500
DELINQUENT BOYS.
(*Glueck and Glueck*)

in which different criteria have been used for classifying them as delinquents, their data agree in certain respects as follows:

(1) There are more mental defectives among the delinquents tested than among unselected groups of children.

(2) The average intelligence-test scores of children brought before the courts or institutionalized is less than the average for unselected school children of the same age level.

(3) The average educational retardation among the children regarded as delinquent is greater than that for public-school children in general.

(4) There are delinquents with high levels of intelligence as well as delinquents with low intelligence levels.

(5) In line with item 4, we note that the distribution of IQ's among juvenile-court cases tends to follow the normal probability curve (see Figure 17–2).

MALADJUSTMENTS AND DELINQUENCY [18]

It was emphasized earlier in this chapter that delinquent acts result from a multiplicity of factors operating in a unitary manner. Delinquent behavior may serve to express hostile retaliatory feelings against an institution, a society, or a person. The boy who breaks the window of the school building may be showing his resentment of the treatment received from the teacher or his classmates. Juvenile delinquent acts may be employed to resolve certain inner conflicts—aggressive acts release tension. The boy who breaks out the window panes of the school building may find this an avenue for releasing tension resulting from a conflict between failure in his school activities and a desire for approval from his teachers, parents, or classmates. Juvenile delinquency may result from frustrations. The boy who is unable to attend the school dance may seek release from the tension thus developed by harming certain individuals attending or damaging property somewhat related to the dance. The girl who persists in indulging in sexual activities may be striving to satisfy a need for status or affection that is being denied her in the normal life pursuits.

Maladjustments of delinquents. In the study of Healy and Bronner, 105 delinquent children were matched with 105 nondelinquent siblings of as nearly the same age as possible. The two groups were then compared for degree of personal and home adjustments, for emotional difficulties, and the like. This comparison showed a preponderance of maladjustments among the delinquents. Over 90 per cent of them gave evidence of being or having been seriously maladjusted. The maladjustments discovered were classified as follows:

1. Feeling keenly either *rejected, deprived, insecure, not understood* in affectional relationships, unloved, or that love has been withdrawn.

2. Deep feeling of being *thwarted* other than affectionately; either (*a*) in normal impulses or desires for self-expression or other self-satisfactions, (*b*) in unusual desires because earlier spoiled, or (*c*) in adolescent urges and desires—even when (as in five cases) desire for emancipation had been blocked only by the individual's counteractive pleasure in remaining childishly attached.

3. Feeling strongly either real or fancied *inadequacies or inferiorities* in home life, in school, or in relation to companionship or to sports.

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[18] K. F. Schuessler and D. R. Cressey, "Personality Characteristics of Criminals," *The American Journal of Sociology,* 1950, Vol. 45, pp. 476–484. A critical analysis of the studies conducted on this problem is here presented. The results from 113 studies in which personality tests were employed are summarized. Of these 42 per cent differentiated between delinquents and nondelinquents.

4. Intense feelings of *discomfort about family disharmonies,* parental misconduct, the conditions of family life, or parental errors in management and discipline.

5. Bitter feelings of *jealousy* toward one or more siblings, or feelings of being markedly discriminated against because another in the family circle was favored.

6. Feelings of confused unhappiness due to some deep-seated, often repressed, *internal mental conflict*—expressed in various kinds of delinquent acts which often are seemingly unreasonable.

7. Conscious or unconscious *sense of guilt* about earlier delinquencies or about behavior which technically was not delinquency; the guilt sense directly or indirectly activating delinquency through the individual's feelings of the need of punishment (in nearly every instance this overlaps with the last category).[19]

Emotional immaturity and delinquency. Reference was made earlier in this chapter to delinquents with defective super-egos, who may be socialized on a lower level or with a particular group or gang, but are not socialized with respect to controls of society in general. They are often infantile in many of their reactions, and may be regarded as emotionally immature. Thus, their conduct is geared to a large extent to means and activities for satisfying their immediate needs and desires, and toward the avoidance of unpleasant conditions in their surroundings. In the study by Fertman, 180 delinquent girls from the Girls Industrial School near Delaware, Ohio, between the ages of 14 years and 17 years, 11 months, were contrasted with an equivalent group of nondelinquents on the basis of responses to the *Pressey Interest-Attitude Tests.*[20] "Age for age the delinquent girls demonstrated an emotional retardation of not less than 2.5 years, as measured by separate tests or by total scores of the Interest-Attitude Tests." The greatest average retardation was made on Test I (things considered wrong).

Some personality characteristics of delinquents. The general personality characteristics of delinquents furnish useful information to those concerned with their guidance and treatment. To distinguish these characteristics from the influences of the home, neighborhood, and school Healy and Bronner compared delinquents and their nondelinquent brothers or sisters on certain personality characteristics. Some contrasts for 105 pairs of such cases are presented in Table 17–2.[21] The delinquent in this study is distinguished from his nondelinquent brother by his marked feelings of inferiority, ascendant behavior, restlessness and hyperactivity, and greater number of nervous habits. His dislikes for school

[19] W. Healy and A. F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

[20] M. H. Fertman, "Differentiating Personality Characteristics of Delinquent Girls," Master's Thesis, Ohio State University, 1939, p. 26.

[21] *Op. cit.,* pp. 73–78.

and his teachers are plainly revealed. He displays the picture of an inse-
cure individual attempting to satisfy certain unfulfilled needs through
aggressive acts, belligerency, showing-off, excessive movie attendance, and
the like.

A study by Durea and Assum compared 276 delinquent girls with a
control group of 151 nondelinquents.[22] The *Interest-Attitude Test* de-
vised by Pressey was given to the two groups. The comparative distribu-
tion of the scores of these groups of girls is shown in Figure 17–3. A
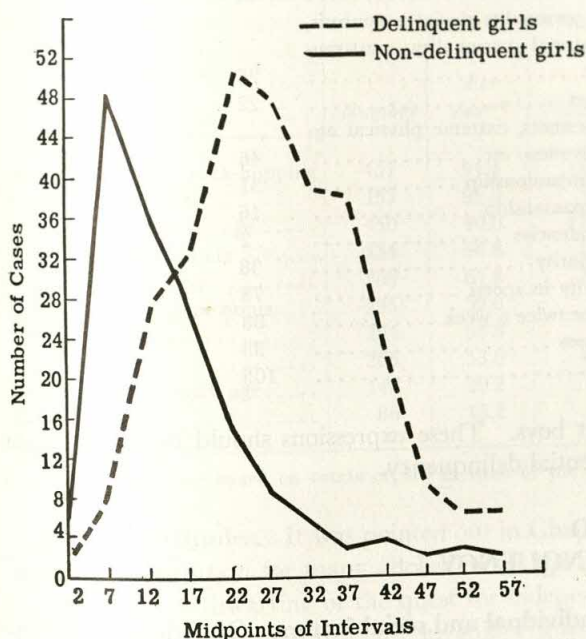
Figure 17–3. COM-
PARATIVE DISTRIBU-
TION OF INTEREST-
APTITUDE SCORES
OF DELINQUENT
AND NONDELIN-
QUENT ADOLESCENT
GIRLS. (*Durea and
Assum*)

careful analysis of the results of this study showed that the delinquent
girls were more given to worries, anxieties, feelings of guilt, and the like.
More than 85 per cent of the nondelinquent girls scored below the
median score for delinquents.

In the study by Glueck and Glueck, referred to earlier in this chapter,
comparisons were made between 500 delinquents and 500 nondelinquents
on such adventurous activities as stealing rides, sneaking into theaters,
destroying property, gambling, drinking, smoking at an early age, and
setting fires. These comparisons are presented in Table 17–3.[23] The
delinquents engaged in these different activities far in excess of the non-
delinquents, indicating that expressions of delinquency appear early in

[22] M. A. Durea and A. L. Assum, "The Reliability of Personality Traits Differen-
tiating Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Girls," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1948,
Vol. 72, pp. 307–311.
[23] *Op. cit.,* p. 161.

Table 17–2

PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DELINQUENT AND NONDELINQUENT
SIBLINGS AS SHOWN BY THE NUMBER POSSESSING VARIOUS TRAITS
(After Healy and Bronner)

	Delinquents	*Nondelinquents*
Individuals showing nervous habits: food and sleep idiosyncrasies, excessive nail-biting, thumb-sucking, etc.	14	24
Definitely diagnosed as personality deviate: neurosis, early psychosis, abnormal personality, posttraumatic personality, etc.	25	2
Enuresis after eight years	22	4
Hyperactivity: overrestlessness, extreme physical aggression, great impulsiveness, etc.	46	0
Great urge for crowd companionship	31	11
Tendency to avoid companionship	16	23
Distinctly submissive tendencies	2	15
Marked feelings of inferiority	38	4
Marked interest or activity in sports	73	57
Movie attendance once or twice a week	88	42
Excessive movie attendance	33	10
Number of cases	105	105

the lives of delinquent boys. These expressions should be looked upon
as symptomatic of potential delinquency.

THE HOME AND
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Interaction of the individual and social factors. Growth and development at any period of life must be evaluated in terms of the nature of the individual organism and the various forces that have operated in the organization and direction of growth. The study by Healy and Bronner shows how individual and social factors operate together in producing juvenile delinquents. Intensive studies were made of delinquents in Boston, New Haven, and Detroit. Those who had nondelinquent siblings were selected for special study, since a control group with social backgrounds similar to that of the offenders was available for study and comparison. The importance of the home and community background is evidenced by the fact that in only 22 cases of the 153 delinquents studied did they find the delinquent living in a favorable situation with reference to the following:

1. Reasonably good home conditions from the viewpoint of stability, normal recreational conditions, and normal physical needs and comforts.

2. Reasonably good attitudes of the parents from the viewpoint of freedom from family friction, normal attitude toward child care and treatment, and law abiding.

3. Normal neighborhood from the viewpoint of freedom from direct influences leading toward juvenile crime.

Table 17–3

A COMPARISON OF CERTAIN ADVENTUROUS TYPES OF ACTIVITIES OF DELINQUENTS AND NONDELINQUENTS (*After Glueck and Glueck*)

Activities	Delinquents		Nondelinquents		Difference
	Number	*Per cent* *	*Number*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
Stealing rides or truck-hopping	457	91.4	119	23.8	67.6
Keeping late hours	455	91.0	34	6.8	84.2
Smoking at an early age	450	90.0	114	22.8	67.2
Sneaking into theaters	334	66.8	50	10.0	56.8
Destroying property	309	61.8	19	3.8	58.0
Running away from home....	295	59.0	6	1.2	57.8
Bunking out	294	58.8	8	1.6	57.2
Gambling	265	53.0	45	9.0	44.0
Drinking at an early age.....	146	29.2	2	0.4	28.8
Setting fires	66	13.2	2	0.4	12.8

* Percentages are based on totals of 500 in each of the two groups.

Parental attitudes. It was pointed out in Chapter 9 that an important source of frustration for many adolescents is the unwillingness of parents to "let go." A thwarting of the quest for independence is closely related to the early development of many juvenile crimes. It has been observed that at 10 or 11 years of age around 70 per cent of girls and 60 per cent of boys find greatest pleasure in the home and prefer to spend most of their leisure time there. With the onset of puberty, the wider range of interests, and broadened social activities, adolescents begin to find more pleasures outside the home. Parents should not deplore this fact, but, instead of thwarting adolescent desires, should aid the growing boy and girl in his or her emancipation from the dependency of childhood. Testing the hypothesis that parental attitudes are closely related to juvenile delinquency, the Gluecks investigated the kinds of parental discipline employed in the homes of delinquents and nondelinquents. It was observed that parents of delinquents resorted to punishment and to a lesser extent to reasoning than did the parents of nondelinquents. The results, presented in Table 17–4, show further that mothers of delinquents were inclined to be lax and erratic in their discipline, while fathers were erratic,

lax, and overstrict.[24] Both the mothers and fathers of nondelinquents displayed firm but kindly measures of discipline.

Table 17–4

COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DISCIPLINE OF PARENTS OF DELINQUENTS AND NONDELINQUENTS (*After Glueck and Glueck*)

	MOTHER				
Discipline	Delinquents		Nondelinquents		*Difference Per Cent*
	Number	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*	
Lax	282	56.8	58	11.7	45.1
Overstrict	22	4.4	8	1.6	2.8
Erratic	172	34.6	104	21.1	13.5
Firm but kindly	21	4.2	324	65.6	—61.4
Total	497	100.0	494	100.0	
	FATHER				
Lax	122	26.6	82	17.9	8.7
Overstrict	120	26.1	40	8.7	17.4
Erratic	191	41.6	82	17.9	23.7
Firm but kindly	26	5.7	255	55.5	—49.8
Total	459	100.0	459	100.0	

A factor closely related to parental attitudes is the character of the parents. It has been pointed out that the child is imitative; especially does he imitate those whom he considers authorities. He comes to feel that their acts are an endorsement of such types of behavior. Imitation and suggestion in connection with drinking, immorality, or lawlessness aid in the establishment of delinquent tendencies in adolescent boys and girls. In a study by Lumpkin the delinquent girls' parental background was found to be very unfavorable.[25] Social defective tendencies such as crime, alcoholism, and sexual irregularity appeared 443 times in 189 families. In the study by Glueck and Glueck comparisons were made between the parents of delinquents and non-delinquents with respect to physical, mental, and emotional handicaps.

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[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 131.
[25] K. D. Lumpkin, "Factors in the Commitment of Correctional School Girls in Wisconsin," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1931, Vol. 37, pp. 222–230.

Table 17–5 shows that the parents of delinquents are more burdened with serious physical ailments, mental retardation, emotional disturbances, drunkenness, and criminality than are the parents of nondelinquents.[26] Thus, 39.6 per cent of the fathers of delinquents and 48.6 per cent of the mothers suffered from serious physical ailments, as compared with 28.6 per cent of the fathers of nondelinquents and 33 per cent of the mothers. Over 60 per cent of the fathers of delinquents drank to the point of intoxication, as compared with 39 per cent of the fathers of nondelinquents. More than three times as many of the mothers of delinquents drank excessively, as compared with the mothers of the nondelinquents. Delinquency and crime were also present far more among the parents of the delinquents.

Family breakdown and delinquency. For many years the broken home has been pointed to as one of the main causes of juvenile delinquency. To substantiate this claim many studies of home backgrounds have appeared. These studies almost without exception show broken homes in the background of a large percentage of delinquent children. We should be extremely careful, however, in the interpretation of these studies. The broken home is, in most cases, the climax of a long series of events and simply indicates underlying adjustments that affect all mem-

Table 17–5

HISTORY OF SERIOUS PHYSICAL AILMENTS, MENTAL RETARDATION, EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCES, DRUNKENNESS, AND CRIMINALITY OF FATHER AND MOTHER
(*After Glueck and Glueck*)

	MOTHER			
	Delinquents		Nondelinquents	Difference
Condition	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Per cent
Serious physical ailments	243	48.6	165	33.0	15.6
Mental retardation	164	32.8	45	9.0	23.8
Emotional disturbances	201	40.2	88	17.6	22.6
Drunkenness	115	23.0	35	7.0	16.0
Criminality	224	44.8	75	15.0	29.8

	FATHER			
Serious physical ailments	198	39.6	143	28.6	11.0
Mental retardation	92	18.4	28	5.6	12.8
Emotional disturbances	220	44.0	90	18.0	26.0
Drunkenness	314	62.8	195	39.0	23.8
Criminality	331	66.2	160	32.0	34.2

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

bers of the family. There is evidence that it is not the broken home so much as the factors often associated with this condition—especially among the lower economic groups. Furthermore, Campbell presents evidence that it is the tension, neglect, and poverty accompanying broken-home conditions that cause an increased percentage of delinquency in these groups.[27] Based upon the records of 604 juvenile delinquents of both sexes, Hirsch interprets the results as showing broken homes a consequence of constitutional abnormalities and temperamental instabilities of parents rather than a direct cause of delinquency.[28] Many siblings of delinquents from broken homes are untouched by this factor.

Economic factors. It has been observed that the amount of juvenile delinquency is closely related to certain economic conditions. Delinquency increases both in times of extreme prosperity and during periods of depression, with the lowest rate in a period of fairly normal economic conditions. Burgess noted that there was a high correlation between juvenile delinquency areas and low family income.[29] He reports that in such cities as Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus, Richmond, and Boston juvenile delinquency rates are closely related to such economic factors as the family being on relief, dependency, nonsupport, unemployment of father, and level of rent paid. Poverty seems to bring with it or to include factors closely related to delinquent behavior. We usually find crime, disease, ignorance, and vice associated with poverty.

It is probable that a careful study of homes broken by the death of one parent would indicate that such a circumstance is apt to result in behavior difficulties in the children from families less favored financially more than in children at the other end of the economic scale. The death of the father in a laborer's family usually burdens the mother and the older children with the responsibility of furnishing a livelihood. Often no insurance or other form of security is available. The mother must be away from home during many hours of the day, so that close supervision is impossible. In such a situation it is not easy for the parent to establish a relationship of close confidence with the children, which is vitally necessary to harmonious home life.

Even when both parents are alive, the poverty-stricken home presents a tremendous handicap to rearing the children as well-adjusted individuals. Often the father must work long hours without sufficient nourishment and recreation. His temper and training do not fit him for considerate handling of discipline situations and the result is constant tension. The children in such a family are denied the comforts and lux-

[27] M. W. Campbell, "The Effect of the Broken Home upon the Child in School," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 1932, Vol. 5, pp. 274–281.
[28] N. D. M. Hirsch, *Dynamic Causes of Juvenile Crime.* Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1937.
[29] E. W. Burgess, "The Economic Factor in Juvenile Delinquency," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Political Science,* 1952, Vol. 43, p. 35.

uries that some of their companions at school enjoy, with the result that many resort to dishonest means to attain these advantages. The death or desertion of the father in such a situation is the final stroke that brings on the more adverse conditions.

Overcrowding. Another home condition somewhat closely related to many of those already considered is overcrowding. This is especially likely to occur in circumstances of poverty and leads to stealing. Congested living conditions within the home or neighborhood may also throw children into undue contact with sexual stimulation and thereby result in increased immorality. A follow-up study of 207 boys, who as 10-year-olds in 1948 had been the subject of complaints to the Detroit police, showed that only 43 of these had had any contact with the police in 1950.[30] A comparison was then made between the repeaters and the non-repeaters on items recorded at the time of the first contact with the police. Having two or more brothers, living in an apartment or rooming house, and having a reputation as "Peck's Bad Boy" seemed to best differentiate the repeaters from the non-repeaters. This is shown in Table 17-6.

Table 17-6

SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN REPEATERS AND NON-REPEATERS
(*After Wattenberg and Quiroz*)

Item	Repeaters N 43		Non-Repeaters N 164	
	No.	*Per cent*	*No.*	*Per cent*
Poor marks or failing school	16	37	45	27
Two or more brothers	27	63	53	32
Apartment or rooming house	11	26	19	12
Reputation as normal	21	49	122	74
Reputation as "Peck's Bad Boy".........	20	47	32	20

Other causal home conditions exist that cannot be considered here; nor is there ample space to consider even the major studies that have been made of the subject. Rejection, the mother's being forced to work, lack of educational advantages, lack of recreational facilities, the broken home, and undesirable companions in relation to the home are all potent factors. However, there is considerable evidence from various studies that the most important home factor that influences the growing boys and girls is the relationship existing between parents and children, and between the children themselves. The importance of favorable and consistent atti-

[30] W. W. Wattenberg and F. Quiroz, "A Follow-up Study of Ten-Year-Old Boys with Police Records," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 1953, Vol. 17, pp. 309–313 (by permission of the *Journal* and of the American Psychological Association).

tudes of parents in relation to adolescent problems cannot be overemphasized.

NEIGHBORHOOD CONDITIONS

Congested neighborhoods. The detrimental effect of bad home conditions is usually supplemented by undesirable neighborhood influences. In the first place, congested home conditions are closely related to congested neighborhood conditions. It has been found from various studies that crime is relatively higher in populous territories. In Maller's study of juvenile delinquency in New York City, it was observed that delinquency is largely concentrated in certain underprivileged areas.[31] High delinquency areas are characterized by (1) low rents, (2) low educational level of the adults, (3) excessive retardation of pupils in school, (4) poor recreational facilities, (5) overcrowded conditions, (6) high adult crime rate, and (7) lack of organized activities for adolescents. These conditions are similar in nature to the results obtained from surveys in other cities. These studies indicate that delinquent areas fall into the following general types: (1) deteriorating residential areas in which business establishments are being organized, (2) manufacturing areas, and (3) districts characterized by an unstable population.

According to the data presented in Table 17-3 delinquents are given to stealing rides, hopping trucks, and roaming about the streets after dark far in excess of nondelinquents. Delinquents are more frequently found within the lower-class group. The individual brought before the courts is often a person rejected or neglected, both by his parents and by the community. In many cases the various community agencies fail to reach the juvenile offender. The Los Angeles Youth Project, begun in 1943, has demonstrated that "hard-to-reach gangs" can be contacted and brought into organized recreational and work programs.[32] The need for such programs is borne out in the study by the Gluecks of the play places of delinquents and nondelinquents, presented in Table 17-7.[33] Almost all (95.2 per cent) of the delinquents, as compared with 58.4 per cent of the nondelinquents, hung around the street corners, while 86.8 per cent of the delinquents as compared with 14.2 per cent of the nondelinquents sought their recreation in neighborhoods at a considerable distance. A larger percentage of delinquents than nondelinquents played in vacant lots, on the waterfront, and in railroad yards. On the other hand, a much lower percentage of delinquents spend part of their leisure-time at home and on the playgrounds.

[31] J. B. Maller, "Juvenile Delinquency in New York City," *Journal of Psychology*, 1936, Vol. 39, pp. 314–328.

[32] R. Duane, *Chance to Belong: Story of the Los Angeles Youth Project, 1943–49.* New York: Woman's Press, 1949.

[33] *Op. cit.,* p. 162.

THE SCHOOL AND DELINQUENCY

Its enlarged function. The school is becoming a potent force in the development and guidance of individual boys and girls into useful and worthy citizenship. It is sometimes thought of as one would think of a life insurance policy, except that in this case the state pays the premiums and is expecting returns in the form of better and more useful citizenship. One assumption here is that a citizen trained for earning a living will be a better citizen; the other is that a democratic state cannot afford to be controlled by the will of an ignorant demos.

Although the schools are playing an increasingly important role in the training of future citizens, they are also in many cases contributing to juvenile delinquency. Some of the major problems faced by adolescents have been listed in earlier chapters as school problems. It has been pointed out that many adolescents are almost doomed to failure because of an inadequate program, while another large group find themselves at odds with the teachers and school administration because they are not interested in, and in many cases actually dislike, the program in which they are required to participate at school. We note that the first step of many juvenile delinquents is truancy from school. Teachers and administrators must concern themselves with the causes of truancy, since truancy is so closely related to stealing and to sex offenses. The study by Williams shows the importance of truancy in relation to juvenile delinquency. His study is based on the results from 98 cases referred to a

Table 17–7

COMPARISON OF PLAY PLACES OF DELINQUENTS AND NONDELINQUENTS
(After Glueck and Glueck)

Description	Delinquents		Nondelinquents		Difference
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Street corners	476	95.2	292	58.4	36.8
Distant neighborhoods	434	86.8	71	14.2	72.6
Vacant lots	232	46.4	135	27.0	19.4
Waterfronts	152	30.4	79	15.8	14.6
Railroad yards	102	20.4	5	1.0	19.4
Poolrooms, cheap dance halls, and the like	76	15.2	4	0.8	14.4
Home	208	41.6	466	93.2	−51.6
Playgrounds	147	29.4	305	61.0	−31.6

clinic during the school year 1944–45. Truancy, stealing, incorrigibility, and sex misdemeanors were the chief reasons for referring half the cases. There were few cases, however, where one factor alone was noted. Truancy was the chief complaint in 21 cases and there was a history of tru-

ancy present in 33 other cases. A further study of the 98 cases showed that certain factors seemed to favor truancy. Listed in order of frequency, these were: (1) poor parental control, (2) no goal, (3) gangs, (4) pushed against a low IQ, (5) low economic status, with desire to keep up with others as to style and dress, (6) inability to keep up with the progress of the class after a severe illness, (7) punishing parents, and (8) dislike of teacher.[34]

If the school program is well integrated with the life of the community, if the values of the teachers coincide with those of the community, and if there is a democratic and harmonious working relationship established between the pupils and teachers, the school will be a powerful agency for preventing juvenile delinquency and for developing desirable and wholesome personalities.

Effects of failure. More and more the problem of individual variation is receiving attention in an endeavor to interpret better the cause-and-effect relations in the development of behavior. The importance of this is indicated by the results of a study based upon surveys carried out in New York City Reformatory and the House of Refuge on Randall's Island, New York City. Peyser writes:

School failure appears to be more highly correlated with the incidence of delinquency than is any other condition, including poverty, broken home, absence of religious association, physical defect, mental defectiveness, psychopathic condition, or truancy. Failure is written largely in the school histories of the great majority of the boys.[35]

His data indicated that 29 per cent of New York City elementary-school children were retarded and that these children have contributed from 84.4 to 92.8 per cent of the delinquent groups that he investigated. This conclusion is supported by data reported by Zabolski, in which a comparison is presented of 50 delinquent boys with a mean age of 15.5 years with a control group of 50 nondelinquent boys.[36] The delinquent boy presents a psychological deficit. His behavior is attributed to a series of inadequacies or failures. It is a positive form of socially unaccepted behavior made in an attempt to overcome certain unsolved problems.

In Chapter 10 it was pointed out that conditions involving class structure operate to produce frustrations, which lead toward juvenile delinquency. In the high school there is a tendency for boys and girls from the lower social class to be, relatively speaking, "outside" in many activities. Data presented by Hollingshead of the attendance of high-school

[34] E. Y. Williams, "Truancy in Children Referred to a Clinic," *Mental Hygiene,* 1947, Vol. 31, p. 405.

[35] N. Peyser, "Character Building and Prevention of Crime," Unpublished Manuscript, 1933, p. 70.

[36] F. C. Zabolski, "Studies in Delinquency: Personality Structure of Delinquent Boys," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1949, Vol. 74, pp. 109–117.

students at evening plays and parties, presented in Table 17–8, show this to be the case.[37]   There was no participation by class V members, the lowest social-class group.   It will be noted from Table 17–8 that the lower the class level, the lower the degree of participation.   In an examination of participation in 23 extracurricular activities he found the degree of participation to be markedly associated with class position, the higher the class level the greater the extent of participation.   Thus cut off, for one reason or another, from these associations, the lower-class adolescent seeks to satisfy his needs for belongingness, social approval, and achievement through other channels, some of which lead to behavior classified as delinquency.   The extent of delinquency is important as an indicator of the failure of the home, church, school, and other community agencies to furnish useful and worth-while outlets for the needs of many adolescent boys and girls.

Table 17–8

ATTENDANCE OF 16-YEAR-OLDS AT EVENING PLAYS AND PARTIES BY CLASS (*After Hollingshead*)

Level of Participation	*I and II*	Class III	IV
Attended none	0	39	110
Attended a few	4	25	51
Attended most	8	41	16
Seldom missed one	23	41	6
Total	35	146	183

SUMMARY

Throughout this volume there has been a continuous emphasis on the general concept that the development of behavior patterns is a result of forces and conditions both within and without the individual.   The adolescent has been described as a dynamic individual in a state of transition from childhood to adulthood.   His behavior at any particular time arises from a multiplicity of causes and conditions.   Delinquent behavior, according to this viewpoint, is thus regarded as symptomatic of a great variety of conditions—among them physical conditions, emotional states, socio-economic status of the home, recreational needs and opportunities, educational attainments, relationships with peers, social and personal adjustments, and guidance.   The personality structure of delinquent boys is often an adjustive reaction resulting from failure to satisfy their needs

[37] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth.*   New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949.

through socially acceptable channels. A consideration of the types of delinquents presented early in this chapter in the light of the factors associated with delinquency might lead to a better clarification of how certain syndromes or patterns of factors may operate to produce a particular type of delinquent.

Sex alone does not cause delinquency; psychoneurotic tendencies alone do not cause delinquency; inferior intelligence alone does not cause delinquency. It is not inherited; environment considered as an entirely isolated factor cannot give the whole story of delinquency. Delinquents differ from nondelinquents in a number of significant ways. However, one should be cautious about making generalizations from individual cases. One of the outstanding characteristics is their history of failure. They are often retarded in school or not accepted by their classmates, or underprivileged in the community. The needs of the delinquent are not different from those of nondelinquents. The home, school, church, and other youth-serving agencies should consider the needs and problems of youth in any prevention and rehabilitation program.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. List in order of importance the ten factors that you believe to be most closely associated with juvenile delinquency.

2. Describe some case of a juvenile delinquent that is familiar to you. Can you give the factors in his life that are probably responsible for his behavior?

3. Elaborate on the thought that "badness" in behavior is symptomatic of a great variety of conditions affecting the individual.

4. Account for the increase in crime despite the development of public education.

5. Point out how three boys, each of whom had stolen a baseball glove, might have been motivated by different conditions or forces? Just what is the significance of this in relation to the treatment that should be accorded these three boys?

6. List several common misconceptions about the nature, characteristics, and problems of the juvenile delinquent.

7. Make a list of behavior expressions that should be looked upon as symptomatic of potential delinquency. What values should an understanding of these symptoms have for the teacher and parent?

8. What do the results of Figure 17–2 indicate about the verbal and performance abilities of delinquent boys? What are the educational implications of these findings?

9. Study the materials of Table 17–7 showing the play places of delinquents and nondelinquents. What outstanding differences in play places appear in this table? What is the significance of these findings for a community program designed to prevent delinquency?

10. Contrast the disciplinary practices of parents of delinquents with those of nondelinquents.

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Part V

THE END OF
ADOLESCENCE

FROM ADOLESCENCE
TO MATURITY

THE SUPERIOR MAN IS LIBERAL TOWARD OTHERS' OPINIONS, BUT DOES
NOT COMPLETELY AGREE WITH THEM; THE INFERIOR MAN AGREES
WITH OTHERS' OPINIONS, BUT IS NOT LIBERAL WITH THEM. *Confucius*

DURING THE PERIOD of growth and development, new needs are continuously appearing in the individual's life, while certain earlier needs are
modified or lose their potency. The development into adolescence introduces a different self and different concepts of self. Old goals are reorganized and new goals are introduced. Growth toward maturity brings
with it increased abilities and independence along with increased demands and responsibilities. Certain developmental tasks appearing with
the onset of adolescence are extended. At the same time, the maturing
adolescent is confronted with other developmental tasks. Some of the
tasks appearing during late adolescence and postadolescence which will
be presented in this chapter are those relating to vocational adjustment,
marriage and marital adjustments, becoming a citizen in a democratic
society, and developing a more unified philosophy of life.

The social effects of technology. The adolescent of today is forced to
adjust to a culture characterized by change, which brings with it confusion and conflict. This period of change is a result of the innovative
forces of science, invention, and discovery, which have been termed, in
recent years, *technology.* Gradually the entire world is being affected by
this technological revolution. Work has become more highly specialized;
individuals have become more dependent upon one another; natural
boundaries have, to a large degree, disappeared; distances have been reduced from weeks and months, in terms of time, to hours; and nations
have been brought closer together. Not only are the consequences of this
revolution apparent in the changing material structure of society and the
world of nations, but it is having an increasing effect upon the social and
spiritual life of individuals and groups; a fact especially evidenced by the
habits, attitudes, and values of adolescents today as contrasted with those
of adolescents at the beginning of the present century.

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The facts presented relative to economic trends lead one to the obvious conclusion that professional administrative and engineering positions cannot be the goal of all adolescents. Our economic system operates in many ways to limit social mobility, although social mobility—the opportunity to climb the economic and social ladder—has always been the dream of those coming to America from other lands. Youth should no longer be deluded by wishful thinking into reaching beyond its grasp. Just because a boy or girl does not choose the professions or some advanced technical field for his life work is no proof that he is a failure. Every individual should be brought to realize his responsibility to himself and to society, and to use his initiative in adjusting to the social-economic order in which he lives.

Adolescent boys and girls must be taught what the past several generations were not taught: namely, to realize that technological advancements have brought with them new problems and added responsibilities. The printing press, the radio, the movie, and the airplane have, or should have, revealed to us that technological advancements may serve as evil and destructive forces as well as beneficial ones. All too often we have hailed the benefits of science without considering the price that is being paid for them in terms of their effect upon society. Shapiro forcibly pointed out the price tag when he wrote:

> In no aspect of our lives as members of a complex industrial community, or as a nation in the modern world, has technology brought greater responsibilities than in our attitudes toward the various groups that make up our society, or toward the peoples that constitute mankind. It is a commonly observed truism that the world grows more interdependent, and that our society demands increased cooperation from all of its members, as mechanization progresses.[1]

In a society that is being transformed by technological advancements as rapidly as is ours, capacity for adaptation and adjustment is the one quality that will be most needed for effective and successful living. These transformations are destined to affect all phases of our lives and all our institutions. Although profound changes have appeared, the full effects of technology are yet to come. This will call forth, on the part of youth, the capacity to learn, the motivation for learning, the willingness to assimilate, and the readiness to make adjustments required for a dynamic democratic society. Old experiences will be no handicap to youth, although many are handicapped by outworked or outmoded concepts handed down to them largely through the family and through the class structure. In this connection Rockwell stated:

> The role of learning in biological adjustment seems to be strategic. The sensitivity of this mechanism to the various conditioning agents suggests that

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[1] H. L. Shapiro, "Anthropology's Contribution to Interracial Understanding," *Science,* May 12, 1944, p. 373.

its usefulness—if one may speak in such terms—lies in the fact that this gives to the animal a potentiality for variation and a plasticity nicely adapted to meet the needs of a constantly changing environment.[2]

GROWTH TOWARD MATURITY

Psychologically and sociologically adolescence ends when the individual attains a consistent and comparatively widespread level of maturity in his drives, interests, and behavior patterns. The development of such maturity is gradual in nature, so that one cannot state a specific time when this is reached for a particular individual. In general most individuals attain this degree of maturity during the teen years. However, many individuals do not attain this maturity at this time. Still others never arrive at a high level of social and ethical maturity.

The maturing adolescent. Throughout preceding chapters it has been emphasized that as the child grows into the period of adolescence, following that of childhood, he is truly entering upon a new sphere of activity. He is reaching into a new social atmosphere, his maturing physiological nature is asserting itself along new channels, and new impulses are arising. It has furthermore been pointed out that behavior is not explicable wholly in terms of the stimulus-response hypothesis but rather in terms of the individual as a whole. This includes, in the case of the adolescent, his biological and sociological past, as well as the momentous present.

The adolescent, with his rapid physiological changes, with his new type of physical potency, with his increased physical strength and vigor, with his growing impulses relative to others, is not the same organism that responded to various stimuli during infancy and childhood; because of his organic changes his responses to various stimuli are quite different from what they were just a few years ago. At four years of age Tom will call to Mary, a neighbor's child, to climb over the fence and play in the sand pile with him. At the age of 17, Tom will likely be calling over the phone rather than over the back fence. This time the call will be for an automobile ride, a dinner dance, or a swim in the lake. The impulses prompting the call over the back fence to play in the sand and those prompting the call over the telephone to go for a ride or a stroll are different; the interests of a maturing organism have replaced those of the playful child.

Thus behavior changes somewhat in harmony with the physiological changes that are taking place at this period; also, with such changes in behavior activities Tom and Mary face increasing responsibilities and increasing needs for adequate adjustments to a changing condition in their own life and environment. To express it analytically, the drives of

[2] J. G. Rockwell, "How We Learn—Some Physiological Factors," *Mental Health in the Classroom.* Thirteenth Yearbook of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1941, p. 88.

both Tom and Mary have undergone pronounced changes. This is a clear illustration of the development of heterosexuality, referred to in Chapter 13.

Reaching social maturity. Maturity is often looked upon as full physical development. A conception of adolescence that pervades much of our culture is that based upon social maturity. The boy or girl who has reached an advanced stage in his social relations may be said to have progressed beyond that of childhood. It has been suggested that the degree of one's development beyond the self and his ability to enter into the activities of the group cooperatively is a good measure of social development. Certainly there are some behavior activities that characterize the socially mature person, although not all adults display these characteristics. Thus, social maturity is a relative term. The typical adolescent tends to display these characteristics to an increased degree as he passes into the postadolescent stage. Some characteristics of the socially mature person may be listed as follows:

1. Exercises mature judgment on crucial problems and issues.
2. Is able to carry on cooperative activities on a fair and sound basis.
3. Assumes personal responsibility for his actions.
4. Has a wide range of friends, chosen on a sound basis.
5. Displays independence in judgment and actions, but with due regard for the rights and opinions of others.
6. Able to take an objective attitude toward the *self*.
7. Able to adjust to different situations—practices a certain amount of "role flexibility."
8. Thinks and plans in terms of long-time goals rather than the immediate.
9. Is not self-centered in his conversation and in his actions.
10. Evaluates issues and problems in terms of the welfare of the group rather than how it is going to affect the *self*.

An overambitious parent may be an important factor in deterring the social and emotional development of adolescents toward maturity. The case of Andrew is an excellent example of how an ambitious father with very dominant ideas created a situation that worked to the disadvantage of the emotional and social development of a 16-year-old boy:

Andrew had lost his mother very early in life and had been brought up by a kindly, affectionate relative, who undoubtedly was a bit too much concerned about his health, manners, and personal appearance. In spite of this, however, he developed in a most satisfactory way. His schoolwork was a bit better than the average, he excelled in athletics, enjoyed reading good books, and developed as a sort of hobby his flair for writing a bit of poetry. Andrew's father was very enthusiastic about his son's athletic abilities and spurred him on to greater activity in this particular field. With reference to his literary interests, however, he was quite intolerant and left no stone un-

turned to humiliate this boy about what he called his "sissified" indulgence. He finally had him transferred to a school where greater emphasis was put on athletic ability; but instead of being stimulated to greater effort in baseball and football, Andrew became more and more absorbed in his reading and poetry.

As might have been expected, his behavior antagonized the father and soon caused a real gulf between the two. The boy became argumentative and later resentful and defiant toward what he felt was unjust domination on the part of his father. He also complained that the latter no longer understood him. The emotional state that was created in the boy by this antagonism toward his father, however, dulled his enthusiasm for his schoolwork and his athletic activities, and even for his hobbies, and he had such a severe slump that he was on the verge of flunking out of school. It was necessary to have frequent interviews with both the father and the son over a period of several weeks before the former began to appreciate his son's needs, leaving him free to build his life around his own personality rather than around his father's ambition.[3]

Intellectual maturity. It has been emphasized throughout the previous chapters that the adolescent develops as a whole—a unified personality. Intellectual maturity cannot be separated from other aspects of maturity. One of the outstanding differences between the child and the mature individual is the way they react to remote or long-term goals. The immature individual is best motivated by goals that are within his reach over a relatively short period of time. Any planning based on long-term purposes loses its force early and is thus short-lived. The more mature individual is able to maintain a steady course of action for a longer period of time. The following account of the vocational planning of a mentally superior 17-year-old boy is a manifestation of intellectual and emotional maturity:

My father died when I was ten years old, and left me a sufficient amount of money to provide for my college education. My mother has encouraged me during the course of the past several years to study pharmacy when I enter the state university.

This year I am graduating from high school and must soon decide what I will take when I enter college. Last week I had a long talk with our vocational counselor. At that time I told him of my mother's wishes about my professional future. He asked me some questions about my interests and what I would like to be doing ten or fifteen years from now. Thus, I have been doing lots of thinking about what I would like to be doing at that time. There are some things that I know that I don't want to be doing, so I am trying to decide between business, pharmacy, and teaching.

I have some literature dealing with a number of different fields of work, and have been reading some of it. Maybe after I have read more about the requirements of these different occupations, I will be able to make up my

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[3] *Guiding the Adolescent.* Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Publication 22, 1946, pp. 39–40.

mind. Anyway, I am planning on going to the university this fall and will enroll in the liberal arts school. My counselor told me that the first year's work was basic anyway, and that I could make up my mind further after this first year. I don't want to put this off too long, though, for I think a fellow should decide soon after he goes to college just what field of work he is going to prepare to enter.[4]

The problem of what constitutes intellectual maturity was studied in one case in which 56 college instructors listed traits that they thought were indicative of intellectual maturity.[5] The traits listed are presented in Table 18–1. A study of these traits shows that college instructors emphasize rational judgment, critical attitudes, independence in thought, ability to apply knowledge, and a wide range of information as characteristics of the intellectually mature person.

Table 18–1

TRAITS LISTED AS CHARACTERISTIC OF INTELLECTUAL MATURITY

(*After Eckert*)

Forms rational judgments uncolored by emotional tones

Is able to perceive relations and correlate materials

Shows a critical, evaluative attitude toward problems

Is independent in his thought and work

Possesses a wider background or experience in the field than do other students

Shows initiative in intellectual work, suggesting problems and asking intelligent questions

Is able to apply his knowledge, utilizing general principles in specific situations

Is open-minded, able and willing to assimilate new ideas

Readily comprehends new facts and ideas

Has a sense of values, or a philosophical point of view

Has insight, separates the fundamental points from the unimportant, and sees the implications of problems

Possesses a tolerant attitude toward other people's work and ideas

Is able to suspend judgment until more evidence is found

ADOLESCENCE AND THE WORLD OF WORK

The transition from school to work. Each year approximately a mil-

[4] K. C. Garrison, *Growth and Development.* New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952, p. 506.

[5] R. E. Eckert, "Intellectual Maturity," *Journal of Higher Education*, 1934, Vol. 5, pp. 478–484.

lion boys and girls enter into full-time work. For most of them this is a rather abrupt change from school and home ties to employment in the factory, office, store, or the assembly line. One day they are in the sheltered environment of their peers and their parents at home. The next day, they find themselves on a job where they are on their own and must assume responsibilities and perform certain tasks whether they desire to do so or not. Their task is to fit into this vast business and industrial machinery that we call technology.

The first job is a milestone in the life of the individual. It provides him with the opportunity for achievement and the extension of his independence. A wrong start—getting fired, finding the job too difficult, clashing with the foreman or management—is a frustrating experience for the young worker and may adversely condition him toward a working life. It is very important for the young worker to make satisfactory vocational adjustments, since the world of work is destined to play an important role in his life activities. The vocational needs of youth must be recognized and dealt with in a realistic manner if the transition from school to work is to be a satisfactory one. The story of Jean indicates that graduation from high school does not necessarily assure one of a job or even a satisfactory vocational orientation.

Jean was an attractive girl of 18 with intelligence, poise, and considerable musical ability. She not only completed high school but spent 6 months in college. She had 2 months' experience in sales work before going to college, and her parents gave their approval and financial support to her education.

Yet Jean was "in a quandary as to where to turn." She did not like her brief experience in selling. But she was also dissatisfied with the music course she took in college, because she considered it would not lead to practical employment. Jean had no interest in returning to school for a business course, however. She was marking time with a Saturday job in a downtown department store, and would have welcomed counseling from any source that could have helped her get a sense of direction.[6]

Adolescents at work. The part that work occupies in the lives of adolescents varies widely from section to section of the United States as well as with the different social-economic groups. Also, the employment status of youth is affected by general economic conditions. Employment of individuals 14 to 17 years of age was at a low ebb during the Depression years before World War II. The employment demands of the war and postwar years changed this picture so that the number of adolescents at work more than tripled the number at work during the prewar years. Few adolescents were listed among the unemployed in 1950, as may be observed from Figure 18–1.[7]

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[6] "Hunting a Career: A Study of Out-Of-School Youth in Louisville, Kentucky," *United States Department of Labor Bulletin*, No. 115, 1949, p. 90.

[7] *Schools and the 1950 Census*, National Education Association Research Bulletin, 1951, Vol. 29, No. 4, p. 156.

Many factors operate in connection with the employment of adolescents and the kinds of work they do. In the cities the work may be confined largely to cooperation in a few simple household duties, or it may involve any of the full-time or part-time jobs open to individuals in particular age-brackets. The declining number of people engaged in farming and the development and use of labor-saving devices in the homes have reduced considerably the opportunities for adolescents to work. Along with the growing realization of the undesirability of heavy work for adolescents over a long period of time, there is also the realization of
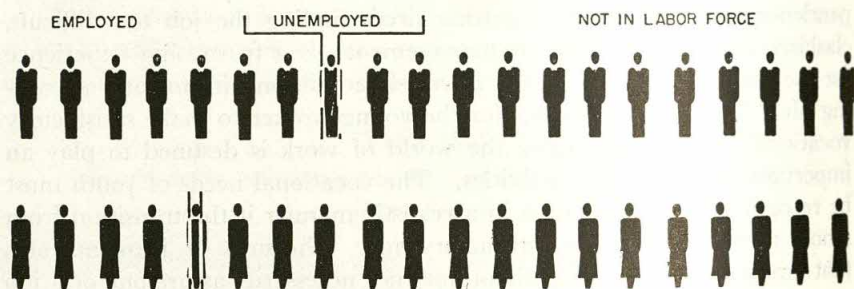
Figure 18–1. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF BOYS AND GIRLS 14 TO 19 YEARS OF AGE, 1950.

the necessity for work experience as part of the individual's preparation for life as well as for providing for the financial needs of many adolescents. Economic need is therefore an important motive for many adolescents seeking part-time or full-time employment. The income of one family may be so low and the responsibilities of buying a home and raising several children so great that the boys and girls of the family must earn their own needed spending money. On the other hand, a family that has never known financial need may discourage their strong and healthy son from accepting even a part-time job. True, accepting a job at some store as clerk may deprive some boy in real financial need of an opportunity to earn money, but the educational and psychological need of the one boy may be as great as the financial need of the other. This presents a real problem to those concerned with the education and welfare of adolescent boys and girls.

Attitudes of high-school students toward the job and work. Studies show that high-school students have not only aspirations about the kinds of work they would like to do, but rather definite attitudes toward different aspects of the working situation. This was observed in a recent study by Payne of high-school students in rural and urban areas of Georgia.[8]

[8] R. Payne, Unpublished data on file in the Department of Sociology, University of Georgia, 1955.

The boys from rural areas were significantly less favorable to the idea of their wives' working after marriage than were the boys from urban areas. Results of a Michigan study showed that only 15 per cent of the high-school students were aspiring to an extremely high income with a great risk of losing almost everything in case they failed to make the grade.[9] Over one-third of the students stated that they preferred a low income but one that they were sure of keeping. The results, shown in Figure 18–2, indicate further that boys are more willing to gamble on a high income than the girls, indicating a significantly more conservative attitude on the part of girls toward a job and finances.

Quite a low income but which I was sure of keeping	25%
	43%
A good income but which I have a 50-50 chance of losing	48%
	46%
An extremely high income if I can make the grade but in which I lose almost everything if I don't make it	23%
	8%
No response	4%
	3%

EACH SYMBOL EQUALS 5%
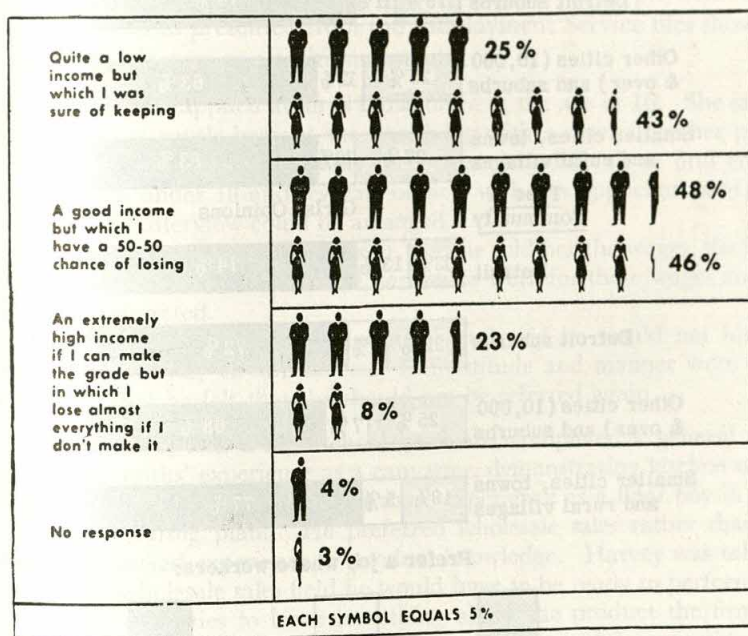
Figure 18–2. The responses of high-school students to: "Here are three different kinds of jobs. If I had my choice I would pick a job that pays . . ."

The attitudes of students toward membership in labor unions will vary with their home and community backgrounds. However, these attitudes have a bearing on their vocational adjustments. In the Michigan study the attitudes of students in Detroit and other areas were studied and some interesting comparisons made. An interpretation of the findings, shown in Figure 18–3, must take into consideration the fact that Detroit is an automobile manufacturing city where labor unions are very important in

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[9] *Youth and the World of Work.* Social Research Service, Michigan State College, 1949, p. 11.

connection with almost all phases of human activity. The results show
that over 60 per cent of the boys and girls from all communities indicated
that they would prefer a job where they could join the union if they
wanted to. Interestingly enough, girls were as favorably disposed toward
union membership as boys, and in the Detroit area were apparently more

Type of Community	Boys' Opinions		
Detroit	14%	18%	68%
Detroit suburbs	15%	11%	74%
Other cities (10,000 & over) and suburbs	25%	12%	63%
Smaller cities, towns and rural villages	27%	10%	63%°

Type of Community	Girls' Opinions		
Detroit	13%	13%	74%
Detroit suburbs	22%	6%	72%
Other cities (10,000 & over) and suburbs	25%	7%	68%
Smaller cities, towns and rural villages	18%	5%	77%

Prefer a job where workers:

Have no union   Must join a union   Can join a union if they want to

Figure 18–3. COMPARISON OF OPINIONS OF STUDENTS FROM
DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNITIES ABOUT UNION MEMBER-
SHIP.

favorably disposed.[10] It has already been suggested that one should not
generalize too widely from results such as these. They do appear to indi-
cate, however, that in a large city where a large percentage of workers
belong to a union the high-school boys and girls are quite likely to take
a favorable attitude toward union membership.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

Why young people fail at work. When young people drop out of school they are usually faced first with the task of securing employment. Once they have obtained employment, they are faced with the task of holding on to their job or of securing a better position. The New York State Employment Service has assembled information dealing with these two problems.[11] The following reasons have been given for why young people fail to obtain jobs: attitudes and behavior, appearance, unrealistic wage demands, insufficient training, applying for a job with friends or relatives, impatience and unwillingness to adapt to entry requirements, reluctance to change from school to business conditions, acquiring a reputation for unreliability, and oversensitiveness about a physical defect. Some case studies presented from the Employment Service files show how some of these factors or conditions operate:

Sandra Z., first applied at an NYSES office at the age of 16. She said she needed a job urgently because she was living with a sister since her parents had moved to California. It was then extremely difficult to find employment for girls under 18 and several contacts with this applicant were necessary before an interview could be arranged.

When she reported to the employer, and he told her the wages, she immediately replied that friends advised her not to work for those wages and that she wasn't interested.

The employer contacted the counselor and said he would not hire this applicant under any circumstances. Her attitude and manner were so unsatisfactory that he felt that she should not be referred again.

Harvey B., 18, and a high-school graduate, completed a general course and had 4 months' experience as a canvasser, demonstrating kitchen utensils for sale in the home. He also had some experience as a floor boy in a fur-coat manufacturing plant. He preferred wholesale sales rather than canvassing but lacked experience or product knowledge. Harvey was told that to enter the wholesale sales field he would have to be ready to perform some sales and stock duties to learn something about the product the firm sold. Harvey balked at this idea. He felt that with 4 months' canvassing experience he could start right in with a sales job. He insisted that he should not have to put up with the "menial" aspects of stock work. Complete refusal to start at the beginning made Harvey practically impossible to place. Until he is prepared to perform all the duties of a beginning sales worker in the wholesale field it will not be possible to refer him to the kind of job he wants.

The reasons listed by the New York State Employment Service why young workers fail to hold jobs are: unrealistic wage demands, impatience and unwillingness to adapt to entry requirements, ignorance of labor-market facts, insistence on own concept of job duties, failure to notify employer of absence, inability to get along with others, lack of

[11] New York State Employment Service, *Why Young People Fail to Get and Hold Jobs.* New York: Department of Labor, Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance.

sense of responsibility, attitude and behavior on the job, and misrepresentation. Some case studies presented from their files show how some of these factors or conditions operate:

L.N., 19, left high school after his junior year two years ago because he was just "bored with schoolwork." Because he is neat and well-spoken he has been able to get several jobs. He held none for long, however. His primary interest, he says, is "getting a job that lets me move about." Just now he wants to get a Florida resort job because he has never been south. He has no interest whatever in getting a job and holding it. With this attitude, he admits he is finding it more and more difficult to get jobs. When he tells employers his work history they are reluctant to hire him because, as one employer said, they could not depend on a "job hopper," because of the cost of training.

Unless L.N. can choose a field of work and stick to it, he will find that only the less desirable casual jobs will be open to him. He will have lost his opportunity to secure permanent and worth-while employment.

Donald T., 18, is serious, cooperative, and neat. His father owns a garage and Donald got experience working part time and summers until he completed eighth grade. Then he left school and worked a year as a mechanic's helper. He quit because of long hours and low pay. On the basis of an excellent reference from this employer the applicant was accepted by another garage at a very good salary and shortly after the placement was made, the new employer called to say that the applicant was exactly what he wanted. Customers liked him so well he was getting tips above his attractive salary. He worked three months and was suddenly discharged.

It was learned that the young man, left alone one day, had crashed a motorcycle into the garage wall, damaging the motorcycle and badly injuring his hand. He said he was gassing the motorcycle for a nearby gas station and since the motor was running he wanted to "kill an urge" to try out a motorcycle.

YOUTH AND MARRIAGE

There is some evidence that the sex drive reaches its maximum during this period; however, the effects of technology and the demands for increased schooling have tended to prolong the period of adolescence and youth so that the individual is unable to assume the responsibilities of family life during the postadolescent period. This has had a profound effect upon our social and moral structure, although many parents, teachers, religious workers, and others would like to remain blind to the changed conditions. This has no doubt so affected the sexual lives and practices of the present generation that many activities that were seriously frowned upon by those of a few generations ago are quite widely accepted today. It appears that a democratic society is faced with one of two choices in this connection. Either we must recognize the fact that the sex drive is powerful during this period and that guidance rather than

repression of adolescents in their social activities must be followed, and that increased sexual activities will be found where such a program is not instituted, or we must provide in some way for earlier marriages. Although the latter situation may appear to many to be the ideal it seems unlikely that it can be followed with our present social structure. It should be pointed out, however, that about one-third of our brides and about one-fourth of the mothers bearing a first child are under 20 years of age. This fact points up the need for the schools to give special attention to problems of marriage and family relations in preparation for parenthood.

Falling in love. Most young people have two main goals: first, finding a suitable life occupation, and second, getting married and establishing a family. These do not necessarily come in this particular order, for we note that falling in love appears in the lives of most teen-agers at one time or another. This is another milestone in the lives of adolescents, and is preliminary to a major decision relative to a mate and family. It is not always easy for young people actually to know when they are in love. Being in love is very intangible, and may not affect all individuals in the same manner. The element of physical attraction is much stronger in some than in others. Also, some individuals have learned to play their sex role much better than others. Love in modern American courtship represents respect and comradeship to a higher degree than perhaps at any other period. The aspect of love involving partnership grows and develops through the enjoyment of common experiences. Similar tastes, ideals, aspirations, and outlooks are most important in the development of wholesome comradeship.

Becoming engaged furnishes a couple with the final opportunity to make their choice relative to marriage. However, prior to engagement many adolescents find it to their advantage to have a "steady," someone they can count on to accompany them to a dance or other event. One of the most important arguments against "going steady" is that such a practice may keep adolescents from becoming better acquainted with a larger number of the opposite sex. It is important for adolescents to become acquainted with a large circle in order that choices may be made from a wide range of individual personalities.

The socially and emotionally mature person is likely to weigh carefully just what he is hoping to get out of marriage. The less mature person is all too often likely to be affected by some single factor. In one survey, young men and young women were asked to list the things they wanted most from marriage. The results are presented in Table 18–2.[12] Romantic love and security were listed first by 60 per cent of the girls; companionship and tension reduction were listed by 70 per cent of the single

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[12] C. R. Adams, *Looking Ahead to Marriage.* Life Adjustment Booklet. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1940, p. 30.

men. Tension reduction was, however, rated low among the girls. Perhaps much of what the girls are considering under romantic love may be called tension reduction, or perhaps much of what the men are referring to as tension reduction may be regarded as closely related to romantic love. Certainly tension reduction is closely related to sexual attraction and the capacity to love and be loved. The girl, being more reserved in this connection, perhaps as a result of both biological make-up and cultural conditioning, does not sense the need for tension reduction to the extent that the boy does. The importance of the desire for security on the part of the girl is easily understood. The high rating given by boys to companionship is quite significant, indicating further the trend and characteristic of the American family.

A somewhat similar study was conducted among college students by Vail and Staudt.[13] These students consisted of 118 males, 18 to 28 years

Table 18–2

COMPARISONS OF THE REPLIES OF SINGLE MEN AND SINGLE GIRLS TO THE QUESTION: "WHAT DO EACH OF YOU WANT FROM MARRIAGE?"

(After Adams)

Single Men		Single Girls	
Companionship	40%	Love	33%
Tension Reduction	30%	Security	27%
Love	15%	Companionship	20%
Children	10%	Children	11%
Home	5%	Tension Reduction	9%

of age, and 118 females, 18 to 22 years of age. These students were asked to check from a list of six characteristics the one most essential and the one least essential in the selection of a marriage mate. The items checked in order of frequency were moral character, similarity of interest, and intelligence. It is significant that over 50 per cent of both men and women checked moral character. Beauty and good looks was checked as least essential by most women, while congenial in-laws was checked as least essential by most men. Although education itself was not frequently checked, a further study of marriage choices reveals that individuals of a somewhat similar educational and cultural background tend to marry.

Factors influencing dating and marriage. In Chapter 14 it was pointed out that 16-year-olds tend to date from the same social and economic class. The small community of yesterday furnished many opportunities for young people to meet each other and learn something of each

[13] J. P. Vail and V. M. Staudt, "Attitudes of College Students toward Marriage and Related Problems: I. Dating and Mate Selection," *Journal of Psychology,* 1950, Vol. 30, pp. 171–182.

other's interests and characteristics. A study by Wolford of dating practices conducted during World War II in Highland Park High School, Michigan, showed that a relatively large number of young people, by their senior year in high school, were having few social contacts with the other sex.[14] This study showed the need for providing social activities that would bring young people together so they can better learn about each other in particular and the characteristics of the opposite sex in general.

Studies show that a relatively large number of individuals find their marriage partner within a few blocks of where they reside. Proximity provides for contacts, and this is the first essential for marriage in a society

Table 18-3

CUMULATIVE DATA SHOWING THE EFFECT OF RESIDENTIAL
PROPINQUITY ON MARRIAGE SELECTION

	Per Cent		
Number of Blocks Apart	Philadelphia	New Haven	Duluth
Same address	12.64	6.42	5.67
One block or less	17.18	9.42	8.00
Two blocks or less	23.26	14.12	11.33
Three blocks or less	27.46	17.32	15.33
Four blocks or less	30.56	20.84	17.66
Five blocks or less	33.58	23.84	20.66
Ten blocks or less	42.32	36.57	30.99
Fifteen blocks or less	48.00	44.16	37.32
Twenty blocks or less	51.94	51.33	42.65

where individuals make their own choice of a marriage mate. The schools, churches, and other community agencies oftentimes furnish the opportunities for young people to meet each other. Data from three studies have been assembled and presented in Table 18-3.[15] In two of these studies over half of the marriages were between couples living within 20 blocks of each other.

While there is an association between residential propinquity and mate selection, it should be emphasized that factors in addition to propinquity

[14] O. P. Wolford, "How Early Background Affects Dating Behavior," *Journal of Home Economics*, November 1948, pp. 505–506.

[15] J. R. Marches and G. Turbeville, "The Effect of Residential Propinquity on Marriage Selection," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1953, Vol. 58, pp. 592–595; M. R. Davie and R. J. Reeves, "Propinquity of Residence before Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1939, Vol. 44, pp. 510–517; J. H. S. Bossard, "Propinquity of Residence before Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1933, Vol. 38, pp. 219–224.

operate to produce dating and marriage. Davie and Reeves reported that "in a vast majority of cases marriage is an ingroup affair, that is, the two contracting parties tend to be of the same race, nationality, religion and socio-economic status." [16] There is always a tendency for young people to rush into marriage in time of war, following a "whirlwind courtship," after which they may find that they have married a complete stranger. Under such conditions divorce rates become very high. Studies show that marriages are more stable when there has been a longer period of acquaintance on the part of the individuals concerned and factors in addition to romantic love are taken into consideration.

A problem faced by many young people after becoming engaged is

Table 18–4

MARRIAGE PLANS OF TENTH- AND TWELFTH-GRADE STUDENTS

"How do you feel about getting married?"	Boys Grade		Girls Grade		Total
	10	12	10	12	
I don't want to get married	7	4	4	3	5
I want to get married right after leaving high school or college	4	5	8	9	7
I want to wait a couple of years after leaving school before I marry	40	41	55	58	49
I want to wait five years or more after leaving school before I marry	28	38	23	23	26
I don't have any feelings on this subject...	14	9	5	4	8
No response	7	3	5	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

whether or not to delay marriage until greater economic security is attained or until the man has completed his education and training for his life's work. In the Michigan study twelfth-grade students were asked to indicate their marriage plans. [17] The results given in Table 18–4 show that only one-tenth indicated that they did not plan to marry or had made no plans about it, although only 7 per cent indicated that they wanted to get married right after they finish high school or college. The girls showed more anxiety about early marriage than did the boys. This is in harmony with their greater maturity and the social custom quite prevalent whereby the girl is likely to be a year or so younger than the boy or man at the time of marriage.

One frequently hears that technology and the lengthened period of schooling have brought about later marriages. This is no doubt true for

[16] *Ibid.,* pp. 516–517.
[17] *Op. cit.,* p. 23A.

many individuals. However, modern means of transportation and communication, increased leisure time and social activities, and the enlarged high-school and church programs that have brought young people together are influencing the age of marriage. Thus, the average age of marriage has decreased each decade, since the time a census was first kept. This is clearly shown in Figure 18–4.[18] These data also show that brides and grooms are much nearer the same age today than was the case in 1890. High schools and colleges are more and more relaxing their rules forbidding students to marry. In the colleges, provisions are being made for the attendance of married couples, and many educators look upon all of this with favor.
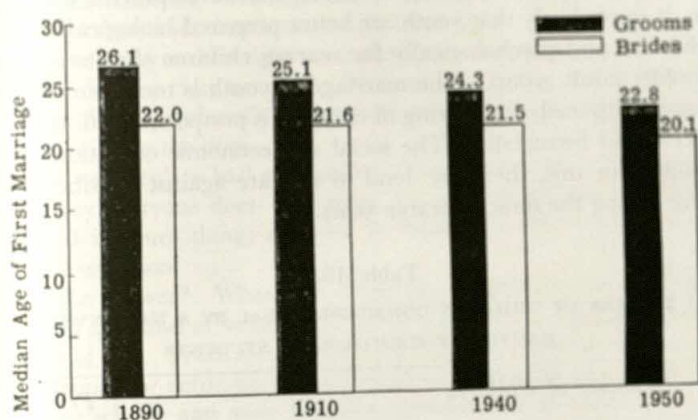
Figure 18–4. MEDIAN AGES OF BRIDES AND GROOMS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1890, 1910, 1940, AND 1950.

Youth and the family. As boys and girls advance toward maturity their outlook extends beyond the self and their mate toward having children of their own. This observation is borne out by data on marriages and children, especially during critical times. During World War II, the government, in effect, subsidized marriage and families for men in service. This removed many of the economic handicaps of marriage and raising a family for men in service, while higher wages removed many similar economic problems encountered by civilians. As a result, the age of marriage was lowered and the birth rate increased. There is also a likelihood of certain changes in values. The past generation may be regarded as a generation that looked to science and technology to solve most if not all of the major problems. Two world wars, a Korean conflict, and unsettled world conditions have brought many people to realize

18 P. C. Glick, "The Life Cycle of the Family," *Marriage and Family Living*, 1955, Vol. 17, p. 4. Data for 1890, 1940, and 1950 of Figure 18-4 taken from this source.

that these forces alone will not produce happiness, security, and a good life for all.

Children are no longer taken for granted in our society. The Gallup Poll showed an increase in the ideal size of family from 1941 to 1945. This perhaps was in part a reflection of better economic conditions. The Purdue Opinion Poll for Young People showed the ideal size of family as conceived of by a nationwide sample of high-school boys and girls.[19] The results, presented in Table 18–5, show that 98 per cent of boys and girls consider some children as the ideal, with 48 per cent regarding three or four children as the ideal.

Although the problems of marriage and raising children have become more complicated as a result of technological developments and urbanization, it seems likely that youth are better prepared biologically for bearing children and psychologically for rearing children than are members of an older adult group. The marriage of youth is too often postponed, or, if not postponed, the bearing of children is postponed until the parents can get ahead financially. The social and economic conditions that are responsible for this, therefore, tend to militate against childbearing and training during the most desirable years.

Table 18–5

NUMBER OF CHILDREN CONSIDERED IDEAL BY A NATIONWIDE
SAMPLE OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS

Number of Children	Per Cent
None	2
One or two	41
Three or four	48
Five or more	9

YOUTH AND CITIZENSHIP IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The role of learning is extremely important in the preparation of adolescents and youth for citizenship in a democratic society. Attitudes toward freedom, work, politics, government, laws, and human relations are learned. The fact that every year a million or more teen-agers are in trouble with the police is likely to cause many to lose sight of the many millions who like Elizabeth Evans have never encountered trouble with the law. In defense she writes:

[19] H. H. Remmers and B. Shimberg, *The Purdue Opinion Poll for Young People*, Purdue University, 1949, No. 20.

I am 17. . . . I've never set a fire, robbed a gas station, or beaten a defenseless old man. In fact, I don't even know anyone who has. But every year a million American teen-agers just like me—oh, some a few years younger and some a few years older, some from families a little larger or a little smaller than mine, . . . but, basically a million kids *just like me*—are in trouble with the police. . . .

Sure, it's a problem. It's one of the biggest problems facing America today. But sometimes I wish someone would think of the 95 per cent of us who aren't delinquents. Because we're here, too. And we're the ones who will be the scientists and the editors and the clergymen and the statesmen 10 and 20 and 30 years from now. We're the ones who'll be pushing most of the nation's baby carriages and growing its food and selling its shoes and making its automobiles. We're the ones who'll be electing its leaders and filling its churches, and, if necessary, fighting its wars.

Our job is to stay on the right track until we reach maturity. It's hard at any time, under any circumstances. It's harder in 1955. And it's hardest of all when headlines continually scream and radios constantly blare that young America is going to the dogs. . . .

Basically we aren't a bad generation. We couldn't be. We started out the same way everyone does—as babies. . . . But living has been at best a difficult and insecure thing; at worst an insurmountable wall of bewilderment and frustration. . . .

What's the answer? What will determine the kind of men and women we'll be and the kind of world we'll make? What is it that our generation needs most of all? There are hundreds of theories: more preventive mental hygiene, strong law enforcement, stricter divorce laws, better recreation programs, more schools and more teachers, censorship of television and movies and magazines, the old-fashioned hairbrush. . . . I know what our generation needs, what we need more than laws or courts or recreation centers, more than better schools or better entertainment or better discipline—no matter how much we may need all of those—We need someone to believe in us.[20]

Youth and the socio-economic outlook. Public opinion polls reveal that some interesting changes have taken place in the attitudes of the public during the past several decades, all of which is indicative of the socio-economic revolution through which we are passing. These attitudes have been reflected in our policies in international affairs, trade, monetary standards, social welfare, security, educational opportunities, health, and unemployment. These changes have especially affected individuals in the lower occupational scale, and have been enhanced by universal education, the press, the radio, and labor unions. Today the average individual is better informed than at any other period in American history. All this means that there has come about a change in the outlook,

aspirations, and values of the great mass of American citizens. These changes are without doubt reflected in changed attitudes of adolescents toward things wanted relative to employment.

These changes are reflected in the attitudes of the American worker as revealed by a comparison of the results of the *Fortune* magazine survey of 1940 with those obtained from the survey seven years later.[21] In 1940 there were from nine to ten million unemployed, whereas seven years later we were in a postwar inflation with unemployment at about one-fifth of that of the earlier period. Yet the prewar citizen was less anxious to have security and a steady job with low pay than was the postwar citizen. The results of the Michigan study, presented earlier in this chapter, bear this out. The adolescents in our schools are desirous of finding employment, with some opportunity for advancement, but with a fair degree of security. Most of them are too realistic to be lulled into daydreaming of prestige, power, and fortune. True, many adolescents have developed aspirations far beyond the range of possible fulfillment. However, changing economic conditions are affecting the attitudes of adolescents toward social-economic policies and legislation.

As individuals move from the sheltered life of early and late childhood into the more responsible world of adulthood, these transformations become more realistic and evident. That postadolescents are giving consideration to the social and economic problems of today is evidenced by answers received from college students to the questions listed in Table 18-6.[22] These results indicate that the more advanced college students are more favorable to the United Nations organization and to the idea of an international police force and world court than are the younger students.

In the midst of cultural confusion, variances in values, and socioeconomic changes, it is not surprising that many adolescents meet with conflicts and frustrations. Along with the freedoms that are provided for youth in a democratic land, there is a need for freedom from fears related to unemployment. This is a challenge that faces the present and the future generations. This is a problem our basic institutions can ill afford to ignore. In discussing the function of the schools in meeting this challenge, Edwards stated:

Indeed, it may not be too much to say that for this and the next generation the most important obligation of the American educational system is to

[21] "The Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, January 1947, Vol. 35, p. 10.
[22] K. C. Garrison, "A Comparative Study of the Attitudes of College Students Toward Certain Domestic and World Problems," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1951, Vol. 34, pp. 47–54. See also B. Shimberg, "Information and Attitude Toward World Affairs," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 1948, Vol. 19, pp. 206–222. Some of the items used in the study conducted by the writer were taken from this study. The study reported by Shimberg was based upon results obtained from a nationwide sample of approximately 10,000 high-school students.

Table 15-6

RESPONSES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TO CERTAIN PROBLEMS INVOLVING
DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (*After Garrison*)

	PRIVATE INDUSTRY	?	GOVERN- MENT
Should the development of large power projects for flood control be carried on by private industry or by the government?			
Freshmen	17%	2%	81%
Sophomores	8%	14%	78%
Juniors	12%	5%	83%
Seniors	13%	6%	81%
Should the large forest areas be controlled for conservation purposes by private enterprise or by the government?			
Freshmen	22%	5%	73%
Sophomores	7%	10%	83%
Juniors	11%	2%	87%
Seniors	13%	0%	87%

	No	?	YES
Should free medical services and an annual examination be provided for all the citizens?			
Freshmen	22%	5%	73%
Sophomores	24%	15%	61%
Juniors	27%	17%	56%
Seniors	37%	21%	42%

	Do	?	Do Not
Do you or do you not think that the United Nations should be strengthened to make it a world government with power to control the armed forces of all nations, including the United States?			
Freshmen	58%	10%	32%
Sophomores	53%	10%	37%
Juniors	53%	18%	29%
Seniors	54%	25%	21%
Do you or do you not believe that all nations should form a world organization with power to use an international police force against any nation, including the United States, which tried to start a war?			
Freshmen	73%	17%	10%
Sophomores	76%	14%	10%
Juniors	77%	13%	10%
Seniors	86%	8%	6%

prepare youth to pass sound judgment on fundamental patterns of public and social policy, to equip them with the values, motivations, intelligence, and knowledge they will need in working out co-operatively the design of a new society.[23]

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[23] N. Edwards, "The Adolescent in Technological Society," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part 1, 1944, p. 196.

Youth in politics. According to the 1950 census, over eight million people who had never before voted for a President were qualified to participate in the election of that year. Young people invariably follow in the footsteps of their parents in their political affiliations. However, the young people of today have certain characteristics distinguishing them from their counterparts of previous decades. Today youth is likely to be better educated than it was forty or fifty years ago. Secondly, young people now do not recognize party loyalty to the same degree as did their fathers of old. "Stand by the party no matter what they espouse or whom they elect" has lost its appeal. Furthermore, the typically American, pervasive interest in experimentation has entered the political field, bringing with it the hint to youth that it is entitled to propose a better design even though that design may be opposed to past experience. It should be pointed out again that young people need guidance in these activities, in order that democratic ideals, democratic ways of behaving, and self-determination may become a part of the self.

Preparation for citizenship. IN THE ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS BOYS AND GIRLS ARE GIVEN GUIDANCE AND PRACTICE IN THE MECHANICS OF VOTING. (*Courtesy Jessie Lowe, Coordinator of Social Studies, Atlanta Public Schools*)

The voting age was lowered to 18 in Georgia in 1943. A study of the activities of youthful voters during the first ten years of this law revealed that they behaved very much like their elders. In "hot elections" more voters go to the polls and vote along the general lines of family and community interests. A lowering of the voting age brought forth a wave of young voters at first. It has been observed that political clubs are more active in the schools and colleges of Georgia than in neighboring states. In some cases students are given instruction in the operation of voting machines. Former Governor Arnall, who sponsored the law in Georgia, has pointed out, "Actually, young people take a more active interest in politics because they study it in school and want to become active at once."

Table 18–7

RESPONSES OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS TO THE QUESTION: "IF YOU HAD TO GIVE UP ONE OF THESE THINGS, WHICH WOULD YOU BE LEAST WILLING TO GIVE UP? WHICH WOULD YOU BE MOST WILLING TO GIVE UP?"

	Least Willing	Most Willing
Freedom of speech	46.0%	.9%
Freedom of religion	36.5	1.8
The right to vote	5.2	6.4
Trial by jury	3.8	3.9
The right to change jobs if you want to	3.0	20.8
The right to earn more than $3,000 a year if you can	2.3	59.8
Don't know	3.2	6.4

Youth and the freedoms. Freedom is an American tradition. The cry of "freedom" has played an important role throughout our history—both in war and in peace. The results of the 1942 *Fortune* survey of the opinion of American high-school youth was most encouraging to those who believe in the principles of our democratic government. They reveal that youth has an ardent devotion to liberty, and indicate quite definitely that its devotion to liberty's ideals is more related to the things for which our forefathers fought than to conditions that have evolved as a result of industrial and technological developments. The results, presented in Table 18–7, show that 82.5 per cent would be least willing, of all freedoms, to give up that of speech or of worship.[24] This is most noteworthy at a time in our history when ideological conflicts engulf the world.

The importance of cultural demands has been emphasized throughout

[24] "The Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, November 1942, p. 8.

our study of adolescents. Also, it has been emphasized that attitudes, ideals, and values are acquired. A 60-item questionnaire was used to test the agreement of a sample of 3,000 high-school pupils with concepts from the *Bill of Rights,* "*Communist Manifesto,*" and certain fascist principles.[25] A positive correlation was found between adherence to democratic principles and higher socio-economic status, higher level of mother's education, factual information, urbanity, and higher grade level.

If youth are to choose the democratic rather than the authoritarian road, they must be educated to deal with problems of national and international concern. Educating for world citizenship requires that teachers in today's schools offer a curriculum, individual guidance, and instructional methods that will equip young people like Elizabeth Evans with the faith, courage, and vision that will enable them to search out and weigh solutions to international problems. To do this teachers need to be informed on international issues, to have a broad viewpoint, and to be free of bigotry and prejudice in their own lives. An effective philosophy of life along with faith in youth is essential for the teacher of today and tomorrow.[26]

If our youth is to assume a positive rather than a neutral or perhaps negative attitude toward democracy, it must be given a function to perform and responsibilities to fulfill, gifts that would make come true the dream of many to grant to youth the opportunity for education, for health, for the satisfaction of social and recreational needs, and for participation in democratic living. The fathers of this nation have left to us the heritage of freedom of action, but with that heritage goes the responsibility of preserving it for future generations. Indeed, to the youth of every age is given the responsibility of preserving and enlarging the significance of the principles underlying the American way of life, so that future generations may find those ideals more firmly established, and the visions of those who sacrificed their lives and fortunes to establish them more completely fulfilled.

Education for world citizenship. Education for world citizenship can only be brought about when world citizenship becomes part of the goal of society, and particularly the goal of teachers, parents, and others concerned with the guidance of youth, for both now and for the future. Training for world citizenship, like training in democratic ways of living, cannot be relegated to some special department of the school; it will require the attention and consideration of every teacher of every subject, coordinated with ideals and practices in the home, on the playground, at church, and in other community activities.

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[25] H. H. Remmers, *et al.,* "Does Youth Believe in the Bill of Rights?" *Purdue Opinion Panel,* 1951, No. 30.

[26] A good presentation of the period ahead is presented by E. J. Trueblood, *The Dawn of a Post-Modern Era.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1954.

American boys and girls must be trained to detect the economic fallacies that led us toward imperialism at one decade and into isolation a generation later. They must come to understand that favorable conditions for trade will provide opportunities for other nations to pay for our goods by selling us their goods in exchange. They must be given an understanding of how our technology operates, and how it has affected our way of living. They must come to see that the various agencies of production are so complex and interrelated that, without planning and regulation, economic chaos would result. They must be shown the possibility and necessity of a full life for all members of our society.

DEVELOPING A CONSISTENT PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

It was pointed out in Chapter 1 that an important developmental task of adolescents is that of developing a philosophy of life. The role of the church in character development and the development of a philosophy was emphasized in Chapter 12. Within recent years educators have come to realize that science alone fails to furnish youth with adequate answers to many of their problems. Worldwide events during the past several decades have shown clearly that science does not furnish man with a code of ethics or some standards to guide him in his human relations. The youth problem has loomed large on the American scene during and since World War II. It has even caught the attention of the U.S. Congress. The importance of inculcating worthy ideals, sound values, good character, and a sound philosophy relative to the nature, purpose, and destiny of man has been ascribed to by competent leaders in all walks of life. The best means of developing these attributes is the challenge facing the home, church, school, community, and other agencies concerned with the guidance and training of adolescents and youth.

The previous chapters have pointed out the influence of various forces and conditions on the development of the adolescent. It has been suggested that a better integration of the various forces and a better understanding of the function and activities of the different agencies by each of the other agencies concerned would make their work more meaningful and purposive.

Autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire controls. The effects of autocratic and democratic control on the home and on community life have been discussed in earlier chapters. One of the most important means of preparing boys and girls for participation in democratic ways of life is to provide them with opportunities for participating in the various institutions concerned with their guidance and development. However, the relationship between autocracy, democracy, and complete individual freedom (laissez-faire) is poorly understood by the average counselor,

teacher, and parent. The relationship is usually thought of as following a linear scale, at one end of which is laissez-faire and at the other autocracy. Democracy is then thought of as a form of control falling around the mid-point between these extremes. That such a notion is incorrect has been well illustrated by Lewin.[27] According to his concept, these forms of control should be perceived as a triangle. Since both democracy and autocracy are types of leadership involving controls, they are somewhat similar. These, then, can be perceived of as being on a straight line. Autocracy presents that type of leadership in which all the controls are highly centralized. In the case of complete democracy these controls lie in the voice and action of the people. The line between autocracy and democracy represents a continuum—showing all degrees from complete leadership responsibility and control to complete group responsibility and control. This relationship is illustrated in the triangle of Figure 18–5.

Figure 18–5. THE RELATIONSHIP OF AUTOCRACY (A), DEMOCRACY (D), AND LAISSEZ FAIRE (LF). (*After Lewin*)
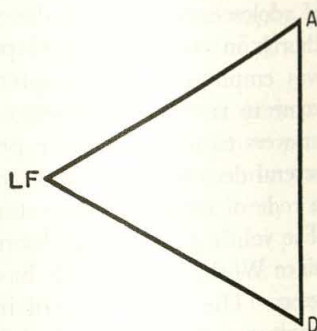
Autocracy and democracy diminish and converge at *LF,* which represents laissez-faire. At this point there is an absence of both democracy and autocracy; there is complete individual freedom and perhaps chaos.

Adolescent boys and girls need to be taught the true meaning of democratic controls through both precepts and example. The best protection against the encroachment of autocratic controls in our national life is for our homes, clubs, schools, churches, and other institutions to operate in a democratic manner. Adolescents should learn that with freedom goes responsibility, that controls are essential if a harmonious social order is to exist, and that if they desire to make their own choices they must be willing to accept responsibilities involved in such choices. In a democracy controls must be established in the hearts of men. Thus, habits of control must begin during the early years of life and become an integral part of *the self* as the individual grows into maturity.

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[27] K. Lewin, "The Dynamics of Group Action," *Educational Leadership,* 1944, Vol. 1, pp. 195–200.

Growth in self-control and self-direction. One of the unfortunate conditions that has developed out of our modern technology is the lack of an opportunity for adolescents to exercise judgments and accept responsibilities for which they are capable, except in time of war when 18-year-olds are called upon for hazardous, adventurous, and responsible tasks. This is readily passed off with the notion that it is better for them to remain in school in order to prepare for greater responsibilities. Thus, he is forced to develop a world largely of his own where he engages in athletic contests, scholastic endeavors, and varied leisure-time pursuits. His world is neither the make-believe world of the child nor the real world of the adult.

Two fallacies appear in connection with such a technique for handling adolescents. In the first place, adolescents are mature or near the stage of maturity and feel the need for asserting themselves as members of the larger social group. When they are denied the opportunity for participating in the affairs of the world about them, they create a society all of their own with all of its comedies, tragedies, and pitfalls. Second, one does not develop habits of initiative and civic responsibilities by merely following through a course of study in high school and college. The need for opportunities to function as young citizens in our society is being recognized by some agencies and institutions. Where such opportunities have been provided youth, the results have been good citizenship, better homes, and improved communities. Materials bearing this out were presented in Chapter 15.

There is a need for the home, school, church, and other agencies, concerned with the guidance and direction of boys and girls, to cooperate in their programs, which affect the lives and activities of adolescents. Adolescent boys and girls use various means to bring about their independence of parental control. It is difficult for many parents to relinquish their authority. The school and other agencies also find themselves playing an authoritarian role, and thus fail to provide for the adolescent's need for achieving independence and maturity. The problem of how to get more experience in self-discipline and group cooperation (essentials for effective citizenship in a democratic society) in responsible and significant activities is thus made a difficult one. A summary of the needs of the established social forces as they affect the adolescent includes:

1. A better understanding for parents of the importance of late childhood and early adolescence as a basic period for training in responsibility and self-discipline.

2. A recognition by parents of the characteristics and needs of adolescents as a basis for providing for their achievement of independence and status, and for preparation for adult responsibilities.

3. High schools of a democratic nature concerned with providing worth-

while learning experiences in which the students shall have a responsible share in planning.

4. High schools concerned with the development of cooperative, responsible citizens, schools that will furnish genuine experiences in self-government in matters that directly concern the lives of the individual students.

5. Community enterprises that will furnish opportunities for adolescents to plan and execute activities of a wholesome nature which provide for the moral, social, and personal growth of adolescents. (It is here that the church can function effectively in providing opportunities and guidance in recreational, social, and spiritual development of adolescents.)

6. The cooperation of the industrial and business life of the community in providing rich and extensive opportunities for adolescents to explore the world of work. This would provide these boys and girls with a basis for making sounder decisions relative to their educational and vocational plans.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The development of youth with the interests, attitudes, ideals, and values essential for happy and harmonious living in a democratic society will require more than platitudes, more than textbook assignments in the schools, and more than political or religious creeds. This will require teamwork on the part of all persons and agencies concerned. The home as the beginning point has been emphasized throughout our study of the adolescent. Just as the experiences of the early years prepare for the elementary-school years, the experiences of preadolescence and adolescence prepare the growing individual for youth and maturity.

The adolescent years have been described as those during which individuals normally achieve considerable independence. At this age they assert themselves in various ways by throwing over tradition in general and questioning the teaching of their parents, school teachers, and religious leaders, who tend to despair over the indifference and the rebellious attitude of these adolescents. School authorities often look with disdain at this age, wishing that they could by-pass adolescents except for athletic events. Thus, this age has been commonly labeled a problem age. A more careful study of the situation seems to lead to a different characterization of this age for boys and girls. This seems to be the age when society, largely as a result of technology, fails to provide a place for them, except in a very artificial manner in connection with sports and school events.

The effects of science and invention are being felt in almost all parts of the world, and are creating world, rather than individual, problems. The education of boys and girls demands that consideration be given to these problems, and that training for *world citizenship* be one of its goals. Again, if democracy is to survive and function effectively for the well-being of all the people, the school must accept its challenge, and provide

students with the information, skills, and attitudes that will equip them to meet the problems of tomorrow. Youth must be trained to pass sound judgment on national and international issues and policies; and it must be equipped with values consistent with a philosophy of worldwide brotherhood.

This chapter has emphasized that growth from adolescence to maturity presents certain problems. Some of these are an extension of earlier problems; others are largely new. The postadolescent is faced with the problem of preparing for and securing a job, and of breaking almost completely away from former home ties and establishing a home of his own. This latter problem usually means finding a mate and raising a family. The fact that so many vocational and marital maladjustments appear indicates that the problems involved are serious and complex, requiring guidance. There is also the problem of developing a consistent philosophy of life. This may be said to be an extension of this same problem which appeared earlier in the individual's life. With maturity the individual finds that there are many problems in life that he has not been able to solve satisfactorily through his own efforts alone. He finds many questions are not adequately answered through textbooks at school. He finds himself in need of some standard to guide him in evaluating his behavior in everyday activities. Thus, he attempts to arrive at a somewhat consistent philosophy of life so as to make his own life more complete and more harmonious.

THOUGHT PROBLEMS

1. Discuss the importance of adolescents as resources in a democratic society.

2. What is the significance to you of the findings relative to youth and the freedoms?

3. What do you understand the term *world citizenship* to mean? How is this problem related to education?

4. What are the major social changes that have resulted from technology? What are the implications of these changes to education?

5. What do you believe to be the function of the school in relation to problems of courtship and marriage? Give some specific things that the school might be able to do in fulfilling this function.

6. Grown-up behavior as distinguished from child behavior is presented in our society in very tangible terms. Give several illustrations of this.

7. Give arguments for and against lowering the voting age to 18 years.

8. How would you account for the trend toward earlier marriages shown in Figure 18–4? Give arguments for and against early marriages.

9. What do studies reveal about the effects of residential propinquity on the choice of a marriage partner? How is this affected by our modern educational program for adolescents and youth?

10. List what you consider to be the four outstanding characteristics of the intellectually mature person.

11. What are some things the school and community might do in preparing adolescents and youth for citizenship? Why is this more important today than was the case fifty years ago?

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Boynton, Bernice, "The Physical Growth of Girls. A Study of the Rhythm of Physical Growth from Anthropometric Measurements on Girls between Birth and Eighteen Years." *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 1936, Vol. 12, No. 4.

A tabular and graphic presentation of results obtained from 22 physical and anthropometric measurements of girls between birth and 18 years.

Brooks, Fowler D., *Psychology of Adolescence*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929.

An exhaustive and more or less encyclopedic treatment of adolescent growth. Attention is also given to problems involved in personality growth and adjustment.

Carmichael, Leonard (Editor), *Manual of Child Psychology* (Second Edition). New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1954.

This reference brings together the most important aspects of research in the psychology of human development, as reported by 22 authors. Each

chapter contains a review of the significant literature in that area, along with an extensive bibliography.

Cole, Luella, *Psychology of Adolescence* (Fourth Edition). New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1954.

Recent studies have been presented in this revised edition, with more emphasis upon tabular material than in the earlier editions.

Crow, Lester D., and Alice Crow, *Our Teen-Age Boys and Girls*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1945.

The authors have presented a constructive and functional approach to the problems of teen-age boys and girls. Included are pertinent questions and illustrative stories taken from the lives of these young people.

Cruze, Wendell W., *Adolescent Psychology and Development*. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1953.

This book gives a comprehensive picture of adolescent growth and development. The results of clinical, cross-sectional, and longitudinal studies are frequently used.

Farnham, Marynia F., *The Adolescent*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1951.

This book is written primarily for parents. It is designed to help parents understand the development and problems of adolescents.

Fisher, Dorothy Canfield, *Our Young Folks*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1943.

In this volume the writer presents an informal report on problems faced by the great body of American youths who are maladjusted as a result of the narrow academic training provided in most schools. Mrs. Fisher points out the need for the use of aptitude tests in the guidance of students to avert vocational maladjustment. She also pleads for a more functional education to prepare youths to meet the problems of today.

Fleege, Urban H., *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Boy*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1945.

The feelings, wishes, beliefs, and problems of adolescent boys enrolled in Catholic high schools are here presented in tabular form. The data are based upon results from interviews and questionnaires.

Fleming, Charlotte M., *Adolescence*. New York: International Universities Press, 1949.

A selection of anecdotes is here presented in an interesting style providing useful materials for interpreting the adjustment problems of the adolescent. A useful bibliography accompanies each chapter.

Havighurst, Robert J., and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949.

A preliminary report of studies made on all youths who were sixteen years old in 1942 from a midwestern town referred to as "Prairie City." A variety of sociological and psychological techniques were used in gathering data on these youths and their environment.

Hollingworth, Leta S., *The Psychology of the Adolescent*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1928.

A most valuable book on the growth, sex, weaning, and maturity problems of adolescents. Students, parents, and teachers will find this material of interest and applicable to the adolescent stage of life.

Horrocks, John E., *The Psychology of Adolescence: Behavioral Development*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951.
The author has attempted to apply the facts and principles of the adolescent period to problems of guidance and training.

Hurlock, Elizabeth B., *Adolescent Development*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949.
A comprehensive treatment of adolescent development is presented in this volume. The reading materials are based upon a wide selection of research studies.

Jones, Harold E., and others, *Adolescence*, Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part 1. Chicago: School of Education, University of Chicago, 1944.
An important addition to the literature on the psychology of adolescence, based on a summary of investigations in the fields of physiology, physical measurements, psychology, and sociology. A large group of well-known students of adolescent psychology have contributed to the findings and interpretations presented in this volume.

Keliher, Alice, *Life and Growth*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1938.
Many questions of youth related to physical and personality development are proposed and answered by Keliher. Graphical illustrations aid in making the data more meaningful.

Knoebber, Sister Mary, *Self-Revelation of the Adolescent Girl*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1936.
A presentation of the feelings, ideals, and personality problems of adolescent girls enrolled in Catholic high schools, as viewed by the adolescent girl herself.

Kuhlen, Raymond G., *The Psychology of Adolescent Development*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1952.
A comprehensive presentation of adolescent development, based upon published research, is given in this volume. Much background material, ordinarily found in educational psychology texts, is given for problems involving such topics as intelligence, personality, and the like.

Landis, Paul H., *Adolescence and Youth* (Second Edition). New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952.
The emphasis in this volume is on the sociological and psychological aspects of adolescence. A comprehensive analysis of the social forces and conditions affecting the adolescent is presented.

Malm, Marguerite, and Olin G. Jamison, *Adolescence*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952.
The emphasis in this book is on the adjustments of adolescents. Considerable attention is given to the physiological changes, particularly those related to sexual maturation, that occur during the adolescent period.

Mead, Margaret J., *From the South Seas: Studies of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies*. New York: William Morrow & Co., 1939.
A one-volume edition of three anthropological works: *Coming of Age in Samoa, Growing Up in New Guinea*, and *Sex and Temperament*.

Meek, Lois H., and others, *The Personal-Social Development of Boys and*

Girls with Implications for Secondary Education. New York: Progressive Education Association, 1940.

This is a report on which the thinking and experience of a number of people, including teachers, counselors, specialists, administrators, and research workers have been brought together. The report is especially concerned with the guidance and direction of adolescents in their personal-social relations.

Pryor, Helen B., *As the Child Grows.* New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1943.

Part I of this volume deals with the various factors related to growth, including differences in body build. Part II treats of growth at the various age levels: pre-school, primary, pre-adolescence, adolescence, and post-adolescence.

Seidman, Jerome M. (Editor), *The Adolescent: A Book of Readings.* New York: Dryden Press, 1953.

This volume contains 67 selections, taken from 22 different books and pamphlets, 25 scientific journals, and 1 popular magazine. The selections are in general of recent date and have important bearings on adolescent development and behavior.

Shock, N. M., "Physiological Factors in Development," *Review of Educational Research,* 1947, Vol. 27, pp. 362–370.

The author presents a brief summary of research on dietary and nutritional influences on development and the effects of disease on development.

Strain, Frances B., *Love at the Threshold.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1939.

This volume has been developed to aid parents, teachers, and counselors of adolescents. Beginning with a presentation of questions asked by adolescents and post-adolescents about dating, a splendid discussion of the various problems related to love attachments during adolescence is presented.

Symonds, Percival M., *Adolescent Fantasy.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1949.

The objective and dynamic approaches to the study of the adolescent's personality are here presented. The picture-story technique and other procedures are used in arriving at a better understanding of adolescent needs, problems, and fantasies. A rather complete case study of a maladjusted boy and one of a well adjusted boy are included.

Taylor, Katherine W., *Do Adolescents Need Parents?* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1938.

This is designed as a guide to parents in dealing with the problems that emerge as their children grow into and through adolescence.

Wall, W. D., *The Adolescent Child.* London: Methuen, 1948.

Emphasis in this book is on the problems of adolescents. An objective viewpoint is taken toward the adolescent, and both American and English literature are drawn upon by this English author.

Warters, Jane, *Achieving Maturity.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949.

This is a nontechnical presentation of problems related to growing up. There is a practical and realistic approach to problems of adolescence and youth, based in part upon some of the recent research studies in this area.

Wattenberg, William W., *The Adolescent Years.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1955.
The impact of the home, peers, neighborhood, school, and the church on the adolescent is emphasized. The character and social development of the adolescent are given special consideration.

Wile, Ira S., *The Challenge of Adolescence.* New York: Greenberg, 1939.
Taking data from the fields of biology, psychology, sociology, religion, and ethics, the author presents an interpretation of adolescence.

Zachry, Caroline B., in collaboration with Margaret Lighty, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940.
Presents a dynamic approach to the problems and development of adolescents. The importance of the concept of the physical and social self is emphasized.

MOTION PICTURES RELATED TO
THE ADOLESCENT AGE*

Age of Turmoil (M-H, 20 min.). Teen-age boys and girls enact various sorts of behavior frequently associated with adolescence. Adolescence is depicted as an age in which the individual is absorbed in his own affairs and those involving peers.

Attitudes and Health (C-I-F, 10 min.). The importance of self-confidence and favorable attitudes to good health is demonstrated in the case of two girls.

Family Circles (M-H, 31 min.). Both positive and negative aspects of the home-school relationships and the responsibilities of each for providing for the educational needs of boys and girls are shown.

Feeling of Hostility (M-H, 27 min.). The case history of a young woman who, lacking affection and security as a child, achieves some personal satisfaction through intellectual achievements. However, because of her unconscious feelings of resentment and hostility, she is unable to establish satisfactory personal relations with others.

Feeling of Rejection (M-H, 23 min.). The case history of a young woman who learned to avoid possible disapproval by withdrawing from normal competition, and refusing to take independent action. The harmful effects of this form of behavior are shown and analyzed, and the benefits of group therapy in such cases indicated.

The High Wall (M-H, 32 min.). A case study of Tom, an insecure boy brought up in a rigid home life, is here presented. The influences of the rigid, demanding home are clearly portrayed in the behavior of Tom.

The Meaning of Adolescence (M-H, 16 min.). The meaning of adolescence and problems facing adolescents are here presented. Behavior traits characteristic of adolescents are clearly shown.

* Sources of the films used in the appendix:

Athena—Athena Films, 165 West 46th Street, New York, N. Y.

C-I-F—Coronet Instruction Films, 65 East South Water Street, Chicago, Ill.

E-B-F—Encyclopedia Britannica Films, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

I-F-B—International Film Bureau, Suite 308–316, 57 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

M-H—McGraw-Hill Book Co., Text Films Dept., 330 West 42nd Street, New York, N. Y.

Y-A-F—Young American Films, 18 East 41st Street, New York, N. Y.

Meeting the Needs of Adolescents (M-H, 19 min.). This film presents constructive means which parents and teachers may use to help adolescents meet problems relating to achieving independence, boy-girl relations, self-discipline, and the attainment of wholesome attitudes.

Mental Health (E-B-F, 12 min.). Good health is carefully defined. The basic structure of personality is presented along with ways of maintaining good mental health.

Physical Aspects of Puberty (M-H, 19 min.). This film deals with the physiological changes of adolescence. The accompanying emotional and mental changes that occur at this time are also shown.

Problem of Pupil Adjustment, "The Drop-Out" (M-H, 20 min.). Some characteristics of the high-school program that led Steve Martin to drop out of school are shown, along with suggested ways of improving the program by relating the work to the interests and needs of boys and girls.

Problem of Pupil Adjustment, "The Stay-In" (M-H, 19 min.). The problem of drop-outs is solved when a life adjustment program is instituted. Classes fitted to the needs and interests of high-school pupils are shown.

The Quiet One (Athena, 67 min.). This is a pathetic story of a sick boy in a slum environment, who has broken completely from reality and is struggling toward recovery.

Social Development (M-H, 16 min.). Presented here are an analysis of social behavior at different age levels and the reasons underlying the changes in behavior pattern as the child develops. At different age levels there is a definite organization of social behavior which demands guidance and understanding from adults, if conflicts are to be avoided.

Social-Sex Attitudes in Adolescence (M-H, 22 min.). Various stages in the development of social-sex attitudes are depicted through a well-devised chronological story dealing with the marriage of a young couple. Flashback aspects of earlier experiences show how certain attitudes develop.

The Story of a Teen-Age Drug Addict (Y-A-F, 16 min.). A case history of a young high school boy who had become a helpless slave to heroin. The treatment, problems involved, and rehabilitation program are vividly presented.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF POPULAR LITERATURE

POPULAR LITERATURE touching upon adolescence presents in a vivid manner the problems faced by real adolescent boys and girls as they grow toward maturity, although the stories themselves may be pure fiction. Since such books give a detailed and perhaps more realistic interpretation than scientific compilations of facts in a textbook, they should be of value to the reader in helping him to understand the significance of the adolescent period.

There are many books dealing with this period of life. The following list is by no means complete. In its compilation, the writers made an extensive survey of the field, and the list is the result of a selective process.[1] Some of the books to be found in it deal with *growing up* in general. Others deal with the adolescent over a short period of time, and still others are concerned with some special problem of the adolescent years. The extent to which the social setting of the adolescent is introduced varies considerably—depending upon the authors' points of view, interests, and purposes. From this bibliography, presented in annotated form, the reader will be able to find materials relative to adolescence that will be of interest and value to him.

Aldis, Dorothy, *All Year Round.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938.
  The influence of a mother's triumphs and mistakes upon her three children. The nervous condition of a four-year-old and the skillful treatment of an adolescent daughter are among the many interesting things sympathetically treated by the author.
Armstrong, Margaret, *Fanny Kemble.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938.
  This book furnishes a vivid picture of Victorian child psychology, revealing its differences from modern views. When Fanny's family can do no more with her, they turn her over to a boarding school; this treatment contradicts all modern practices.
Baker, Dorothy D., *Young Man with a Horn.* New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938.

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[1] This is a revision of a list devised by Richard L. Wampler and Karl C. Garrison and has been used in classes in child and adolescent psychology.

Here is an example of innate ability strong enough to carry a youth from the confines of a poor environment to the heights of success. His interest in books and music helped him to ignore hardships.

Burress, John, *Apple in a Pear Tree*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1953.

The hero is Jeff, an eleven-year-old boy, whose mother has married a second time. His efforts to assert himself and grow up on a farm are not at first understood by his stepfather; however, in time his efforts are accepted at full value.

Childs, Marquis W., *The Cabin*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944.

This is a sympathetic story of the life of a thirteen-year-old boy one summer on a Middlewestern corn farm. Tragedies unfold and are successfully met.

Corbett, Jim, *Jungle Lore*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953.

A fascinating story of a boy's adventures in the Indian jungles.

Cormack, Maribelle, and Pavel L. Bytovetzski, *Swamp Boy*. New York: McKay, 1948.

The story revolves around the life and experiences of sixteen-year-old Clint Sheppard of the Okefinokee swamp of Georgia. Clint has been taught the love of the swampland by Tom, a Seminole Indian, who is the recognized leader of the community. Clint's problems of adjusting to town ways of living along with those of the swamp environment are interesting as well as amusing.

Cronin, A. J., *The Green Years*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1944.

Green Years is a stirring story of Robert Shannon from his eighth year to his eighteenth. Robert may be described as a waifish little boy, depending upon his grandfather for affection and security.

Curie, Eve, *Madame Curie*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1933.

A convincingly accurate, though brief, record of the scientist's childhood and the conditions and reverses which made her shy, nervous, overemotional, and mature for her age but which could not squelch her genius.

Daphne, Athas, *Weather of the Heart*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1947.

The problems and difficulties of two adolescent girls living at Kittery Point are presented in a fascinating manner.

Delafield, E. M., *Nothing Is Safe*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937.

Because of unhappiness caused by a split home, a brother and sister become very dependent upon each other. This dependence is blamed for a neurotic condition which the boy develops, and the two children are separated. Owing to lack of understanding, the real difficulty is never remedied and the children continue to suffer.

De La Roche, Mazo, *Growth of a Man*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1938.

A complete misunderstanding of his behavior by his grandmother leads an eight-year-old boy to overvalue success in school. Strict discipline at home and overwork do not lessen Shaw's determination to succeed. Weaknesses of nineteenth century teaching are also evident.

Doan, Daniel, *Crystal Years*. New York: Abelard, 1953.

A story of a fourteen-year-old boy, Roy Martin, whose family moves from

Boston to New Hampshire. The efforts of Roy to fit into his school environment are hampered by the snobbery of the family.

Doyle, Helen M., *A Child Went Forth*. New York: Gotham House, Inc., 1934.

During her whole childhood Helen adjusts to situations from which there is no escape. The strength of character she develops by overcoming these obstacles enriches her whole life.

Eustis, Helen, *The Fool Killer*. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1954.

This is the story of a 12-year-old boy who runs away from his foster parents and after many adventures finds a good home.

Farrell, James T., *Father and Son*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1940. A lengthy but impressive story of the development of Danny O'Neill from adolescence up to the age of nineteen. There is a sort of realism presented which reveals the author's understanding of human nature.

Farrell, James T., *No Star Is Lost*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1938. Like *Studs Lonigan*, by the same author, this book portrays a boy's struggles with and defeat by his environment. The lack of adjustment of the school to the needs of the community it serves is also evident.

Farrell, James T., *Studs Lonigan*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc., 1932. This story presents a sociological study of the influences of a vigorous but often unfortunate environment upon Studs Lonigan, a son of middle-class Chicago.

Field, Isobel, *This Life I've Loved*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1937.

Isobel Field's story furnishes a study of the effect which a change of environment had upon her childhood, and the way her experiences in a mining camp influenced her life in a large city.

Frank, Anne, *Diary of a Young Girl* (translated from the Dutch by B. M. Mooyaart). New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1952.

Two years from the diary of a thirteen-year-old Jewish girl, hiding from the Nazis.

Geijerstam, Gösta of, *Northern Summer* (translated from the Norwegian by Joran Birkeland). New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1938.

The author has succeeded in picturing the happy development of children in a family living on a Norwegian island. Free from social conventions, and aided by the enthusiasm and guidance of their parents, they live naturally and happily together.

Gibbs, A. Hamilton, *The Need We Have*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1936.

Denny at fourteen impresses one as the impish, young-for-his-age result of an oversheltered childhood, and then as a prodigiously mature mind of adult level with insight, judgment, and subtlety.

Gunnarsson, Gunnar, *Ships in the Sky*. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1938. Although the life of a child in Iceland must of necessity be quite different from that of children in our country, this book presents a valuable picture of how a child develops in lonely regions where the family is his whole society.

Hagedorn, Hermann, *Edwin Arlington Robinson*. New York: The Mac-
millan Co., 1938.

As the youngest child in the family, Edwin Arlington Robinson was
neglected, but was probably saved from maladjustment by his play-life
with the neighborhood gang. Although not encouraged by others, his
poetic talents developed naturally.

Havighurst, Walter, and Marion M. Boyd, *Song of the Pines*. Philadelphia:
John C. Winston Co., 1949.

Nils Thoresen, a Norwegian boy, joins a group of pioneer settlers at the age
of fourteen. His inventive genius is a source of help to these Wisconsin
pioneers in their lumbering activities.

Herbert, F. Hugh, *Meet Corliss Archer*. New York: Random House, Inc.,
1944.

Corliss, a subdeb daughter of a well-to-do lawyer in an American city, is
well known to many through the Good Housekeeping stories. The author
presents some interesting experiences in Corliss' home and social life.

Jaynes, Clare, *Early Frost*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1953.

A book about Lann Saunders, a young girl, of divorced parents, in a
boarding school. The problems she is confronted with are largely those
of an adolescent dealing with elders.

Kehoe, William, *A Sweep of Dusk*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.,
1945.

The material of this volume revolves around the problems of an over-
sensitive adolescent reared by an overbearing mother. The material is
drawn from the author's own experiences.

L'Engle, Madeleine, *The Small Rain*. New York: Vanguard Press, Inc.,
1945.

This is a touching story of the problems encountered by a young and tal-
ented artist during the adolescent years. Her disillusionments are charac-
teristic of the life of many adolescents filled with zeal and ambition.

Llewellyn, Richard, *How Green Was My Valley*. New York: The Macmil-
lan Co., 1941.

A dramatic story of the struggles of a boy against the odds of poverty and
class distinction in a mining area. His difficulties, privations, and thwart-
ings are presented in an understanding manner.

Low, Elizabeth, *High Harvest*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1948.

Life for fifteen-year-old Suzanne on a Vermont mountain farm is not easy.
However, Suzanne finds happiness and satisfaction from the outlets avail-
able.

McCullers, Carson, *The Member of the Wedding*. Boston: Houghton
Mifflin Co., 1946.

Frankie, a 12-year-old girl, was lonely and bored until she learned of her
older brother's wedding. She is driven to steal, throw knives, date a
soldier, and threaten suicide. In the end Frankie finds a sympathetic
friend.

Maugham, Somerset W., *Of Human Bondage*. New York: Modern Library,
1940.

From a protected, pampered childhood Philip Cary is placed under the
guardianship of his disciplinary uncle. Lack of understanding at home

and humiliation caused by the ridicule of his club foot by his schoolmates
and teachers makes him supersensitive and unhappy.

Maxwell, William, *The Folded Leaf.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.
This is a story of the friendship begun by two normal boys at the age of
fifteen.   The conditions which draw them together and the unfolding
events of their friendship make the book an interesting as well as percep-
tive portrayal of human relationships.

Miller, Sidney, *Roots in the Sky.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938.
Through poverty and nationality difficulties these children of Jewish-
American stock have many chances, if not justifications, for going wrong.
The unifying kinship and loyalty to standards upheld by the Jewish re-
ligion help avert a tragedy.

Mitchell, William Ormond, *Who Has Seen the Wind.* Boston: Little,
Brown & Co., 1947.
The story of a boy, Brian O'Connal, from his fourth year to his twelfth
in a small prairie town.

Morris, Hilda, *The Long View.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937.
This author is interested in showing how Asher Allen was influenced by
his sober, Quaker environment and forced pride in his family name.

O'Moran, Mabel, *Red Eagle, Buffalo Bill's Adopted Son.* Philadelphia:
J. B. Lippincott Co., 1948.
The story of Red Eagle, a young Choctaw Indian boy, and his pioneer
adventures.

Parrish, Anne, *Poor Child.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.
A tragic story of a twelve-year-old boy in need of security and affection,
established in a household where he is neither loved nor understood.

Pratt, Theodore, *Valley Boy.* New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pearce, Inc., 1946.
Valley Boy is a series of character sketches as seen through the eyes of
Johnny Birch, a ten-year-old boy.   Johnny is a sensitive, lonely lad seeking
affection and security outside his home.

Raphaelson, Dorshka W., *Morning Song.* New York: Random House,
Inc., 1948.
The story of a fifteen-year-old girl's efforts and problems as she attempts
to support her neurotic mother and younger brother presents an interest-
ing and touching picture of adolescence and family life.

Rawlings, Marjorie Kinnan, *The Yearling.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.,
Inc., 1938.
Jody's solitary environment leads him instinctively to find companionship
in nature.   His father's influence helps the boy to develop a strong char-
acter.

Ricks, Peirson, *Hunter's Horn.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947.
Life and values in post-bellum North Carolina are presented in this novel.
Uncle Benjamin's grand-nephew falls in love with a girl from a poorer
class status, which presents problems for all concerned.

Robertson, Eileen A., *Summer's Lease.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940.
This is a story and a psychological study of a sensitive boy who is further
handicapped by weak eyesight.   Depicted are the trials and pains of the
boy as he tries to cope with problems accentuated by refined but unsuc-
cessful home conditions.

Rölvaag, Ole E., *Peder Victorious*. New York: A. L. Burt Co., Inc., 1938.
This sensitive, inquisitive Dakota boy is too eager to grow up, is old for
his age, and lives through emotional periods approaching maladjustment.
A contrast between two teachers is especially well done. Like a number
of other authors, Rölvaag criticizes the effects of certain religious expe-
riences upon children.

Sale, Elizabeth, *Recitation from Memory*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.,
Inc., 1943.
This is a story of the growing up of Fenella in the home of a happy letter
carrier of Tacoma, Washington. It is written from the viewpoint of an
older person looking back on happenings during the earlier years of life,
especially the years from the tenth to the fourteenth. The story is one
filled with much action and adventure, with the introduction of many
characters to enliven and make more realistic the events affecting Fenella.

Salinger, J. D., *The Catcher in the Rye*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1951.
The recollections of a boy kicked out of school are vividly portrayed. An
account of three days spent in New York City is presented in a colorful
manner.

Shanks, Edward, *Tom Tiddler's Ground*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co.,
1934.
Tom Florey's high intelligence helps him to advance quickly in school in
spite of himself. The antagonistic attitude of Tom's father toward his
progress does not extinguish the boy's determination to escape from the
confines of his home town.

Shaw, Lau, *Rickshaw Boy*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., 1945.
An adventure story of a Chinese boy whose dream of happiness is to own
a rickshaw.

Singmaster, Elsie, *Isle of Que*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1948.
A seventeen-year-old youth is faced with the problem of caring for his
mother and sister when his older brother enters military service. He over-
comes early fears and difficulties and develops a real sense of responsi-
bility.

Smith, Betty, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*. New York: Harper & Brothers,
1943.
A colorful presentation of the childhood and youth of Francie Nolan, her
family, and her friends. There is beauty and wholesomeness intermingled
with plain realism in the problems faced by Francie as she strives to find
for herself a place of usefulness in a larger social environment.

Sperry, Armstrong, *The Little Eagle—A Navajo Boy*. New York: Winston,
1938.
An adventure story of a fourteen-year-old Navajo boy in the setting of
the Arizona canyons. The warm relations of his home life help him
adjust to changed values and cultures encountered in the modern govern-
ment school.

Spring, Howard, *My Son, My Son!* New York: Viking Press, Inc., 1938.
Parental attempts to shape the lives of two boys result in tragedy. One-
sided personalities fail to fit the sons for adult life. Lack of understanding
by the parents seems to have an effect upon the characters of all the chil-
dren.

Stafford, Jean, *The Mountain Lion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1947.

This is a symbolic representation of evil in which the novel is centered in a girl in her late childhood and adolescence.

Strong, Leonard, *The Seven Arms*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1933.

This novel, concerning the life of a large family of children, reveals characters ranging from one extreme to the other. Included are the extrovert, bossy, thoughtful, daydreaming, weak, dependent, independent, and delicate types of children whose characters react upon one another.

Summers, Hollis, *City Limit*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1948.

The story of the dilemma of a high school boy and girl who are driven into marriage by social criticisms and pressures. The idealism of youth is clearly revealed in contrast to the rigidity of the elders of a Kentucky community.

Tarkington, Booth, *The Fighting Littles*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1941.

The author gives an interesting and oftentimes humorous presentation of the conflicts between youth and parents. The teen-age children appear as real characters in their revolt against parental controls.

Tarkington, Booth, *Little Orvie*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Inc., 1933.

This is a commendable handbook of how to get results opposite to what you want in dealing with children. Popularized through clever handling are the problems of nagging, thwarting, comparison with other children, discussion of child in his presence, shaming, and so on.

Tracy, Edward B., *Great Husky*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1949.

Vivid descriptions are presented of a boy and his dog on a journey into the Far North. Their comradeship and heroism are stirring features of the story.

Van Etten, Winifred, *I Am the Fox*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1936.

Through lack of understanding and individual treatment by her elders, Selma Temple develops many misconceptions and fears.

West, Jessamyn, *Cress Delahanty*, drawings by Joe Krush. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1953.

The story sketches the problems of an adolescent girl, growing up on a California ranch, from her twelfth to her sixteenth year. The book portrays Cress with her growing pains and the anguish of her parents.

Wolfe, Thomas, *Look Homeward, Angel*. New York: Modern Library, 1934.

This is the story of the childhood and early youth of Eugene Gant. The theme is the development of the artist into a person, the making of the lonely and solitary genius. Eugene is a voyager in quest of self-realization.

Wouk, Herman, *City Boy: The Adventures of Herbie Bookbinder and His Cousin, Cliff*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1948.

A refreshing and readable novel of an eleven-year-old Bronx boy. The adventures of Herbie and his cousin at home, school, and elsewhere are vividly recounted.

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